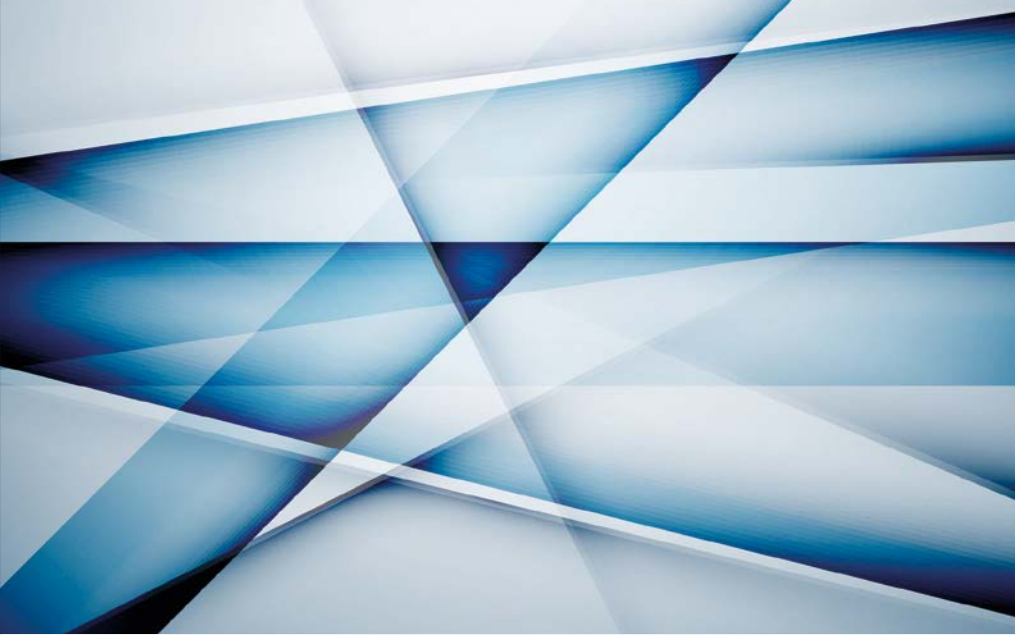




Maria Hallitzky, Félix Mulhanga,
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(Hrsg.)

Expanding Horizons and Local Connectedness

**Challenges for Qualitative Teaching Research and
Development in Intercultural Contexts**

Hallitzky / Mulhanga / Spendrin / Yoshida
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Local Connectedness**

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Félix Mulhanga
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Challenges for Qualitative Teaching Research
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Expanding Horizons and Local Connectedness: Challenges for Qualitative Teaching Research and Development in Intercultural Contexts – an Introduction

Education and teaching aim at – or may lead to – expanding horizons of individuals and groups, however, they are always bound to a specific context in which they occur, and necessarily depart from the specific situation of the subjects of education. The same applies for the research on teaching and education, and even more so to qualitative classroom research, which builds on the interest in specific cases and situations and expects therefrom an expansion of the previously achieved understanding of teaching and education.

The idea of reflecting potentials and challenges for qualitative teaching research and development in intercultural contexts departed from the methodological interest in broadening researchers' horizons, as well as from the observation of an increasing use of qualitative approaches in various international fields (e.g., Matachi & Kikuchi 2015; Ravitch & Carl 2019). This increasing use might be attributed to the potential of these methods to enable researchers to gain more differentiated insights into interactional processes of participation and engagement in the classroom: Qualitative-reconstructive methods of teaching research are characterised by the fact that they enable a very precise, context-sensitive reconstruction of interactions in the classroom (e.g., Proske & Rabenstein 2018). The Lesson Study methodology that we also refer to, furthermore represents a clearly development-orientated impetus that focuses on the learning opportunities of students, and has been adopted from the Japanese context especially in countries of the Global South. All of these approaches seem to address important pedagogical questions which are central both to the development of educational quality in post-colonial regions and to the problems of educational participation in heterogeneously constituted classrooms in industrialised countries.

At the same time, specific challenges are associated with the dissemination and application of methodologies that are traditionally tied to specific 'Western' research contexts:

Epistemological, methodological, methodical and practical research assumptions and practices are inherently bound to research traditions and contexts.

Applying these methodologies to different cultural and international contexts without reflection on these ties can lead to irritation and alienation, especially in interactive collaboration between researchers from different research traditions (see Kinoshita in this volume for a vivid example). Furthermore, it can be assumed or should be at least taken into account, that historically grown unequal distributions of power will also be reproduced in academic discourse, particularly as differing possibilities of the acknowledgement of interpretive sovereignty.

Although the importance of a reflexive examination of the researchers' origins and cultural self-conceptions is occasionally emphasised (e.g., Baumann 2009, p. 76), qualitative teaching research and development has been mostly conducted and discussed in rather homogeneous cultural contexts, and are not sufficiently benefiting from the opportunity to reflect on precisely these positional ties, which would be inherent in international and intercultural encounters.

This potential of expanding the researchers' horizons, especially concerning how contents and method(ologie)s of research are tied to one's own (both geographical and cultural) localisation, was the core of the idea of bringing together researchers from different contexts who use qualitative methods of teaching research and development, to introduce research approaches and results to each other and to discuss some more general methodological questions, in order to go beyond the horizons of the individual methodological standpoints.

Founded by the DFG-programme 'Point Sud' we planned and organised a conference on "Qualitative Teaching Research and Development" which took place in Maputo, Mozambique, in September 2019. The funding by the DFG allowed us to invite researchers from Zambia, Tanzania, South Africa, Senegal, Mozambique, Kenya, Japan, and Germany. In this encounter of researchers from scientific spheres that are read as 'Western' (Germany and Japan) and from post-colonialist scientific cultures of the so-called Global South, perspectives on research and challenges in research should be reflected against the background of their embedding in the different regional and historically bound situations.

Hence, the conference was not only intended to present the research approaches and results of the participating academics. We have moreover structured the conference according to some (for us) central methodological questions, which can serve as crystallisation points for the contrasting and reflection of the local connectedness of the various methodological considerations and approaches:

Questions of the researchers' approach to, and their position(ing) in the field:
How do researchers gain access to a specific research field (i.e., a community,

a school or specific lessons), and how do they relate to the people in the field, moving in between the position of a 'foreign' researcher (which is essential for understanding) and the need of assuming some joint understanding (i.e., in regard on how to behave in situations like 'lessons' or 'research interviews') (i.e., Lang-Wojtasik 2002; Mulhanga 1998)? How is a researcher 'positioned' by persons in the field as to their understanding of his work, and what can one learn from being positioned in this way?

These fields of tension, especially when researchers, understandings and research fields from different cultural contexts are involved, were discussed mostly in relation to ethnographic research, concentrating on the process of data collection.

Concerns of generalisability of qualitative research, which is necessarily connected to, and founded upon, specific situations, cases and contexts (e.g., Hal-litzky & Spendrin 2022) were discussed by focussing the – at the same time enabling and limiting – role of pre-understandings: What explicit theoretical and/or more implicit cultural assumptions and pre-understandings does the researcher need to make sense of an observed situation or interaction – and what kind of insights are simultaneously prevented by these preconceptions? These aspects were discussed in relation to the process of reconstructive data analysis, especially in projects that focussed classroom interactions from different cultural contexts.

In particular when researching pedagogical fields, some normative positioning in relation to (possibly different) pedagogical values, norms or aims often enters research either explicitly or implicitly (e.g., Fuchs 2019). This led to the questions on how to relate classroom research to these normativities, especially in approaches which, like the Lesson Study approach, aim at not only describing, but also developing teaching and education.

Our assumption when planning the discussions at the conference was that the positioning in relation to each of these questions is related to the researchers' place in the world which shapes his or her perspective. The idea was, that by contrasting approaches and methods from different contexts, the particularities and the implicitly taken-for-granted premises would become more visible. Thus, by expanding our horizons, we aimed to learn more about the local connectedness of both our own and others' research approaches.

This Volume is not only intended to publish the presentations held at the conference to a broader audience, but also to both widen and deepen the discussion on the contextual and methodological challenges beyond the scope of the conference. A wider perspective is taken, as we realised that most of us knew little about the very different local contexts of teaching which researchers do face – this is why we include spotlight-insights into the different educational systems and their challenges. A deeper perspective is provided

by commentary texts that not only follow up with the discussions held at the conference, but furthermore ground them in epistemological and scientific discourses.

Section 1 (Local Situations of Teaching and Research) therefore showcases reports on the different local challenges and contexts. Researchers have been encouraged to not only give some general information on the educational systems and their history, but also to exemplify specific challenges that are faced in their country. For Tanzania, *Nkanileka L. Mgonda* and *Rwegasha P. Ishemo* describe how seasonal shifting cultivation and initiation rites affect school attendance in specific community contexts, thus arguing for research and development on local levels. *Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi* gives an introduction into the complex linguistic realities at South-African schools, calling for qualitative research that sheds more light on the complex strategies that teachers have already developed to deal with linguistic diversity especially at so-called marginalised schools. *Mamadou Mbaye* and *Carla Schelle* describe the unresolved ambivalence of “*enracinement et ouverture*” (rooting and opening) in the Senegalese education system as a core of postcolonial realities. Taking up the question of linguistic educational policy, *Amélia E. Tocova* and *Felismina J.B. Vantitia* describe challenges of implementing the policy of Bilingual Education in Mozambique. Following the policy of teacher qualification for the integration of ‘learner centred education’ in Kenya, *Joyce Kinyanjui* explores some of the methodological problems of assessment of teaching through Lesson Study, such as reductive observation tools and the interference of teaching development with school inspection. After introducing the history and development of the Japanese education system, *Yuichi Miyamoto* and *Nariakira Yoshida* discuss problems of contemporary curriculum development and societal change exemplified on the consequences of the Fukushima catastrophe. Finally, *Matthias Martens* gives an insight into the German education system(s) and presents challenges such as inclusion and dealing with weak results in international assessments.

Section 2 to 4 of the volume address the methodological questions which were focused during the conference (see above). In each section, some methodological introductions are given before research projects and results are presented. Each of these sections concludes with a discussion paper (commentary) on the methodological question in focus.

The methodological question of the researcher in the field (section 2) is exemplified with ethnographic research. Firstly, the ethnographic approach is introduced by *Karin Bräu* and *Laura Fuhrmann*. In the following, *Félix Mulhanga* presents a reflection on an ethnographic research process in schools

in rural Mozambique, where he faced specific challenges concerning how to make his intention as a researcher transparent to the people in the field, getting stuck in the same postcolonial entanglements that he was intending to explore. *Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi* then describes the process of accessing (or immersing herself into) the field in the sensitive terrain of a South-African township school as a “learner-researcher”, and encouraging the building of trust among researchers and teachers. In the commentary article, *Matthias Martens* discusses the different insights these reflections provided on the position(ing) of the ethnographer in the field, accentuating the challenges of postcolonial contexts as well as the potential of conceptualising research as learning especially when intercultural differences are to be faced.

The methodological questions of the role of implicit or explicit cultural and theoretical backgrounds, which are very much connected to the concept of “Standortsgebundenheit” (Mannheim 1929, new edition: 2024, 28) (section 3) are discussed based on examples of videographic classroom research, using different methodical approaches of reconstructive interpretation. To give an orientation in the methodological field, this part starts with an overview of reconstructive methodologies, data collection and interpretation methods by *Karin Bräu*. *Mamadou Mbaye* and *Carla Schelle* then introduce the approach of Objective Hermeneutics, before they report their study on subject matter and addressation practices in Senegalese and German classrooms. In particular, they reflect on the limitations of comparative analysis, e.g., with regard to blind spots in the observation. In subsequence, *Johanna Leicht* gives an introduction to the specificities of reconstructive video-analysis within an interaction analysis approach. *Karla Spendrin* and *Maria Hallitzky* use this approach to reconstruct processes of individualisation and collectivisation in two very different lessons from Germany and Japan, and reflect on the implications of cultural and theoretical understandings in the interpretation process, discussing possibilities of reflecting this influence. *Matthias Martens* and *Emi Kinoshita* recur on experiences of an interpretation workshop in an intercultural setting, using the approach of the Documentary Method, reflecting on potentials and challenges of interpreting data in an intercultural setting. In the discussion paper of this section, *Yuichi Miyamoto* reflects on the contributions and discusses challenges and achievements with regard to the role of theoretical and cultural pre-understandings. Thereby he connects the methodological discussion to the philosophical context of hermeneutic epistemology and to the history and the development of the general pedagogical discourse.

In section 4, different approaches to lesson development are showcased, each contributing to the discussion on the role of (different, but inevitable) norma-

tivities in pedagogical research and development. Firstly, *Nariakira Yoshida* and *Yuichi Miyamoto* give an introduction to Lesson Study in Japan as a research framework in which researchers and teachers are tied closely to encourage teachers developing their teaching skills with enhanced pedagogical insights by collaborating with multiple stakeholders such as colleagues in a school, the board of education, or researchers at a university. Following an introduction to the history of Lesson Study and the approach in general, an example of Lesson Study at Hiroshima University is presented. *Maria Hallitzky*, *Emi Kinoshita* and *Karla Spendrin* report on a dialogue between a school teacher and the research team regarding the analysis and development of a literature lesson, describing teachers' and researchers' roles in the process of lesson development, and unveil different (hidden or open) normativities in the mutual observations. Lesson Observations as a measure between developmental and controlling intentions are the topic of *Joyce Kinyanjui's* discussion of the case of three counties in Kenya, pointing out the potentials and challenges of centralised teaching development programs. In the commentary paper in this section, *Mamadou Mbaye* reflects on the methodological role and challenge of normativity in pedagogical research and on the specific forms of intertwining development and research in the different approaches, highlighting the requirement to perceive teaching in all its complexity as a process that cannot be technologised.

In section 5 of the volume, we collected discussion papers on aspects of teaching research and development especially in postcolonial contexts, reflecting on the epistemological and practical power relations that continue to influence pedagogical research. *Wilson P. Nicaquela* and *Adelino I. Assane* open the discussion with a text on narratives as epistemology to research the everyday life in schools in Mozambique as well as on the difficulties of anchoring such an approach as a scientific method in a scientific discourse that relies predominantly on standardisation and reduction of complexity. Standardisation and (the need of) contextualisation of research instruments especially in postcolonial settings is also a crucial point of *Jaime Alipio's* discussion of experiences with young researchers' projects in Mozambique, culminating in the observation of a problematic social (and often also, but not only, linguistic) distance between researchers and their life-world and the fields of research, especially outside the capital areas. In the commentary article of this section, *Emi Kinoshita* discusses the challenges of international discourses in educational research, adopting auto-ethnography as a method to effectuate a dialogue between the authors of this part, which leads to insights into the constraints of mutual methodical understanding, while at the same time enabling a deeper perception of one's own and others' position(ing) in post-colonial research settings.

The completion of this volume took quite some time – time which was taken to ensure the comprehensibility of articles as well as discussion papers through different stages of review in a complex intercultural communication process. Firstly, in the framework of mutual reviews, each paper was reviewed by other authors of the volume, in a way that aspired to obtain perspectives from different (cultural and/or disciplinary) contexts on each text. Later on, the editors' team had a second review, before the revised texts were sent to the lecturer for English language. The aim of this complex and time taking process was to ensure that the texts could be accessible and understood by a broad range of readers, explaining presupposed concepts and enabling the texts to be integrated into different discourses.

Due to the timely process, some of the descriptions of educational systems and local educational situations in Part 1 have already reached a stage of 'historical' descriptions, as changes have taken place since around 2019 or 2020, when the papers were originally written. However, local situations continue in their relevance as challenges for qualitative teaching research and development.

Reflecting the intercultural and also multilingual discussion throughout the conference and the publication process (during the conference, talks were translated alternately between English and Portuguese, the organisation team used German as a working language), we discussed if and how different languages could be used in the book, and if not, which language should be chosen. Although the choice fell on English as the language of the articles, we chose to provide at least additional abstracts in the different languages of the organisation team (Portuguese, Japanese, and German) in order to reach all contributors of the discourse, their colleagues and a broader audience – whilst we were, and still are, aware that we would not attain to represent the complete language diversity of the conference participants and possible readers. References to literature have been kept in the original language, with the only exception that names of Japanese authors had to be written in Latin letters and placed in the Latin alphabet.

As the editors, we'd like to thank the authors for their engagement as authors and reviewers – giving valuable feedback on other texts, and for the patience they had in waiting for the articles to finally be published. We'd also like to thank Lucille Scally for thorough language editing, Friedrich Koch for careful proofreading and publisher Andreas Klinkhardt for the confidential cooperation in publishing this volume. For the crucial suggestion regarding the possibility of Point Sud sponsoring international conferences, we would like to thank Christiane Feller. Special thanks also go to Dr. Emi Kinoshita, Dr. Johanna Leicht and Dr. Mamadou Mbaye for their great contribution in

terms of content and organisation to the planning and running of our conference in Maputo. We'd also like to thank Prof. Dr. Hans Saar for his indispensable help in building the network between the organisers of the conference and for his local organisational support. A sincere thank you also goes to Prof. Dr. Mamadou Diawara, founding director of the DFG funding programme Point Sud and the organisers of the Point Sud programme in Frankfurt, Dr. Marko Scholze and in Bamako, Dr. Issa Fofana. Last but not least, we would like to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for funding the conference as part of the Point Sud programme and for financing the publication through the 'Specialised Information Services for Science' (FID) programme. The programmes Point Sud and FID enabled, and continue to enable, a multi-perspective exchange in the field of qualitative teaching research, which like educational research in the modern world in general, is nevertheless characterised by postcolonial relations and strong hierarchies of representation and signification between 'centres' and 'peripheries'. Emi Kinoshita, after analysing the entanglements of different authors in these constellations, however concludes this volume with a hopeful prospect for the continuation of an international discussion setting with conferences and workshops that bring forward voices from different directions (see Kinoshita in this volume). Or, as one conference participant put it in the conference feedback: "In this conference we managed to *do* post-coloniality without necessarily having to say it. We have listened to each other". In this sense, it was, and is, our aim to stimulate and engage in a multilateral, open dialogue on the topics and challenges of qualitative teaching research in the international field and, in doing so, to reflect as far as possible on our own unavoidable entanglements in postcolonial reality (which are also evident in this volume).

In this respect, this volume is not intended to be a conclusion, but rather a further starting point – which is why we encourage all readers to enter into dialogue and discussion with us.

Leipzig, Maputo, Hiroshima in February 2025,

Maria Hallitzky, Félix Mulhanga, Karla Spendrin, and Nariakira Yoshida

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Section 1:

Local Situations of Teaching and Research

Nkanileka Loti Mgonda and Rwegasha Peter Ishemo

Seasonal Shifting Cultivation and Initiation Rites as Local Barriers to Education Access in Rural Tanzania

Abstracts

EN

This article presents local challenges that have persistently impaired children's access to schooling despite the implementation of access-driven education policy of fee free education in Tanzania. Specifically, the article identifies and describes the seasonal shifting cultivation and rites of initiation as the local challenges affecting the provision of the fee free education in two community schools in Southern Tanzania. It argues that while it is important to promote policy and strategies at national level, it is equally important to have a thorough grasp of the diverse nature of socio-economic contexts and unique challenges the communities face. This calls for customised treatment of the same. It suggests that qualitative research should be conducted so as to gain an understanding of such complexities and inform on the approaches that can be adapted in a similar access driven education program in Tanzania.

DE

In diesem Artikel werden die lokalen Herausforderungen vorgestellt, die den Besuch von Schulen in Tansania trotz der Einführung einer zugangsorientierten Bildungspolitik mit gebührenfreiem Unterricht immer wieder beeinträchtigt haben. Insbesondere werden der saisonale Wanderfeldbau und Initiationsriten als lokale Herausforderungen identifiziert und beschrieben, die die Bereitstellung von gebührenfreiem Unterricht in zwei kommunalen Schulen im Süden Tansanias beeinträchtigen. Es wird argumentiert, dass es zwar wichtig ist, die Politik und die Strategien auf nationaler Ebene zu fördern, dass es aber ebenso wichtig ist, die unterschiedlichen sozioökonomischen Kontexte und die besonderen Herausforderungen, mit denen die Gemeinden konfrontiert sind, genau zu kennen. Daher ist eine maßgeschneiderte Behandlung derselben erforderlich. Es wird vorgeschlagen,

dass qualitative Untersuchungen durchgeführt werden sollten, um ein Verständnis für solche komplexen Zusammenhänge zu gewinnen und über die Ansätze zu informieren, die in einem ähnlichen zugangsorientierten Bildungsprogramm in Tansania angewendet werden können.

PT

Este artigo apresenta os desafios locais que têm dificultado de forma persistente o acesso das crianças à escolaridade, apesar da implementação de uma política de educação gratuita orientada para o acesso na Tanzânia. Especificamente, o artigo identifica e descreve o cultivo sazonal itinerante e os ritos de iniciação como os desafios locais que afectam a oferta de ensino gratuito em duas escolas comunais no sul da Tanzânia. O artigo argumenta que, embora seja importante promover políticas e estratégias a nível nacional, é igualmente importante ter um conhecimento profundo da natureza diversa dos contextos socioeconómicos e dos desafios únicos que as comunidades enfrentam. Isto exige um tratamento personalizado das mesmas. Sugere que se efectue investigações qualitativas para compreender essas complexidades e informar sobre as abordagens que podem ser adaptadas num programa semelhante de educação orientada para o acesso na Tanzânia.

JA

本稿では、就学推進をめざす教育政策として教育無償化が実施されたにもかかわらず、子どもたちの学校へのアクセスがいまだ困難でありつづけているタンザニアの課題を紹介する。とくに、タンザニア南部の二つの公立学校を例に、季節ごとの農耕と通過儀礼のため、教育無償化政策には地域ごとに異なる困難があったことを指摘する。本稿では、国政レベルでの政策や戦略の展開が重要であるいっぽうで、共同体がおかれた社会経済的な文脈や、共同体が直面する独自の課題がもつ多様な性格をしっかりと把握することも同様に重要だという点を論じる。そのため、対象にかなった対応が必要になる。これらの複雑さを理解するために、そしてタンザニアにおいてアクセスを高める類似の教育プログラムで応用しうるアプローチについて情報提供するために、質的研究が実践されるべきであるという示唆を述べる。

Local barriers to access in the provision of quality education

It is important to mention the influence of both colonial Germany and British education systems on the Tanzanian education system. When the Tanzanian territory became a German protectorate, missionary schools received support from the German administration and were able to expand across the territory. German educational policy had an emphasis on vocational education and practical work for African students and favored the development of technical schools and vocational training for the wider population, rather than a purely academic education, which was restricted to a limited few (Komba & Temu 1996; Zanolli 1971). The educational system under the British administration was characterized by a policy of racial segregation, leading to inequalities between schools for black Africans and European or Indian schools, particularly in terms of funding. The British administration approached colonial education with the intent to inculcate Western values and especially economic principles in an attempt to make Tanganyika more appropriate for the British economic system and promote economic success. This was done through an adapted version of the British educational system designed to retain so-called traditional values within the indigenous population that were deemed useful by the colonists (Buchert 1994).

Since the independence in 1961, the educational system in Tanzania has passed through different transitions according to the political, economic and social changes that have been happening. Tanzania is one of the countries in East Africa, which have consistently waged efforts to provide access to education. Free education policy comes as one of bold historic steps toward achieving access to education services in the country. The first step came as the post-independence move in 1961-1967 that aimed at democratising education provision by abolishing the colonial system and thereby removing racial segregation and different forms of inequalities. Between 1967 and the 1990s education reforms were geared toward building a socialist state. Nyerere announced Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) as a philosophy to guide educational practices in the country. He regarded ESR as an appropriate and rational educational alternative for Tanzania and also many Third World countries (Nyerere 1967). Education acquired special impetus in preparing socialist thinking and values among school graduates under the hegemony of access-driven Universal Primary Education (UPE), and its success made Tanzania one of the countries with a high literacy rate in Africa (Mushi 2009). The third reforms from the 1990s to 2014 witnessed the transition from socialist to free market-oriented policies that came as the condition of IMF and World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) as part of Economic Recovery

Programs (URT 1995). Liberalisation of education services increased actors in the provision of education services at different levels (URT 2014, 1995). Tanzania Development Vision 2025 intends to equip people with knowledge, skills, and foster attitudes of improving productivity and competitiveness. The vision envisages equipping people with higher and better levels of knowledge, skills and competences who can respond and adjust well to the challenges and opportunities of the world of work. The education policies shifted to focus on the demands of globalisation and the needs of modern society (URT 1999; URT 2000).

The education system in Tanzania is structured along the following pattern: 2-7-4-2-3+ implying 2 years of pre-primary education, 7 years of primary education, 4 years of junior secondary education, 2 years of senior secondary education and at least 3 years of tertiary education. The Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) has the legal mandate for policy formulation, coordination, monitoring, setting standards, quality assurance, and quality control of the whole education system. It is also responsible for the supervision of higher education, teacher training, and management of the teaching workforce, curriculum development, examination management, and school inspectorate. The ministry, through its teachers' training colleges, is responsible for training, recruiting, and deploying teachers in public schools across the country. Local government authorities are responsible for the management and delivery of primary and secondary education services within their areas of jurisdiction. They oversee the work of the local authorities which are responsible for the day-to-day operations of primary and secondary schools (URT 1995; Woods 2007).

On the 27th of November 2015, as part of its industrialisation and development goals, the Tanzanian government issued Circular 5, which provides free basic education from primary up to lower secondary school level. Henceforth, Tanzanians would enjoy eleven years of free schooling including 2 years of compulsory pre-primary education. As a growing economy, Tanzania realises that accessible quality of education is one that provides all students with capabilities they require to become economically productive, develop sustainable livelihoods, contribute to peaceful and democratic societies and enhance individual well-being (Mashala 2019; Muindi 2011).

The abovementioned access-driven efforts have from time to time been reinvigorated by the 1990 Jomtien World Conference on Education for All conducted in Thailand. Whereby universal basic education achievements were named as the top priority by the development community – this was reaffirmed in 2000 at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal (Inter-agency

Commission 1990). The conferences pronounced all participating nations to achieve quality education for all children (Mashala 2019; Mushi 2009).

In Tanzania, the larger proportions of people are rural farmers who engage in small scale domestic and commercial agrarian activities. Prior to the introduction of the fee free education policy, some parents and guardians struggled to send their children to school, causing many children to fail to get basic and secondary education. As the result, many students dropped out of school because parents and guardians were unable to pay costs like examination fees, school contributions and tuition fees (Mashala 2019). Thus, the introduction of fee free education policy in 2015 was considered an effective way to support the Government to achieve its objective of ensuring that all children of school-age have access to and attend school and learn (Mbawala 2017). A study conducted in two rural secondary day schools in 2019 in Southern Tanzania revealed a typical local challenge that has continued to hinder access to schooling despite government's policy and initiatives to provide fee free education.

1 Seasonal shifting cultivation

In these communities, a majority of households traditionally engage in shifting farming practice. During the rainy season, family members leave their homes and shift to the farm sites (far away) to cultivate, plant seeds (maize, rice, beans), weed the crops and return to the community after harvest. The duration of stay in the farms varies from 3 to 4 months, and although some school-age children accompany their parents/guardians, some children of school-age do not move to the farm site and instead remain at home, and are, to a large extent, unsupervised. During parents' absence, children lack parental guidance and monitoring of their progress in school. Head teachers and school board leaders singled out this practice as one of the challenges that affects students' schooling by perpetuating dropout.

"Presence of this secondary school in this community has improved transition of pupils from primary school to secondary school in this ward. However, a majority of the students hardly join and finish their secondary school circle because of parents shifting to farms. Many families shift to farm sites and leave (their children) students without proper care, some do move away with their children during the rainy season. It has been very difficult to get parents to bring their children to camps" (Interview held with a headmaster of a school, 2019).

As a remedy to the challenge, school boards in collaboration with the school management have opted to use available vacant classes to create "students' dormitories" to enable students from such families and others from distant

places to continue to attend school during this season. Parents are to donate 160 kilograms of maize, 60 kilograms of beans and 20,000.00 T.Shillings for milling of maize annually. However, the initiative seems to hit a snag as many parents in the community have consistently failed to facilitate the initiative.

2 Rites of initiation

The community still succumbs to the traditional rite of initiation that exposes many children to early sexual practices that lead to increasing cases of teens' pregnancies and forced marriages. Indeed, girls exhibit larger number of dropouts. Parents and the community at large have indeed been reluctant in supporting the local school strategies to keep children in schools. For example, out of 170 parents quite often less than 50 parents attended school meetings, even after they had been invited well-in-advance.

The provision of fee free education was envisaged to remediate financial barriers that hindered many children from disadvantaged families from accessing basic and secondary education. Yet, the presented cases in the communities appear to halt the efforts to that effect. These findings appear to suggest that the current efforts to address problems of access to basic education leave a lot to be desired in Tanzanian rural settings. Arguably, a clear understanding of social-economic contexts in which schools operate is vital to this end. In the context of the schools, qualitative research is needed to generate knowledge of how the existing cultural practices "social-economic norms" can inform access-driven interventions to bring about their sustainability. This understanding is also important to shed light on how teaching and learning in similar schools can be programmed in favour of the existing economic and production activities.

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About Language and (E)Quality in South African Education: A Short Introduction

Abstracts

EN

In this article, I provide a brief insight into South Africa's apartheid and post-apartheid education system, focusing specifically on Language in Education Policy (LiEP). Based on insights from my research in a Cape Town township school, I then argue that ideologies of language as divided into separate, bounded entities – as instantiated for example in the notion of 'mother tongue' – perpetuate rather than alleviate inequalities in (South) African education. Due to a misunderstanding with regard to what constitutes their 'mother tongue', many South African students and teachers are sent on senseless loops in a standard-language-obsessed system. Teachers in this system have developed creative and effective didactic strategies that tend not to be taken seriously by researchers and policy makers due to existing societal and academic stigma against township and rural schools. I call on qualitative and reconstructive teaching research to reconstruct, understand and make accessible the complex teaching strategies of teachers in such schools, because these strategies could help in working towards more (e)quality in South African education.

DE

In diesem Artikel gebe ich einen kurzen Einblick in das Apartheid- und Post-Apartheid-Bildungssystem Südafrikas und konzentriere mich dabei speziell auf Sprachpolitik. Auf der Grundlage von Erkenntnissen aus meiner Forschung in einer Township-Schule in Kapstadt argumentiere ich dann, dass Ideologien, die Sprache in separate, abgegrenzte Einheiten aufteilen – wie sie beispielsweise im Begriff der ‚Muttersprache‘ zum Ausdruck kommen – Ungleichheiten im (süd-)afrikanischen Bildungswesen eher aufrechterhalten als abbauen. Aufgrund eines Missverständnisses darüber, was ihre ‚Muttersprache‘ ausmacht, werden viele südafrikanische Schüler:innen und Lehrende in einem von Standardsprachen besessenen System auf sinnlose Umwege ge-

schickt. Die Lehrenden in diesem System haben kreative und effektive didaktische Strategien entwickelt, die von Forschenden und politischen Entscheidungsträger:innen aufgrund der bestehenden gesellschaftlichen und akademischen Stigmatisierung von Township-Schulen oft nicht ernst genommen werden. Ich rufe die qualitative und rekonstruktive Unterrichtsforschung auf, die komplexen Unterrichtsstrategien von Lehrenden in solchen Schulen zu rekonstruieren, zu verstehen und zugänglich zu machen, denn diese Strategien könnten zu mehr Chancengleichheit und höherer Bildungsqualität im südafrikanischen Schulsystem beitragen.

PT

Neste artigo, apresento uma breve visão do sistema educativo sul-africano do apartheid e do pós-apartheid, centrando-me especificamente na política linguística. Com base nos resultados da minha investigação numa escola de um township na Cape Town, argumento que as ideologias que compartilham a linguagem em unidades separadas e delineadas – tais como as expressas na noção de ‘língua materna’ – perpetuam, em vez de reduzirem, as desigualdades na educação (sul) africana. Devido a um mal-entendido sobre o que constitui a sua ‘língua materna’, muitos alunos e professores sul-africanos são enviados para desvios sem sentido num sistema obcecado com as línguas padronizadas. Os professores neste sistema desenvolveram estratégias didáticas criativas e eficazes que, muitas vezes, não são levadas a sério pelos investigadores e decisores políticos devido à estigmatização social e académica existente nas escolas das townships. Apelo à investigação qualitativa e reconstrutiva da sala de aula para reconstruir, compreender e tornar acessíveis as complexas estratégias de ensino dos professores destas escolas, uma vez que estas estratégias podem contribuir para uma maior igualdade de oportunidades e para uma educação de maior qualidade no sistema escolar sul-africano.

JA

本稿では、南アフリカのアパルトヘイト期、またアパルトヘイト後の教育制度について、教育政策のなかの言語(LiEP)に焦点を当てて概観する。著者がケープタウンの黒人居住区の学校でおこなった研究では、分離され境界で区切られた言語イデオロギーが(南)アフリカの教育における不平等の緩和よりむしろ維持に結びついていることを指摘している。言語による区分は、たとえば「母語」概念によるものである。なにが「母語」を形成するのかについて誤解があるために、多くの南アフリカの児童・生徒や教師は、標準とされる言語が抑圧的にはたらくシステムのなかで無意味な対応を受けることになる。この制度に抗して教師は独創的で効

果的な授業戦略を展開させてきたが、黒人居住区の学校や地方の学校に対する社会的・学術的なスティグマのために、多くの教師や政策立案者からはあまりまじめに受け取られていない。著者は、こういった学校での複雑な教授戦略を再構成し、理解し、内実を把握できるようにするために、質的・再構成的授業研究に取りくんではいる。これらの研究戦略によってこそ、南アフリカの教育における平等や質を高めることができると考えるからである。

Some history

What marks South Africa's history most prominently is the creation of boundaries – linguistic and otherwise. Under colonialism¹ and then even more so under the Apartheid regime, skin colour, languages and a vast array of societal attributes were systematically racialised and politicised. This separated some, and grouped together other, parts of the population in racially segregated residential areas and schools (amongst others Bowker & Star 1999; Posel 2001). These divide-and-rule strategies allowed a White minority to rule the vast majority of the population. Education was part and parcel of creating and controlling this divided society. The 'Bantu Education Act' of 1953 carved out a specific education system for Black people, at the time also referred to as 'Bantu'. Through this, the National Party (1948-1994) sought to satisfy its increasing demand for Black unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Bantu education was to prepare Black people for "a niche in a highly segregated, hierarchical and static society" (Smit cited in Bekker 2003: 70).

So called 'mother tongue' education, which had started as a vehicle for Christianisation during early colonialism (Dube 1985), was institutionalised under this Bantu Education Act. While providing basic literacy and education, it nevertheless kept Black people away from high levels of proficiency in English, which was to be reserved for the ruling elite. This sparked strong opposition and loud demands for access to (education in), English. After tensions culminated in the infamous Soweto Uprising (1976-1977), where Black people protested

1 What is today called South Africa had a complex colonial history beginning with the Portuguese exploring the Cape in the 15th century, the Dutch settling there in 1652 and the British taking over in 1805 – all continuously disturbed by local uprisings against colonial rule. 1910 South Africa became semi-independent as a British dominion. The Afrikaner-dominated National Party came to power in 1924, establishing the infamous system of Apartheid in 1948. This system of institutionalized racial segregation was only going to come to an end under enormous economic and social pressure from within South Africa and later from the international community, leading to the first democratic elections in 1994 (for a history of South Africa see Ross 2008). British influence is until today strongly visible in educational policy and school curricula.

against the Afrikaans Medium Decree² implemented in 1975 (Ndlovu 2004: 327), ‘mother tongue’ education was reduced from 6 to 4 years, followed by a switch to English – producing a so-called ‘early-transition’ language policy model (Ouane & Glanz 2011). Historically, therefore, ‘mother tongue’ education has been something to be fought against, not for, as it was used systematically to stifle the upward social mobility of Black people.

Until today, however, the early-transition model is still dominant across South Africa and has essentially remained the same since the late 1970s: in areas where a dominant African language can be identified, that language is used as Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) from Grade R (preschool grade) until the end of Grade 3, to then be replaced by English as LoLT in Grade 4.³ This model seems to offer a compromise between parents’ push for their children to be educated in English (Fataar 2009; Lombard 2007; Ndimande 2012) and international and domestic research that emphasises the importance of beginning schooling in ones ‘mother tongue’ to ensure equality of opportunity in education (Brock-Utne, Desai & Qorro 2003; UNESCO 2008).

Research increasingly shows, however, that it is in fact ideologies of language as separate, bounded entities – as instantiated in the notion of ‘mother tongue’ – that perpetuate rather than alleviate inequalities in (South) African education (Banda 2018; Dowling 2011, 2007; Krause 2021; Prinsloo and Krause 2019b; Sibanda 2019). In this view, the biggest potential for change and increasing (e)quality in South African education lies in questioning such ideologies and learning from teachers who have developed linguistically flexible didactic strategies. Here, I also see the role of qualitative reconstructive teaching research. It can help understand and build on teachers’ existing expertise regarding innovative linguistic and didactic strategies adapted to linguistically diverse settings.

They don’t say inye at home, they say one

A mother tongue is the language one is first socialised into – more or less literally the language one’s mother speaks, no? While this might be a fair enough approximation, there are usually other conceptual implications that come with the notion of ‘mother tongue’, for example that it is *one* language that has a

2 A particularly vicious language policy that introduced Afrikaans as a second medium of instruction next to English in secondary school. This resulted in Black people being instructed through their respective vernacular for the first six or seven years of schooling to then switch to two different foreign languages as media of instruction for different subjects, significantly reducing the use of English (Heugh 2013, p. 217)

3 The Grades R to 3 are referred to as Foundation Phase, Grades 4 to 6 as Intermediate Phase, and Grade 7 as the Senior Phase of primary schooling in South Africa.

name – a nomolanguage⁴ – like ‘Xhosa’, ‘Afrikaans’ or ‘English’. But if we look for example into Cape Town’s townships, people tell us that the language of the township is “mixed with ilanguage yama Coloured, amaXhosa and the White”⁵ (Grade 4 teacher quoted in Krause 2021: 1), rather than being a bounded nomolanguage. From Sibanda’s interviews with urban dwellers in Kagiso, a township in Gauteng, we also hear that when children grow up

“... they mix Zulu with other languages such as Setswana, Xhosa or Swati. They tend to throw in a lot of Xhosa and Swati words partly because they think it is cool and mainly because those languages resemble Zulu. Here in Kagiso they’ve their own Zulu dialect. Ngempela angazi ukuthi yini abayikhulumayo [Honestly, I don’t know what (language) they speak]” (female teacher quoted in Sibanda 2019: 5).

Such complex and fluid linguistic realities on the ground are not reflected in a Language in Education Policy (LiEP) that works with an idea of ‘mother tongue’ as being one standardised nomolanguage: a ‘standardised mother tongue’. In this light, the early-transition language policy model described earlier culminates in bizarre scenarios. For example, a foundation phase teacher in Khayelitsha, who teaches in the children’s so-called ‘mother tongue’ Xhosa, has to actually spend time teaching her students Xhosa numbers before she can teach them mathematics. In the interview I conducted with her for my Master’s research, she said that in maths “they have to write ‘inye’⁶ but when they talk they say ‘one’ because that is the language at home. They don’t say *inye* at home, they say *one*” (Interview Foundation Phase Teacher Khayelitsha Primary 2014).⁷ When the same students then transition to Grade 4, they can (or have to) forget all about the Xhosa numbers again because their LoLT then becomes English. Now they can go back to learning maths while counting with English words again, as they had been doing all along when speaking their ‘mother tongue’. Dowling draws on similar observations in her research and summarizes poignantly:

4 I use the prefix *nomo-*, inspired by ‘nominalis’ (as ‘pertaining to a name or names’), because we are used to distinguishing named language units from the phenomenon language only by an article (‘a’ or ‘the’ language) or an *-s* (languages). Commonsensically, language therefore appears closely tied to ‘a language’. The term ‘nomolanguage’ distinguishes separate, named languages from the phenomenon language more emphatically and thereby reminds us that nomolanguages are not primordial entities

5 When englished, this quote reads as follows: The language of the township is “mixed with the language of the Coloureds (Afrikaans), of the Xhosa people (Xhosa) and the White (English).” Afrikaans, Xhosa and English are three of South Africa’s eleven official languages. The others are: Zulu, Tsonga, Venda, Ndebele, Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana and Swati.

6 ‘inye’ = Standard Xhosa for ‘one’

7 This quote is part of the unpublished data from my MA research project at Khayelitsha Primary. It was recently discussed in an article on ‘The Conversation’: <https://theconversation.com/its-time-to-rethink-whats-meant-by-mother-tongue-education-96475> [accessed 13 August 2019].

"Teaching mathematics via Xhosa lexical items seldom heard at home or in the community is no less confusing to learners than introducing them to English terminology that they will have to learn later anyway, and may already have a better understanding of" (Dowling 2011: 349).

Due to a misunderstanding with regard to what constitutes their 'mother tongue' – namely a fixed nomolanguage instead of an actually flexible, heterogeneous linguistic repertoire – many South African students and teachers are sent on senseless loops in a standard-language-obsessed system. This makes it more difficult for everyone to focus on the content to be taught.

Deficit or potential?

As indicated above, the majority of (South)⁸ African students and teachers in urban areas are flexible languages, skilled at assembling linguistic resources with various different histories to make meaning (Banda 2018; Krause 2021; Sibanda 2019). As it stands, however, these skills are stigmatised in a system that only values competencies in 'standardised mother tongues' and Standard English. Students at township schools get a bad reputation for struggling in standardised reading and literacy tests like the famous PIRLS⁹. These tests examine them in a 'standardised mother tongue' in Grade 4 via texts that neither have anything to do with their lived realities (because they are translated from British or American model texts), nor reflect the fluid language practices that one might actually call their mother tongue (Prinsloo 2019; Prinsloo and Krause 2019a).

Teachers in turn are reprimanded by educational officials for code-switching in the classroom, as we can see when the department urges schools "to reduce the amount of code-switching and code mixing in order to ensure maximum exposure to the LoLT" (Western Cape Government 2017). But also parents criticise teachers in this regard:

"You also find teachers here in the township 'mixing' (switching back and forth) languages. That is the reason we take our children to formerly White-only schools because they will learn proper English there" (Parent interviewed in Ndimande 2012: 536).

Teachers' fluid language practices in the classroom – with which they accommodate the linguistic realities of their students and try to make a language policy work that relies on not one, but two standard languages (Bua-Lit Collective

8 This situation is not limited to South Africa. Research shows that in urban spaces across Africa children grow up with flexible and rich linguistic repertoires that do not conform to the boundaries of a nomolanguage (REFS).

9 Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS)

2018; Krause 2021) – are therefore constructed as hindering the development of sought-after English skills and success in education in general. Such success is only to be achieved in “formerly [under Apartheid] White-only schools” in more affluent areas where English is the LoLT from the beginning and all the way through. However, voices of dissent have recently arisen amongst scholars, challenging these deficit-oriented accounts of so-called ‘marginal’ schools in South African townships. These voices call attention to potentials rather than deficiencies and skills rather than alleged inabilities of teachers and students in schooling spaces that are – via standardised tests – identified as amongst the worst-performing in the country (Bua-Lit Collective 2018; Canagarajah 2015; Krause 2021; Probyn 2015). Such research begins to make visible – mostly from an ethnographic and/or applied linguistics perspective – the efficient linguistic and didactic strategies that teachers and students develop in these linguistically complex schooling spaces.

It is exactly these so-called marginal schools that should be the central concern of qualitative and reconstructive teaching research. This is because we understand way too little about the complex strategies that teachers and students here have developed – not least because of the fact that language practices there do not fit the (essentially European and colonial) nomolanguage grid that still structures education in (South) Africa via ‘standardised mother tongues’ and Standard English. Qualitative and reconstructive teaching research could contribute to easing inequality in South African education by reconstructing, understanding and making accessible the complex teaching strategies of teachers from schools that have traditionally been banned to the periphery. There is indeed a lot to learn – for education in South Africa but also globally – from schooling spaces where teachers have had to be inventive and flexible to help their students through a schooling system that builds on ideas of separate nomolanguages that run counter to their students’ linguistic realities and skills. With migration and increasing linguistic diversity also at schools in the global North, we would do well by asking not what can be brought to, but what can be learned from teachers in South Africa’s linguistically diverse and complex classrooms.

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Mamadou Mbaye and Carla Schelle

The Senegalese School System between “Rooting and Opening” and the Challenge of Quality and Access to Education ¹

Abstracts

EN

To provide a comprehensive understanding of the current problems and challenges of the education system in Senegal, this article contains a brief overview of its discontinuous historical development. Like in many other countries, the perspective of “education for all” is central to educational policy in Senegal. Via various reforms and programs, significant progress has been made towards achieving universal access to education. However, goals concerning the quality of education remain to be reached. Some of the factors that continue to limit the efficiency of the education system are: the as yet unresolved ambivalence of “*enracinement et ouverture*” (rooting and opening), the blurry, unsatisfactory policies regarding the role of languages in education, the disparities in the education system, the lack of initial vocational training of some educators and of an innovative and efficient teacher training program.

DE

Um die aktuellen Probleme und Herausforderungen des senegalesischen Bildungssystems zu verstehen, wird in diesem Artikel ein kurzer Überblick über die diskontinuierliche historische Entwicklung des Bildungswesens gegeben. Wie auch in vielen anderen Ländern steht das Thema „Bildung für alle“ im Mittelpunkt der Bildungspolitik Senegals. Durch verschiedene Reformen und Programme wurden deutliche Fortschritte auf dem Weg zu einem allgemeinen Zugang zu Bildung erzielt. Die Ziele in Bezug auf die Qualität der Bildung sind noch nicht erreicht. Einige der Faktoren, die die Effizienz des Bildungssystems weiterhin einschränken, sind u.a.: die bis jetzt ungelöste Ambivalenz von „*enracinement et ouverture*“ (Verwurzelung und

¹ This text was translated by Dr. Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi.

Öffnung), die unklare Politik in Bezug auf die Rolle der Sprachen im Bildungswesen, die Ungleichheiten im Bildungssystem, das Fehlen einer beruflichen Erstausbildung für einige Lehrer:innen und eines innovativen und effizienten Lehrer:innenbildungsprogramms.

PT

Para compreender os problemas e desafios actuais do sistema educativo senegalês, este artigo apresenta uma síntese da evolução histórica descontínua do sistema educativo. Como em muitos outros países, a “educação para todos” está no centro da política educativa do Senegal. Através de várias reformas e programas, foram realizados progressos significativos no sentido do acesso universal à educação. Os objectivos em termos de qualidade do ensino ainda estão por atingir. Alguns dos factores que continuam a limitar a eficácia do sistema educativo são: a ambivalência ainda não resolvida do “enracinement et ouverture” (ancoragem e abertura), a falta de clareza da política relativa ao papel das línguas na educação, as desigualdades no sistema educativo, a falta de formação profissional inicial para alguns professores e de um programa de formação de professores inovador e eficaz.

JA

本稿では、教育システムが歴史の流れのうえで非連続的につくられてきたことを概観し、セネガルの教育システムが現在抱える問題や課題を理解することをめざす。ほかの多くの国でもそうであるように、「万人のための教育」という主題はセネガルの教育政策の中心に位置している。さまざまな改革やプログラムをとoshi、教育への全般的なアクセスをめざす道のりは明白な進歩を見せている。[しかし、]教育の質に関する目標は、まだ達成されていない。教育システムの効果がいまだ限定的なものにとどまっている要因として、今日まで未解決の「定着と開放(enracinement et ouverture)」という矛盾、教育制度における言語の役割に関する不明瞭な政策、教育システムにおける不平等、一部の教師に対する第一段階教員養成の不在、核心的で効果的な教師教育プログラムの不在を指摘する。

An Introduction

Senegal is a multicultural, multiethnic and multilingual country, where “*enracinement et ouverture*” (first rooting oneself to then open up) constitutes a kind of philosophy of life. It is a guiding principle that Léopold Sédar Senghor, Senegal’s first president, endorsed in his literary activities (Senghor 1977). He strongly proclaimed the idea of the symbiosis of cultures and the building of

a 'universal civilisation' in a process of rooting and opening: rooting in the depths of the native land, using African cultures, values and languages as a starting point, and also opening up to the fruitful values of other cultures (Senghor 1977, 1993; Timera & Diouf 2021). This principle is taken up emphatically in the national education policy law (*Loi d'orientation de l'Éducation*, 91-22 of 16 February 1991), stating that:

"The national education is Senegalese and African, developing the teaching of national languages, which are privileged instruments to give the students a living contact with their culture and to root them in their history, forming a Senegalese conscious of his belonging and his identity. Providing an in-depth knowledge of African history and cultures, highlighting all their richness and contributions to the universal heritage, national education underlines the continent's solidarity and cultivates a sense of African unity. The national education also reflects Senegal's membership of the cultural community of French-speaking countries, while at the same time being open to the values of universal civilisation and in line with the major currents of the contemporary world, thereby developing the spirit of cooperation and peace between people" (Senegal 1991: article 6, own translation).

If we take a closer look at this law, we notice that it originates from the principle of 'rootedness' (national and continental), both linguistically and culturally. Only then should the process of linguistic and cultural 'opening' to the French-speaking countries and the rest of the world take place. However, this ideal proclaimed by the *Loi d'orientation de l'Éducation* does not correspond to the realities and practices of the Senegalese education system, in which, from a linguistic, curricular and structural point of view, 'openness' precedes 'rootedness'. The latter has remained the major challenge since the country's independence. This text proposes to explain this postulate on the basis of the current situation of the Senegalese education system and its historical evolution.

A heterogeneous schooling landscape: duality between laic and religious education

The structure of Senegal's schooling landscape is shaped by various providers with different and competing ideas and goals. Formal vs. informal education sectors, private vs. state institutions, non-sectarian vs. sectarian schools (Arabic, Franco-Arabic or Catholic schools) and so on can be identified. The co-existence of such different educational models is a result of historical developments in the country, like the 8th century Islamisation and the 19th century French colonisation (Adick 2013; Mbaye 2018). During the colonial period, attempts to repress the Arabo-Islamic education model were unsuccessfully

carried out by the colonial power (Mbaye 2018: 21). Due to the resistance and refusal of Muslim parents to send their children to the colonial schools run by missionaries, laic education was introduced in 1854 (Dione 2018: 80). In 1904, an absolute laicisation by the colonial power can be observed (Schelle, Fritzsche & Lehmann-Rommel 2021: 18). The principle of laicity is also maintained after the country's independence.² This is stipulated in Article 1 of the Constitution since 1960: "The Republic of Senegal is laic, democratic and social" (see Coly 2020). This is concretised in the national education law (*Loi d'orientation de l'Éducation*) by stating that "the national education is laic: it respects and guarantees the freedom of conscience of citizens at all levels" (Senegal 1991: article 4, own translation). In order to recognise the heterogeneity of the school landscape and the coexistence of different educational models in a country that is 95% Muslim and 4% Christian (see Dione 2018: 27), this article was supplemented in 2004 by the following principles: "Within public and private educational establishments, in compliance with the principle of laicity of the State, optional religious education may be offered. Parents are free to choose whether or not to enrol their children in this teaching" (Senegal 2004). Until this day, the organisation of the formal schooling system in Senegal (regarding the classification of school types and grades³) is oriented towards the French education and schooling system. There are some exceptions, however, like the duration of primary school, which takes six years to complete in Senegal, one year longer than in France. This can be explained from a language policy perspective.

The challenge of linguistic 'openness' and 'rootedness'

In Senegal children grow up with their respective home languages or national languages (*Diola, Madinka, Pular, Serer, Soninke, Wolof...*)⁴. From the first grade of primary school (*Cours d'Initiation*, absent in France), children are taught French as a subject. Simultaneously, French is also the medium of instruction in all other subjects. Due to its status as the official language, with the acquisition of French come prestige and opportunities of upward social mobility. Those with a good command of French are seen as 'educated'. In contrast to

2 For a description of the particular understanding of laicity in Senegal, see Coly 2020; Dione 2018

3 The formal schooling system features four levels: Précolaire, Elementaire (Primary School: 6 years), Moyen (4 years), Secondaire (3 years). Schooling is obligatory for 10 years, from 6 to 16 years of age (since 2004). Yet, 36% of children in this age group are actually not in the formal schooling system and count as 'not enrolled'. However, most of these children attend the traditional Daaras (Koran schools) or institutions in other informal education sectors (Universalia 2019).

4 In addition to these six recognised and codified national languages there are about 20 minority languages in Senegal.

many other francophone countries in Africa, however, only a small part of the population in Senegal speaks this sought-after language. Even though French is being the official language and the medium of instruction in schools and universities, it is not the language of family life or of everyday communication in the informal sector. Wolof as the lingua franca (Fall 2013) is therefore often perceived to impede the further spread of the use of French in Senegal. In the Franco-Arabic schools, besides French, Arabic is also a medium of instruction. In some pilot schools the recognised and codified national languages have the status of a medium of instruction and are offered as optional subjects at primary school (Diakité & Ndiaye 2010). The acquisition of other foreign languages is considered more and more important. From the first year of the *collège* (level 2), English is compulsory as the first additional language. From the third year of *collège* or latest in the first year of *lycée* (level 3) various additional foreign languages are available as electives. Amongst them are Spanish, Arabic, German, Italian, Russian, and Portuguese (Mbaye 2018). This linguistically highly heterogenous schooling context is in line with the stated aim of the education system to raise Senegal's students to become 'citizens of the world' and is in accordance with the principle of opening ("*ouverture*").

Yet, the fact that pupils are socialised and taught in school in a language different from their mother tongue clearly shows that the principle of linguistic 'rootedness' ("*enracinement*") through the use of local languages as languages of instruction in school is not considered. Contrary to the strong emphasis in the school law on promoting and anchoring the national languages in the classroom as a means of relating to the lifeworld and one's own realities, culture and history, the linguistic "*ouverture*" (the strong orientation towards the French language and other foreign languages) is seen as an opportunity for social advancement and thus promoted more strongly in school reality. This tension between "opening" and "rooting" also reflects in the historical evolution of the education system and in the different educational reforms.

Reforms of the education system as an ongoing struggle for rootedness

In addition to French as the official language and the language of instruction, the Senegalese government, after the independence (1960), adopted the school system established by the French colonial power with all its components. In the years that followed, the school landscape was marked by many social and political crises and national general strikes, such as the 'events of May 1968', where school actors denounced, among other things, the 'neo-colonialism' and the 'pseudo-independence' of their own government (Gueye

2018). Above all, the inadequacy of the education system was (and still is) highlighted, and the orientation of the school towards Senegalese reality and culture was demanded and continues to be demanded (Mbaye 2018). As a result, a new school law was passed in 1971. This had the particular goal of giving the Senegalese school a new orientation and distinguishing it from the school designed by colonisation for the purpose of the so-called “civilizing mission”. In retrospect, this school law has been criticised for not achieving this goal and for keeping the school strongly oriented toward the French model, without taking into account the reality and infrastructures of the Senegalese school context (Mbaye 2018).

Due to the persistence of these problems in the following ten years after the adoption of the school law from 1971, in 1981 the government convened a special conference called “*Etats Généraux de l’Education et de la Formation*”. Subsequently, a commission for the reform of the education system (CNREF: “*Commission Nationale de la Réforme de l’Education et de la Formation*”) was established with the aim of diagnosing the problems of Senegalese schools and proposing, among other things, possible improvements with regard to the adaptation of educational programs to the socio-cultural realities of the country (Mbaye 2018). The CNREF submitted its conclusions after three years. As with the proposals arising from the ‘events of May 1968’, the CNREF’s conclusions were hardly implemented (Fall 2013). This was followed in 1991 by the adoption of the second *Loi d’orientation de l’Éducation* (Law 91-22 of 16 February 1991). This law stipulates that the mission of the national education is to “prepare the conditions for integral development, assumed by the entire nation”. At the same time, it states that education must take a “particular interest in the economic, social and cultural problems encountered by Senegal in its development efforts” (ibid.: article 1, own translation). With regard to what can be called the process of ‘rooting’ or returning to the source and the living environment, the national education is expected to provide “training that links school to life, theory to practice, teaching to production”. In order to achieve this objective, it is then necessary to adapt “contents, objectives and methods to the specific needs of the pupils, according to their age, stage of education, and the most suitable fields of study for the optimal development of their potential” (ibid.). It is important to underline, however, that this law is enacted in a context of significant international ‘opening’ to respond to the basic learning needs adopted at the World Conference on Education in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990. In addition to the goals of “*enracinement*” (‘rooting’) set out in this *Loi d’orientation de l’Éducation*, Senegal, like many other countries, faces the challenge of internationally adopted education goals and programmes (“*ouverture*”) (see Mbaye 2018; Timera & Diouf 2021).

Ongoing reforms in response to international education goals

The further reforms and changes that have come about in Senegalese education policy are linked to various national and international education forums and conferences. The global action program “*Education for All*”, introduced by UNESCO during the conference in Jomtien (1990) constitutes an important turning point in the reforms of the Senegalese school system. As part of the implementation of the EFA goals, the education program “*Programme Décennal de l’Éducation et de la Formation*” was developed by the Senegalese Government in 1996 (see Senegal 2018a). In the year 2000, this education program was modified and renamed into “*Programme de développement de l’éducation et de la formation*” (PDEF). This change coincides with the adaptation of Senegal’s education policy to the new EFA goals (2000-2015) from the World Education Forum in Dakar (2000). The PDEF aims in particular to expand access to basic education, improve the quality of educational services and learning processes, and make the management of the school system more efficient (Mbaye 2018). Since 2013, the Government of Senegal has introduced the *Plan Sénégal Emergent* (Sénégal 2018b). In order to face the emerging challenges (sustainable development and economic growth), the government has implemented the “*Programme d’Amélioration de la Qualité, de l’Équité et de la Transparence*” (PAQUET 2013-2025). Education and formation are thus considered as human resources capable of producing a competitive economy (Sénégal 2018; Universalia 2019). To take into consideration the engagements made by the Government at continental and international levels (for example, the United Nations 2030 Agenda for sustainable development), the PAQUET program was subsequently revised and renamed “*Programme d’amélioration de la Qualité, de l’Équité et de la Transparence de l’éducation et de la formation*” (PAQUET-EF) (ibid.). Orienting itself to the Global Goals for sustainable development (specifically the SDG 4: Quality Education), the PAQUET-EF (2018-2030) is articulated around three objectives which are quality improvement, equitable access and inclusive and effective management (Senegal 2018).

The challenge of quality and access to education

Senegal’s education sector is regionally and inter-regionally well connected and receives support from international financial institutions⁵ (World Bank, BOAD, USAID...). The state invests 40% of its budget in education policy (see Begue-Aguado 2021: 11). Despite all this, the education system is characterised by low efficiency (Universalia 2019), and, due to the various reforms

5 Since 2006, Senegal has been a member of the “Partenariat mondial pour l’éducation” (Universalia 2019: 8).

and repeated interventions that have been partly contradictory, the schooling landscape resembles a big “experimental field” without its own identity (see amongst others Adick 2013; Mbaye 2018). With these reforms and programs, however, the focus was on quantity – i.e., on increasing general access to education – which impacted negatively on the quality of teaching and learning. The issue of quantity was e.g. addressed by the hiring of education volunteers (“*volontaires*”) for primary school and temporary teachers (“*vacataires*”) for middle and secondary school. The “*vacataires*” and “*volontaires*” are non-tenured teachers, hired for a period of 2 years. This teaching personnel did not have any formal teacher training before starting the job. At the end of the 2 years, they can become contractual teachers. On the one hand, this reduced the need for educators, but on the other hand, it is also identified as one of the reasons for the declining quality of teaching and learning (Niang 2014; Universalia 2019). The lack of a clear educational policy formulated on the basis of the needs and requirements of the local context (specifically with regard to the role and function of languages and the tension of ‘openness’ and ‘rootedness’ shown above) as well as the shortcomings and disruptions in the management of the institutions and structures continue to be identified as fundamental factors that reduce the efficiency of the education system. In addition to the lack of human and material resources at schools and the often overcrowded classrooms, many strikes have contributed to the declining quality of teaching and learning (Mbaye 2018). In the same vein, drop-out rates and class repetitions have been increasing (Universalia 2019).

Conclusion

From the description of the historical development of the Senegalese educational system, it can be seen that educational policy is discontinuous and constantly characterised by national and international educational reforms and trends. The school system is also criticised for still remaining (in terms of its language policy and its structural organisation) strongly oriented to the system introduced by the French colonialists. Contrary to the declarations of democratisation of national education in the sense of giving everyone equal opportunities for success (Senegal 1991: article 5), the education system strongly reproduces already existing inequalities (social, linguistic etc.), is highly selective, performance-oriented and still not adapted to Senegalese realities (Mbaye 2018).

The philosophical ideal postulated by its first president in his literary career (first rootedness and then opening) is certainly a guiding principle in everyday life activities (e.g., clothing, alimentation). Although this is also clearly formulated in the *Loi d'orientation de l'Éducation*, it has not yet materialised in the

educational context. The principle of openness and top-down processes still prevail dominant in educational policy. The rooting, the return to the source and to the “national languages” (Senghor 1993) demanded since the ‘events of May 1968’, through the “*Etats Généraux de l’Education et de la Formation*” (1981), are doomed to failure or have had very timid results.

From the World Declaration on *Education for All* (Jomtien, 1991), through the World Education Forum in Dakar (2000) and Incheon (2015), significant progress has been made towards general access to education. How to improve the quality of teaching and learning, how to establish a productive work climate conducive for education and how to develop efficient and innovative teacher training programs, how to orient the educational system to local needs and realities are the big questions that Senegalese schooling has to face today (Mbaye 2018, 2020). Reconstructive school and teaching research can help to approach these questions via systematic and cooperative research in the Senegalese schooling context, where qualitative research has so far been rare. First steps have been taken (see for example Mbaye 2018, 2020; Schelle 2013; Schelle et al. 2020) and in this edited volume we continue along that road.

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Amélia E. Tocova and Felismina J.B. Vantitia

Educational Policy in Mozambique: Local Practices and Challenges

Abstracts

EN

This article has the general objective of describing the local reality of teaching and education in schools based in Nampula province. It also problematises some challenges related to the implementation of Bilingual Education through document analysis and lesson observations. We observed six Portuguese language lessons in three primary schools: (1) Namaita Primary School, (2) Pheyoni Primary school and (3) Mutholo Primary School. In each school we attended two lessons, one lesson in the first grade, and one in the second grade. Namaita, Pheyoni and Mutholo primary schools are located in the Rapale district, in the province of Nampula. The study concludes that although Bilingual Education was proclaimed by the national education system in 1992 in Mozambique and is based on the country's Constitution, its implementation is still challenged by issues like the standardisation of Mozambican languages, the production of teaching material and teacher training.

DE

Das allgemeine Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, die lokale Realität des Unterrichts und der Bildung in Schulen in der Provinz Nampula zu beschreiben. Er problematisiert auch einige der Herausforderungen im Zusammenhang mit der Umsetzung der zweisprachigen Bildung durch Dokumentenanalyse und Unterrichtsbeobachtung. Sechs portugiesischsprachige Klassen wurden in drei Grundschulen beobachtet: (1) Namaita Primary School, (2) Pheyoni Primary School und (3) Mutholo Primary School. An jeder Schule besuchten wir zwei Klassen, eine Klasse in der ersten und eine in der zweiten Jahrgangsstufe. Die Grundschulen Namaita, Pheyoni und Mutholo befinden sich im Distrikt Rapale der Provinz Nampula. Die Studie kommt zu dem Schluss, dass der zweisprachige Unterricht zwar 1992 vom mosambikanischen Bildungssystem proklamiert wurde und in der Verfassung des

Landes verankert ist, seine Umsetzung aber immer noch durch Probleme beeinträchtigt wird, wie z. B. in Bezug auf die Standardisierung der mosambikanischen Sprachen, die Herstellung von Lehrmaterial und die Lehrer:innenausbildung.

PT

Este artigo tem como objetivo geral descrever a realidade local de ensino e educação nas escolas sediadas na província de Nampula. Também problematiza alguns desafios relacionados à implementação da Educação Bilíngue por meio da análise documental e observação de aulas. Foram observadas seis aulas de língua portuguesa em três escolas primárias: (1) Escola Primária de Namaita, (2) Escola Primária de Pheyoni e (3) Escola Primária de Mutholo. Em cada escola assistimos duas aulas, uma aula na primeira série e uma na segunda série. As escolas primárias Namaita, Pheyoni e Mutholo estão localizadas no distrito de Rapale, na província de Nampula. O estudo conclui que, embora a Educação Bilíngue tenha sido proclamada pelo sistema nacional de educação Moçambicano em 1992 e esteja baseada na Constituição do país, sua implementação ainda é desafiada por questões como a padronização das línguas moçambicanas, a produção de material didático e a formação de professores.

JA

本稿では、ナンブーラ州の学校での授業と教育の現場の実態を描写する。また、文書の分析と授業観察を通じて、バイリンガル教育の実施に関連したいくつかの課題を批判的に論じる。著者らは、ナンブーラ州ラパーレ郡にある(1)ナンブーラ初等学校、(2)フェヨニ初等教育学校、(3)ムトロ初等教育学校の三校で、ポルトガル語でおこなわれた第1学年・第2学年の授業をそれぞれ1時間、あわせて6時間観察した。本稿では、モザンビークで1992年に国民教育制度の枠組みで提唱され、国の憲法にもとづいたバイリンガル教育が、実施の点でいまだ課題を抱えていると結論づける。これらの課題は、モザンビークで用いられている言語の標準化、教材作成、教師教育といった論点によって確認できる。

Curricula reforms and main challenges in the teaching and learning process in Mozambique

Mozambique achieved independence in 1975 and subsequently, in 1983, the educational policies of the colonial period changed, culminating in the creation and introduction of the National Education System (SNE), based on the value of local languages and appreciation of Mozambican cultures as a funda-

mental dimension of the revolutionary struggle (Mazula 1995). The National Education System guided several curricula reforms and teaching programmes with a view of replacing the contents of Portuguese culture with those of Mozambican (multiethnic) cultures in order to foster Mozambican national identity building.

Despite this educational policy, Mozambique followed the Marxist socialist system that, according to Gómez (1999), influenced the process and development of the aforementioned policies of the National Education System. The central objective of this Marxist system was the training of the 'New Man', free from obscurantism, superstition and bourgeois mentality. This ideology, associated with a vision of national unity that was put forth at the time, which advocated the existence of a single Mozambican Nation, where expressions of ethnicity were discouraged (Newitt 1997), led to the prescribed teaching contents that had little or nothing to do with communities at the regional or local level (Gómez 1999). This aspect was found to be one of the main weaknesses of the first policy of the National Education System (Mondlane, apud Mazula 1995).

The implementation of the second reform of the National Education System in 1992 replaced the first one: Schools ceased to belong solely to the state; the mono political party content was removed from the teaching programs, the objective of training the 'socialist man' was withdrawn; the development of programmes using local languages was allowed; primary school entrance age was reduced from 7 to 6 years old and the teaching organisation now has two cycles, from grade 8 to 10 (first cycle) and from grade 11 to 12 (second cycle). Consequently, changes occurred regarding principles, objectives, structure, and administration of the National Education System.

Since the introduction of the first National Education System policy in 1983 (see Lei 4/83), Portuguese has been the only official language and the language of instruction throughout the education system, although the vast majority of children do not speak it when they enter school. The implementation of the second National Education System in 1992 (see Lei 6/92) allowed the development of programmes using local languages¹. Since then, the government proclaimed that: "The National Education System shall, within the framework of the principles expressed in this policy, enhance and develop the national languages, promoting their progressive implementation in the education of citizens" (Lei 6/92, art. 4: 8).

The concept of the implementation of national languages was reinforced again by the third reform of the National Education System in 2018 (see Lei

1 Local languages (the majority being Bantu Languages) are also referred to as 'national languages' in Mozambican documents. Portuguese on the other hand is usually referred to as the 'official language'.

18/18). It refers to the bilingual education methodology, whereby one of the languages of instruction can be a national language, including sign languages.

Bilingual Education and Mozambican Languages

To explore the bilingual education in practice, we conducted a case study with an inductive approach based on classroom observation, using an observation form to track the teachers' and students' mastery of the local language, level of interaction, and domain of textbook content. The study was conducted in three primary schools: (1) Namaita Primary School, (2) Pheyoni Primary School and (3) Mutholo Primary School. In total, the team observed six Portuguese language lessons, consisting of two lessons at Namaita Primary School, two lessons at Pheyoni Primary School and two lessons at Mutholo Primary School. In each school we observed one lesson in the first grade and another one in the second grade.

The bilingual teaching method was implemented in some public schools in the pilot phase, as was the case in Namaita Primary School, located in the Rapale District, in the Nampula Province. In 2018, more than two thousand schools in rural areas in 21 districts, including thirteen from Nampula Province and eight from Zambézia, introduced the bilingual method following a program of the Ministry of Education and Human Development (MINEDH). It is called "Vamos Ler" ("Let's read") and is funded by the American Agency for Development (USAID), with the purpose of improving the quality of education. It is thought that the process of teaching and learning in the mother tongues is an opportunity for children in rural areas who, when they reach school age, can only communicate in the local languages. MINEDH and "Vamos Ler" understand that education in the mother tongue enables children to learn more easily at school when they feel connected to their sociolinguistic realities of life outside school.

In addition to Namaita Primary School, the district of Rapale also introduced Pheyoni Primary School as one of the schools in the Rapale district, Nampula province, where bilingual education was introduced. For these classes, teachers are selected who are speakers of one of the variants of *Emakhuwa* (the major national language in terms of number of speakers, spoken in northern region of Mozambique). These teachers are trained for about five days per quarter to guide the teaching and learning process. In the framework of the program, books for teachers and students were provided in a standard variety of the eight language varieties of *Emakhuwa* that was adapted to enable the implementation of the bilingual education in northern Mozambique.

In addition to the large number of students per class (60 to 80 students), teachers are faced with the task of the dispersion of the language varieties, which is

compounded when they speak a different variety of Emakhuwa that is not the domain of the students. Furthermore, the Emakhuwa variety of the pupils can also differ from the standardised one in the textbooks. Therefore, the teacher must search for the variant of the students' domain to present the contents. In our study, we identified the following challenges for bilingual education:

- The pronunciation of the alphabet in Emakhuwa is different to the pronunciation of the alphabet in Portuguese, the official language in Mozambique. This may influence the process of transition from Language one (L1-Emakhuwa) to Language two (L2-Portuguese). For example, the letter "C" in L2 is pronounced as "dje" in L1; while the "S" as "C" in L1; and the "H" as "he" in L1.
- Socialisation into the standardised Emakhuwa is difficult in the northern region, because the mother tongues are not uniform, as is the case with Emakhuwa.
- Emakhuwa has many variants, which in some cases creates ethnolinguistic conflicts for native speakers of Emakhuwa. Consequently, particular attention and effort is required in the standardisation of Mozambican national languages, e.g., in selecting of one variant of Emakhuwa as the standard.
- More practice exercise is needed for both teachers and students in the transition from L1 to L2.
- Since Mozambique is a multilingual country, there is no local language that can serve as a model for all primary schools or teachers. The existence of several national languages with their variants and the fact that they lack standardisation has instigated education policy makers to impose Portuguese language as the language of instruction.
- Some teachers in the entrance classes are not speakers of the local language, which makes it difficult to adapt both the standardised and local language in the bilingual teaching process.
- There is still a shortage of teaching material, especially for bilingual teaching.

Conclusion

After independence, Mozambique has been developing educational policies to suit the needs of its citizens, but the process of implementing them has been ineffective due to the various factors mentioned above. This situation leads to changes in both policies and curricula and implementation strategies, often before a systematic evaluation of their impact on beneficiaries.

Bilingualism is one of the modalities that has been idealised in educational policies, but its implementation requires the selection and standardisation of

Mozambican languages to serve as a means of formal communication, as well as a language of instruction at school.

In schools where this approach is being implemented, difficulties have emerged ranging from the shortage of proficiency in the local languages of the actors and that of operationalisation into the process of teaching. This requires further efforts such as the standardisation of the language, and the training of teachers for this approach.

Based on this, the study puts forward some questions for future reflection:

- What perceptions do teachers and the wider community have about Bilingual Education, and how do these perceptions impact the teaching and learning process?
- What are the impacts of Bilingual Teaching on the development of literacy and numeracy skills of students, taking into account that they constitute the main objective of the educational reform of 2018?

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Joyce Kinyanjui

Challenges and Recommendations for Teachers' Professional Development through Lesson Study in Kenya

Abstracts

EN

Given that the quality of an education system will not exceed the quality of its teachers, the article describes official frameworks and programs to enhance teachers' competences in Kenya. Lesson Studies are introduced as a possible methodology for teachers' professional development. However, a number of challenges are named, which can impede the success of different phases of Lesson Studies in the specific context, mostly concerning the fit between the cultural and linguistic context and educational policies. Finally, some recommendations are given on how teachers' professional development could be better enhanced through Lesson Study.

DE

In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die Qualität eines Bildungssystems nur so gut sein kann wie die Qualität seiner Lehrer:innen, werden in diesem Artikel die offiziellen Rahmenbedingungen und Programme zur Verbesserung der Kompetenzen der Lehrer:innen in Kenia beschrieben. Lesson Studies werden als eine mögliche Vorgehensweise für die berufliche Entwicklung von Lehrer:innen vorgestellt. Es werden jedoch eine Reihe von Herausforderungen genannt, die den Erfolg der verschiedenen Phasen von Lesson Studies in dem jeweiligen Kontext behindern können, vor allem in Bezug auf die Passung zwischen dem kulturellen und sprachlichen Kontext und der Bildungspolitik. Abschließend werden einige Empfehlungen gegeben, wie die berufliche Entwicklung von Lehrer:innen durch Lesson Study besser gefördert werden könnte.

PT

Dado que a qualidade de um sistema educativo não excederá a qualidade dos seus professores, o artigo descreve os quadros e programas oficiais

para melhorar as competências dos professores no Quênia. A abordagem de Lesson Study é apresentada como uma metodologia possível para o desenvolvimento profissional dos professores. No entanto, são referidos vários desafios que podem impedir o sucesso das diferentes fases de Lesson Study em contextos específicos, sobretudo no que respeita à adequação entre o contexto cultural e linguístico e as políticas educativas. Por último, são apresentadas algumas recomendações sobre a forma como o desenvolvimento profissional dos professores pode ser melhorado através de Lesson Study.

JA

本稿では、教育システムの質がそのまま教師の質を決定するわけではないという立場に立ち、ケニアにおける教師のコンピテンスを拡張するための公的な枠組みとプログラムを叙述する。教師の専門性発達の有力な方法として、授業研究(Lesson Studies)が導入されている。しかし、数多くの課題が指摘されており、特有の文脈におかれた授業研究の異なるフェイズの成功が妨げられていることもある。これは、文化や言語に関する文脈と教育政策を適合させる際にもっとも顕著な問題となっている。さいごに、教師の専門性発達を授業研究によってよりうまく拡張するために何ができるかについて、いくつかの提言をおこなう。

Aims and challenges of Lesson Study for teachers' professional development in Kenya

The Teachers Service Commission (TSC) of Kenya is an independent government commission established under the Constitution of Kenya to manage human resources within the education sector. The latest data from the TSC website indicate that in 2017 (TSC 2017), 758,914 teachers were employed in Kenya. However, of these, only 300,000 were employed by the TSC, whilst the remainder were employed by boards of management, non-governmental organisations, churches and other private institutions managing schools.

It has been stated that the quality of an education system will not exceed the quality of its teachers. Indeed, the professional development of teachers remains a critical and effective strategy in providing good quality education. This means, therefore that education and training initiatives should be geared towards the development of skills, knowledge, attitudes and values in trainee teachers that are requisite for the development of abilities to effectively cater for the learning needs of the Kenyan child. To accomplish this, the Department of Education has developed a 'Pre-Service Teacher Education Draft Framework' (KICD 2019) that stipulates competence requirements for teachers at all levels including primary school, early childhood development

and education (ECDE), teacher training and secondary school teachers. The framework details skills and competencies that teachers in Kenya should be capable of utilising. It includes indicators by which competencies for teachers can be identified and measured. These indicators are useful for decision making as well as in measuring the extent to which the targets are met. The competencies are organised in four domains, namely: knowledge, teaching skills, assessment and evaluation, professional values and behaviour. This article focuses on the challenges of assessing teaching skills in Kenya.

In order to improve the teaching and learning process, it is imperative that Lesson Studies are carried out. Ideally, Lesson Studies involve determining the following:

1. Planning: What perspectives are to be observed?
2. Observation: How do we collect data? Is it through video recording?
3. Conference: Holding discussions on what was observed
4. Lesson analysis
5. Feedback: Sharing feedback with the teachers.

The current 'Pre-Service Teacher Education Draft Framework' (KICD 2019) requires that teachers use learner-centred as opposed to teacher-centred pedagogies. The following are some of the indicators the framework suggests for learner-centred pedagogies: active participation of learners, collaborative learning with others mainly through groups, flexible time management to match learner needs, learning activities that are personally relevant to learners, peer learning and peer teaching as part of the instructional method and so forth. Despite these well-outlined indicators, there are challenges to Lesson Studies in Kenya in pursuit of teacher professional development:

1 Validity of tools

- a) The use of non-participant semi-structured observation, which utilises both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, simplifies a very complex issue. The teaching and learning process can be affected by many factors like teacher motivation and learners' emotional well-being, overall health, and nutritional conditions, which may not be observed. Such factors raise questions on the validity of observation tools.
- b) The use of semi-structured tools may reduce the Lesson Studies to a checklist. It may miss out other components that are key to enrich learner experiences. In addition, it may not always be possible to observe all the indicators in one lesson. Making conclusions on whether a teacher is

using learner-centred pedagogies while using a structured tool becomes a challenge.

2 Hawthorne effect

The Ministry of Education has a Directorate of Quality Assurance for assessing teachers' competencies. However, the Directorate is regarded by many as an aid for school inspectors as opposed to a system of teacher support and coaching. As a result, when inspectors go to a school to observe lessons, there is always the risk of teachers and students changing or modifying behaviour when under observation. A popular example given in Kenya is where a teacher supposedly asked students to raise their right hand if they knew the answer and their left hand if they didn't in order to generate the impression of active learner participation.

3 Different learners over time due to migration

In order to accurately determine teachers' professional development, a longitudinal study is required. However, longitudinal studies in Kenya in certain contexts present challenges, and appraisal of teachers' skills become difficult:

- a) In pastoralist communities, families migrate in search of water and pasture. As they migrate, children enrol in different schools in the course of their schooling, which may result in continual shifting of classroom dynamics.
- b) As public servants, teachers can be deployed anywhere. When teachers are transferred to a different context, it may take a while for them to build a relationship with their students that allows for the use of learner-centred pedagogies.

4 Large classrooms

Pupils-teacher ratio in some areas in Kenya is high due to a teacher shortage of about 80,000 teachers. Due to the shortage of human resource, some teachers must teach as many as 60 children in a class. This large number of children does not allow for the use of learner-centred pedagogies, especially the use of group work, as classes are overcrowded with no spaces to move around in. In addition, teachers cannot walk around the classroom to look at learners' work and to support pupils learning at a different pace.

5 Language of instruction

- a) The Language in Education Policy (MoEST 1976) requires that teachers use the language of the catchment area for instruction from early childhood development and education (ECDE to Grade 3). The language of instruction is usually the language spoken by the majority of the pupils. While many children's learning needs are addressed through this policy, children who are in the minority, who do not speak the language of the catchment area, struggle to understand the lesson until they master the language. This barrier affects active participation of learners from minority communities.
- b) As stated earlier, teachers can be deployed in any area where there are vacancies. Many teachers are posted in places where their first language is different from the language of the catchment area. In such a case, language becomes a barrier to the use of learner-centred pedagogies by teachers. Furthermore, learners are unable to respond to the teacher due to the language barrier.
- c) English is seen as the language of the elite. Parents demand that their children learn in English as learning in the mother tongue or the language of the catchment area is viewed negatively. As a result, teachers are pressured to use the national languages, English or Kiswahili, to appease parents. Language barriers eventually become an impediment to the use of learner-centred pedagogies.

6 Cultural values

Most communities in Kenya are highly patriarchal. Children are socialised not to talk when adults are talking. Girls are socialised not to look at a man directly. This socialisation affects the teaching and learning process. Pupils seldom ask or answer questions. In very remote rural communities, the use of learner-centred pedagogies thus becomes a challenge.

7 Lack of comprehensive in-service training

Compelling evidence indicates that a strong system of continuous in-service professional development and training has an immense impact on teacher capacity and performance. However, Kenya lacks comprehensive in-service training. The link between researchers, teachers and trainers is weak. Consequently, the whole purpose of Lesson Study, which is teacher professional development, cannot be achieved.

Recommendations

In order to improve teacher professional development through Lesson Study, this article recommends the following:

1. As part of reforming the education and training sectors, the Department of Education should develop a teacher development and management policy so as to institutionalise continuous professional development (CPD) for all teachers. This policy framework would provide a clear focus on teacher development and utilisation under which in-service education and training (INSET) is a priority area. Such a policy would allow for linkage among the researchers, teachers and trainers which is currently lacking.
2. An atmosphere of trust should be created between the teachers and the assessors to reduce the pressure associated with Lesson Study. Teachers can only benefit from Lesson Study if they are convinced that its aim is to enable professional development and not to censure or fault them, should competency development be required in certain areas.
3. Teachers for early grades should be native speakers of the language of instruction to allow for enriched learner experience. Thus, Lesson Studies that are able to isolate teachers' skills without the influence of language barriers would be possible.

Competencies that define learner-centred pedagogies in various contexts should be at the disposal of teachers and headteachers. This would ensure that all stakeholders in Lesson Studies are aware of the requisite skills. Teachers, trainers and researchers would be aware of the skills to focus on.

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Nariakira Yoshida and Yuichi Miyamoto

System and Reform of Education in Japan

Abstracts

EN

In this article, we briefly introduce the political and academic situation of education in Japan. Along with the ongoing centralisation, the government, school, teachers, and scholars tackle with diverse challenges, including curriculum reform, overwork of teachers, and so on. The state of the curriculum has been questioned as society casted doubt and distrust upon the state of science after the explosion of nuclear power plant in Fukushima. Challenges in academic teaching research have also been raised in response to the call for empirical methodological debates.

DE

In diesem Artikel stellen wir kurz die politische und akademische Situation des Bildungswesens in Japan vor. Zusammen mit der fortschreitenden Zentralisierung sehen sich Regierung, Schule, Lehrer:innen und Wissenschaftler:innen mit verschiedenen Herausforderungen konfrontiert, darunter die Reform des Lehrplans und die Überlastung der Lehrer:innen. Der Status des Lehrplans wird in Frage gestellt, da die Gesellschaft nach der Explosion des Kernkraftwerks in Fukushima Zweifel und Misstrauen gegenüber dem Stand der Wissenschaft hegt. Als Reaktion auf die Forderung nach einer empirischen Methodendiskussion werden auch Herausforderungen in der akademischen Unterrichtsforschung angesprochen.

PT

Fazemos uma breve apresentação da situação política e acadêmica da educação no Japão. Juntamente com a centralização em curso, o governo, a escola, os professores e os acadêmicos enfrentam diversos desafios, incluindo a reforma curricular, o excesso de trabalho dos professores, etc. O estado do currículo é questionado pelo facto de a sociedade ter lançado dúvidas e desconfiança em relação ao estado da ciência após a explosão da unidade de energia nuclear em Fukushima. Os desafios da investigação acadêmica

sobre o ensino também são levantados em resposta ao apelo a debates metodológicos empíricos.

JA

本稿では日本の教育の政治的・学術的状况について紹介する。特に近年進行している中央集権化を概観したうえで、政府、教師、学校が直面している諸課題について、カリキュラム改革、教師の過重労働、東日本大震災以後の科学教育の在り方に焦点を当てて紹介する。授業に関する研究については、研究方法論の構築という点から課題を示す。

1 Centralisation in a decentralised educational system

Although school education and childcare are decentralised to prefectural and municipal administration, centralised chains of command structure in the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) and the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) actually possess immense commanding power by announcing the official guideline for Course of Study and preschool education respectively.

The curriculum in Japanese public schools consists of subjects (Japanese, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, English, and several other Art subjects) and Special Activities. Every school must follow the Course of Study as the minimum standard, although a free area where each school can develop a curriculum is also guaranteed to reflect decentralisation.

Collegiate teacher training in Japan is not exclusively available for the teacher training course in the faculty of education, but is open to other students from other faculties. The teacher training course has still had been to a far lesser extent under governmental control as each university/college can determine the contents and competencies of being a teacher. However, since the MEXT announced the Core Curriculum for Teacher Education in 2016, two-thirds of the curricula in mandatory courses for teacher training course became prescribed, which could be regarded as the promotion of centralisation.

Through the entire process from preschool education to higher education, school education has become more and more centralised. This shift caused controversies in the discussions of educational research, where one may criticise, on the one hand, the disappearance of school autonomy for curriculum development, while others claim, on the other hand, the benefits that schools could enjoy by maintaining sustainable human, material, and other qualitative resources.

2 Challenges in teaching practice

The courses of study were renewed in 2017 and 2018, showing a shift from a content-based to a competency-based curriculum. Under such a globally scaled curriculum reform, Japanese students are also expected to acquire and develop competencies through ‘active learning’ by making full use of information technology (IT), so that they can live their lives in a volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous (VUCA) society. Along with aiding the development of competent individuals, an important challenge for schools is promoting care and welfare for children who suffer from poverty, bullying, and abuse. This has resulted in an increasing emphasis on moral education, i.e. the introduction of the Morality Period as a special subject in school education in 2018. A Minister for Loneliness was settled in February 2022, which implies the Japanese government is seriously tackling the issues around social welfare standing at risk for the younger generation. Furthermore, as reported by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), problematic situations with respect to the overwork of teachers are a central theme that is emphatically discussed (OECD 2019), and public discussion calls for a reform of work-life balance for school teachers. Extra-curricular activities, especially clubs and fraternities in secondary school, have been a great burden for teachers for a very long time because teachers have to take care of everything, from coaching and giving technical and mental advice to students to helping them with financial management for participating in competitions. As such, local school administrations have undertaken solution-oriented processes to manage the challenges around the curriculum, students, and teachers.

In addition to the challenges mentioned above, new educational concepts like competency and information and communication technology (ICT) require the reorganisation of teacher training, recruitment, and in-service training. Normally, students who have taken the training course at university have to take the teacher recruitment exam at the prefectural or municipal level. Those who pass the examination must take an initial teacher training programme for one year by conducting lessons and managing a classroom. For in-service training, official courses held either at school, or in the training centre of the board of education are prepared for all teachers. Lesson Study, which will be discussed later, is positioned in this series of in-service trainings. The number of Graduate Schools of Teacher Education is also increasing, where well-experienced veterans and researchers collaboratively work to train teachers with a master’s degree, which ensures a higher qualification of teachers.

Another challenge lies in rethinking ‘science’ as the base of the curriculum and school education. The Great East Japan Earthquake and the consequent explosion at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station had an extraordinary

influence on Japanese scholars. The 'scientifically totally assured safety' of Nuclear Power Stations has been proven false. To teach something based on science, especially what textbooks with scientific proof claim as safe, is not assured anymore. Of course, the relativistic approach that maintains 'everything is a myth and false' is not a good solution because it seems equivalent to indoctrinating something as the total truth. Here, critical thinking becomes one of the most important themes to be inquired in pedagogy (Koyasu & Shiozaki 2013).

3 Challenges on teaching research

Greater emphasis on the importance of accumulating practically oriented research outcomes is prevailing as represented by Lesson Study. This orientation can be seen in a trend where more than 80 academic associations of educational research programs in Japan formed a platform for implementing practical research to acquire a massive scale of funding resource, and there are trials to develop transnational archives for lesson records (Yoshida 2019). There has been a traditional conflict between qualitative and quantitative research in Japanese educational research. A combination of the two methodologies has also been suggested. However, this conflict appeared to be an unproductive discussion, as researchers felt that the current political agenda had to be examined. Thus, current educational research trends in Japan pursue research using both qualitative and quantitative methods to provide more productive notions for teaching practices in school.

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Matthias Martens

The German Educational System – Structures, Challenges, Developments

Abstracts

EN

In this article, the German educational system is presented with its central structures, challenges, and current development perspectives. Due to the federal system in Germany, a total of 16 different school systems exist side by side. Each individual federal state has sovereignty in cultural and educational matters and has therefore developed its own structure for the organisation of schools. For reasons of space, it is not possible to do justice to this diversity here. I will therefore restrict myself to the general school system (vocational and university education are left out) and will only outline the broad lines and the striking similarities – this is necessary at the expense of state-specific characteristics and desirable accuracy.

DE

In diesem Artikel wird das deutsche Bildungssystem mit seinen zentralen Strukturen, Herausforderungen und aktuellen Entwicklungsperspektiven vorgestellt. Aufgrund des föderalen Systems in Deutschland existieren insgesamt 16 verschiedene Schulsysteme nebeneinander. Jedes einzelne Bundesland hat die Kultur- und Bildungshoheit und hat daher seine eigene Struktur für die Organisation der Schulen entwickelt. Aus Platzgründen ist es nicht möglich, dieser Vielfalt hier gerecht zu werden. Ich werde mich daher auf das allgemeine Schulsystem beschränken (berufliche und universitäre Bildung bleiben außen vor) und nur die Grundzüge und die auffälligen Gemeinsamkeiten skizzieren – dies geht notwendigerweise auf Kosten der länderspezifischen Besonderheiten und der wünschenswerten Genauigkeit.

PT

Neste artigo, o sistema educativo alemão é apresentado com as suas estruturas centrais, desafios e perspectivas de desenvolvimento atuais. Devido ao sistema federal na Alemanha, coexistem 16 sistemas escolares diferentes.

Cada estado federal é soberano em matéria cultural e educativa e, por isso, desenvolveu a sua própria estrutura para a organização das escolas. Por razões de espaço, não é possível fazer aqui justiça a esta diversidade. Por conseguinte, limitar-me-ei ao sistema escolar geral (o ensino profissional e o ensino universitário ficam de fora) e apenas esboçarei as linhas gerais e as semelhanças marcantes – o que é necessário em detrimento das características específicas de cada Estado e de uma desejável exatidão.

JA

本稿では、ドイツの教育システムについて、中心的な構造、課題、現在進んでいる展開の展望から紹介する。ドイツでは連邦制を採っているため、全部で16の教育制度が並立している。各州は文化・教育に関して主権を有しており、学校を組織するにあたって独自の構造をつくっている。紙幅に限りがあるため、ここでこの多様性を精確に述べることはできない。そのため、普通教育をおこなう学校制度（職業教育と高等教育は除く）に焦点を合わせ、基本的な方針と重要な類似性を叙述する。その際、州特有の特徴や望まれる厳密性にあえて立ち入らないこととする。

1 Educational system: Historical and Current Perspectives

In Germany, at about 43,000 schools 11 million pupils are currently taught by 800,000 teachers. From the age of six, pupils are subject to compulsory schooling at general schools for ten years; on average, pupils spend about 10,000 hours of their lives at school (van Ackeren, Klemm & Kühn 2015: 194). These high expenses of time, personnel, organisational and financial effort are justified with large expectations of society: In Germany, schools take on the function of general and domain-specific education and qualification, social integration, and enculturation, but also the function of selection according to the achievements and the allocation of social positions and life opportunities for pupils (Fend 2008).

Structural characteristics of school systems in all federal states – the distinction between vocational and general education, and the distribution of pupils to different secondary school types – date back to the 19th century – a reason why the school system is still burdened with all kinds of mortgages from the historical estate-based society: The 19th century distinguished between higher and lower education. The higher school system was represented by the grammar school (*Gymnasium*) – a school that was reserved for the sons of the bourgeoisie until the beginning of the 20th century. The grammar school ensured a comprehensive humanistic education and preparation for university.

It served bourgeois emancipation and the formation of bourgeois elites in a monarchical state. The lower school system was represented by the elementary school (*Volksschule*), which was primarily committed to the teaching of cultural techniques (reading, arithmetic, writing) at a basic level as well as to popular education and education to become a subordinate of the monarch (van Ackeren, Klemm & Kühn 2015: 15-17; Herlitz, Hopf & Titze 2005). The lower education system was upgraded during industrialisation and commercial developments in the last quarter of the 19th century. These developments led to the establishment of a middle school (*Realschule*) to ensure the demand for qualified school leavers in industry and trade.

Until 1919, there were four separate educational systems in Germany, largely without transition opportunities: auxiliary or special schools, elementary schools, middle schools, and grammar schools. Each of these school forms had its own preliminary classes and represented the corporative social order as completed systems. It was not until 1920, with the introduction of the general primary school for all children, that a uniform school system was created with an institutionalised transition from primary to secondary schools. The traditional principle of the estates, according to which allocation to school had been carried out until then, was replaced by a meritocratic principle according to which it was no longer birth rights but achievements at school that were to decide on a school career (van Ackeren, Klemm & Kühn 2015: 33; see also Herlitz, Hopf & Titze 2005; National Institute 1999). The meritocratic principle and the associated selection of achievements still essentially determine the school careers of children and adolescents in Germany today. The meritocratic principle suggests justice of achievement, but at the same time ignores the influence of social origins on the possibilities of achievement at school.

Even though numerous reforms have shaped the school system since 1945, the basic principle of a three-tiered (four-tiered, if special schools are considered) school system is still recognisable and effective today. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) (1949-1990) had established a comprehensive school system, which was largely replaced by the tiered school system of the Federal Republic of Germany after reunification in 1990. Hence, the German school structure still follows the essentialist assumption that pupils have different capabilities and individual abilities that justify different schooling (National Institute 1999). The general education school forms (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gymnasium*) therefore differ considerably in terms of academic standards, curricula, and teaching and learning culture. The transition from primary school to secondary school today generally takes place after four school years (in two federal states after six school years) – in a global comparison, the German school system thus allows only a short period of common learning for all pupils. Teachers at primary schools make a transition recommendation based

on the performance shown, which also includes assumptions about the anticipated success at the respective secondary school. In most states, however, the decision on a school form lies with the parents (van Ackeren, Klemm & Kühn 2015: 52; see also Baumert, Cortina & Leschinsky 2008). The regular school completion certificate is the secondary school qualification certificate obtained after 10 years of compulsory schooling. In addition, after 12 or 13 school years, the *Abitur* and thus the entrance qualification for university can be acquired. Due to the cultural sovereignty of the federal states, they basically decide independently on the content of lessons and curricular requirements. In some fields of education there have been developments towards nationally uniform curricular frameworks over the past 20 years. As a result of the TIMSS and PISA studies, and with the aim of developing the quality of teaching and improving student performance, national educational standards have been introduced in some school subjects (German, Mathematics, First Foreign Language and Sciences), which define the expected level of competence and the learning outcomes in certain grades. The introduction of educational standards has led to a situation in which competence-oriented instruction is expected also in the other subjects.

2 Ongoing Reforms: Opportunities and Challenges

The structure of the school system and the way educational decisions are organised in Germany leads to considerable social inequalities. After educational participation and educational disadvantage had been crucial topics in the 1960s and 1970s educational and political discourse (see e.g., Deutscher Bildungsrat 1970), it was only the results of the international performance studies (TIMSS and PISA) in the early 2000s that revived this debate, which continues until today. Two central findings have been the subject of intense debate in the wake of the PISA Study 2000 (PISA-Konsortium 2003): the unexpectedly poor performance of German students in subject-related competences and the strong link between educational success and social background that led to certain inequalities among pupils. All in all, a comparatively high percentage of high-risk pupils in the German school system (approx. 25%) was found. In particular, children from families with experience of migration and children of single parents are frequently represented in this risk group (see Baumert, Cortina & Leschinsky 2008: 85; Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2018). While the past 20 years have seen overall positive developments in academic achievement, the influence of social background on educational success and thus the reproduction of social inequalities through school remains strong. This means above all, that children from households with a high level of education attend general schools that lead to university entrance qualifications

significantly more often, and that people with a migration background attend university less frequently (see Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2018). The transition from primary school to secondary school is seen as a neuralgic point for the reproduction of social inequalities. Contrary to its own claim, this transition has proven to be inappropriate to performance: Empirical studies have shown, for example, that pupils with the same reading skills were referred to lower secondary schools (*Hauptschule*), intermediate secondary schools (*Realschule*) and upper secondary schools (*Gymnasium*) (Bos et al. 2012). The investigation of the mathematics performance of 15-year-olds also shows clear overlaps between the performance areas – pupils from *Realschule* certainly show performance at the *Gymnasium* level here (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2003).

These results, among others, led to reform activities from the beginning of the 2000s onwards, which continue to this day. Among the many and varied reforms, the reform of school structure, the expansion of all-day schooling and the development of an inclusive educational system, are examples of the reforms that have been selected and will be briefly outlined here.

Reform of school structure: The reform of school structure aims to contribute to an improvement in educational opportunities after the transition to secondary education, and to ensure a demand-oriented, area-covering supply of education. The introduction of the lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*) and the modernisation of the intermediate secondary school (*Realschule*) in the 1960s attempted to overcome the dualism of popular-practical and academic education and established the principle of science-oriented education for all school types (see Baumert, Cortina & Leschinsky 2008: 53). The greatly changed composition of the student body because of migration movements since the 1960s, and a generally changing demand for education that goes hand in hand with an aspiration towards higher educational qualifications, led to a restructuring of the school system that particularly affected the lower secondary school (Baumert, Cortina & Leschinsky 2008: 85). While the importance of the *Gymnasium* as a 'bourgeois' school is not questioned in any of Germany's 16 states, the lower and intermediate secondary school system has undergone considerable transformation in all states. The school structure reform is being implemented differently in the individual federal states: While some states have adopted a two-tier system (one other school form in addition to the *Gymnasium*), most states have chosen the path of pluralisation of very different school forms (in some cases five school forms in addition to the *Gymnasium*), which allow pupils to obtain different school-leaving certificates. Overall, therefore, an increasing decoupling of educational pathways and

school leaving certificates has been observed since the 2000s (van Ackeren, Klemm & Kühn 2015: 50).

Expansion of all-day schooling: Traditionally, German schools are organised as part-time schools (lessons only in the morning, finishing school around 1 pm). Over the past 20 years, substantial investments have been made in the expansion of all-day schooling. Providing additional afternoon educational opportunities intends to mitigate educational inequalities related to social background and to strengthen the personal and social learning in schools, as well as to reflect the changing conditions under which children and adolescents grow up. In the meantime, the rate of all-day schooling has reached approx. 60%, but there are considerable differences between the federal states (e.g., 15% pupil participation in Bavaria, 88% in Hamburg), depending on the family policy of the states. The organisation of all-day schooling varies greatly according to the school form: While most primary schools and grammar schools follow the open all-day model in which the morning is reserved for subject-related instruction and the afternoon for other educational offerings, comprehensive schools and schools with several educational tracks focus mostly on integrating subject instruction and other educational offerings that are distributed evenly throughout the school day (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016: 82f). This makes it clear that the interlinking of subject-related teaching and extra-curricular learning opportunities has only partially become established in schools. Since in most cases it is the parents who decide whether their children participate in all-day schooling, which is in principle voluntary, the effects of all-day schooling on reducing social inequalities remain rather small.

Inclusion: Germany has a highly developed and differentiated special school system (see van Ackeren, Klemm & Kühn 2015: 55). By ratifying the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2009, the Federal Government and the states committed themselves legally to establishing an inclusive education system at all levels. The aim is to realise the human right to education, i.e., the equal participation of all people in education as a crucial aspect of participation in society. For the German school system, this resulted in the right for children and young people with special educational needs to attend a regular school. In this understanding, individual support in regular school lessons has priority over referral to special needs schools. Central challenges and reform measures are the transformation of special needs schools into advice and support centres the cooperation between regular and special needs teachers, and the further development of

teaching at regular schools to do justice to the new heterogeneity. Overall, the integration of special education and general education is creating some tension. The parents' and their children's right to attend the general education schools does not automatically mean that traditional patterns of attribution to children with special needs are also abandoned: The danger of labelling, i.e., the attribution and consolidation of characteristics of the group of 'special education pupils' in general schooling remains strong and is also reflected in numerous empirical studies.

3 Empirical Educational Research: Discourses and Objectives

Empirical educational research in Germany is highly differentiated in terms of disciplines, content, and research methods. Research relating to schools, classroom-interaction, teaching and learning, or the teaching profession is carried out primarily in educational science, educational psychology, and subject didactics – but with different emphases in sociology and political science as well. Concentrated at universities and non-university research institutes, research in the respective disciplines is highly professionalised and shows the influence of different scientific cultures. As a result, the disciplines are strongly differentiated in their approach and research objectives. The spectrum ranges from student and peer culture research to teacher education and professional research, from school system research to classroom research, etc. Traditionally, a clear distinction is made between empirical research and practical school or teaching development. However, newer approaches, such as Lesson Studies or Design-Based-Research, link both perspectives (e.g., Bakker 2018; Kim et al. 2021).

Although mixed-method designs have now been successfully applied in empirical educational research and the synergies between qualitative (theory generating) and quantitative (theory testing) research are often emphasised, there is still a clear distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches in German educational research. The methodological approaches are clearly contoured against each other, are highly differentiated in themselves, and have an identity-forming significance for most educational researchers. While quantitative empirical research asks about the effects of certain measures and about factors influencing certain performance parameters and the outcome among teachers or students, qualitative research focuses on the analysis of processes and asks about implicit rules and structures according to which agents at different levels of the educational system perceive their reality and jointly produce it. As a result of participation in international comparative

achievement studies (TIMSS, PISA, etc.), the discussion in Germany has focused on the quality of the education system and on the quality of teaching and teacher training. In this context, quantitative empirical research has promised an evidence-based management and development of the education system.

The reforms in the education system outlined above have led to an increased need for empirically proven knowledge of the processes and outcomes. In addition to a variety of other topics, reform of school structure, all-day schooling and inclusion have become important objectives in empirical educational research. In the context of the reform of school, for example, questions are asked about how teachers and schools deal with the closure of school locations, with school mergers and the founding of new schools, how cooperation with colleagues from other school forms is realised, or how teachers deal with an unfamiliar or more heterogeneous student clientele. During the expansion of all-day schooling, the effects on student performance or on social inequalities are investigated, as well as the dimensions in which school life is organised or how teachers cooperate with professionals from other educational fields. Inclusion brings individualised, adaptive and differentiated teaching and learning into focus, the counselling of students and parents and individual support are just as much an objective of research as the cooperation of general and special education teachers. An important field of qualitative educational research is the dealing with difference.

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Section 2: The Researcher in the Field

Introduction to Ethnographic Research and Main Challenges of Gathering Data

Abstracts

EN

In this article, ethnography is introduced as a research method and research attitude with a special focus on the role of the researcher in the field and on data collection. First, important characteristics of ethnographic research and their theoretical roots are presented. It will also be discussed which research questions, in the context of school and teaching, work particularly well with ethnographic research. Furthermore, steps and problems of field access are shown and the role of researchers in the field is reflected. Participant observation as a central method of ethnographic data collection is associated with the visible and audible presence of one or more researchers in the field, whose influence on the field must always be considered and reflected upon.

DE

In diesem Artikel wird die Ethnographie als Forschungsmethode und Forschungshaltung vorgestellt, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der Rolle des:der Forscher:innen im Feld und auf der Datenerhebung liegt. Zunächst werden wichtige Merkmale der ethnographischen Forschung und ihre theoretischen Wurzeln vorgestellt. Es wird auch erörtert, welche Forschungsfragen im Kontext von Schule und Unterricht sich besonders gut mit ethnographischer Forschung bearbeiten lassen. Weiterhin werden Schritte und Probleme des Feldzugangs aufgezeigt und die Rolle der Forschenden im Feld reflektiert. Wenn die teilnehmende Beobachtung die zentrale Methode der ethnographischen Datenerhebung ist, dann ist es leicht nachvollziehbar, dass für alle Beteiligten die sichtbare und hörbare Anwesenheit eines oder mehrerer Forscher:innen das Feld beeinflusst. Dieser Einfluss muss stets berücksichtigt und reflektiert werden.

PT

Neste artigo, a etnografia é apresentada como método de investigação e atitude de investigação, com especial enfoque no papel do investigador no campo e na recolha de dados. Em primeiro lugar, são apresentadas características importantes da investigação etnográfica e as suas raízes teóricas. Discute-se também quais as questões de investigação no contexto da escola e do ensino que funcionam particularmente bem com a investigação etnográfica. Além disso, são apresentados os passos e os problemas do acesso ao campo e é refletido o papel dos investigadores no mesmo. Se a observação participante é o método central da recolha de dados etnográficos, então é fácil compreender que, para todos os participantes, a presença visível e audível de um ou mais investigadores influencia o campo. Esta influência deve ser sempre considerada e refletida.

JA

本稿では、研究者のフィールドでの役割とデータ収集にとくに焦点を当て、研究方法として、また研究する際の態度としてエスノグラフィを紹介する。最初に、エスノグラフィによる研究とその理論的基盤の主要な特徴を示す。あわせて、学校や教授という文脈でどのような研究設問がエスノグラフィを用いた研究に適しているのかを論じる。さらに、フィールドへのアクセスの各段階に生じる問題を示し、フィールドでの研究者の役割を省察する。参与観察がエスノグラフィによるデータ収集の主たる方法であるかぎり、姿や声が見えるために研究者の存在はフィールドに影響を与える。この影響は、たえず考慮され、省察されねばならないのである。

1 What is ethnography?

"Ethnography is [...] a research attitude and strategy rather than a research method and is used to approach a social phenomenon empirically showing itself to the observer in its diversity, complexity, and contradiction"¹ (Breidenstein et al. 2013: 8-9). The understanding of ethnography as an attitude or strategy thus reflects the objective of being able to examine a social phenomenon in its complexity. The procedure is based on the "primacy of the *object* of research over the methodology of empirical access" (Breidenstein & Kelle 1998: 138, emphasis in original). The focus lies on the social phenomenon and the field itself based on which decisions are made and actions are taken in the research process.

1 German quotes have been translated by the authors.

To understand ethnography as an attitude and a strategy, one should first look briefly at the roots of modern ethnography:

The term “ethnography” is derived from the Greek words (éthnos – people, graphé – script) and refers to the roots of ethnography in ethnology, namely the description of peoples or ethnic groups that were unknown from a European point of view (Fabian 1990: 757f.). This was and to some extent still is closely linked to a colonialist and Eurocentric perspective. Ethnologists travelled to the regions to be researched, lived there with the ethnic groups for some time and thereby tried to understand and describe their way of living, rules, religions, and their rituals. To prevent a colonialist attitude, it is important to understand the patterns of interpretation of the group observed from their own perspective (Breidenstein 2012: 29).

From the 1920s onwards, sociologists – starting in Chicago – began to investigate subcultures within their own society, for example, the juvenile gang system in Chicago (Thrasher 1927). On the one hand, it is about the description of subcultures that are unknown or foreign to many, although these groups are living within one’s own society. On the other hand, it is about the discovery of social order and social interactions of our own everyday life, which is related to “ethnomethodology” (Garfinkel 1967) and symbolic interactionism (Rock 2007: 29f.).

This also includes the ethnographic studies of school and education, which were first carried out in the UK and the US about 50 years ago, since the 1970s. Although all researchers themselves attended school for a long time and know it well, they try to describe and understand the everyday structure of actions in schools that hardly anyone reflects upon (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma 2007: 188). The social world is not understood as a simple, existing fact, but rather as a phenomenon that is constantly produced interactively while following its own logic and order which must be recognised.

On the one hand, ethnographic studies can focus on describing (sub)cultures that are less known in order to make these more approachable to a broader readership. On the other hand, ethnographic studies can also focus on particularly familiar (sub-)cultures, which are so familiar that internalised practices and implicit structures of meaning can only be revealed through precise description.

Even though there are different approaches, research interests and theoretical perspectives, the following characteristics of ethnography can be summarised:

Research Questions

Ethnography is mostly explorative and takes a case-related approach. The central question, which is often quoted, is “What the hell is going on here?”

(Geertz 1983, cited after Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 20). Therefore, it is a matter of describing and understanding what happens every day in a certain social environment or in a specific social group, so-called “thick description” (Geertz 1973: 5f.). It is *not* about the *evaluation* of situations or actions. This is difficult for many beginners, especially in ethnographic teaching research. One’s own experience with school and teacher action may lead to a quick assessment of what can be considered as a good or bad practice. However, ethnography wants to describe and understand and not to evaluate actions. Nevertheless, an evaluation regarding a scientific theory or scientific discourses is possible but needs to happen in a *second step*. An example with regard to discrimination: In the German movie “Almanya” about Turkish migrants in Germany there is a classroom scene, where the teacher asks the young pupils, where they are from and puts little flags on a map of Europe. Cenk says “Germany” – the teacher: “Yes, but what’s the name of the nice country where your father is from?”. Cenk says “Anatolia” (in the eastern part of Turkey) and the teacher puts Cenk’s flag outside of the map because Anatolia is not on it. This is the *description* of the scene. Regarding theories of *everyday racism*, you can emphasise that the teacher doesn’t accept the self-placement of the pupil Cenk in Germany, where he was born and lives, but pins him down, as being a foreigner. Therefore, in this *second step*, one can *evaluate* the scene as everyday racism.

The outlined characteristics of ethnographic research are also shown in the following, exemplary titles. All studies are based on an explorative approach with the aim of achieving a “thick description”:

- ‘And what language do you speak at home?’ Ethnocentrism and cultural openness in teacher-parent interactions in disadvantaged and ethnically segregated schools (Payet & Deshayes 2019)
- Doing Gender in a rural Scottish secondary school: An ethnographic study of classroom interactions (Menzies & Santoro 2018)
- School between tradition and modernity – a case study in rural regions of Mozambique (Mulhanga 2002)
- Homework practices: role conflicts concerning parental involvement (Bräu, Haring & Weyl 2017)

All these studies began with open research questions: what is going on ... during teacher-parent interactions, between girls and boys in schools, in rural Mozambique regarding education and school life or while doing homework at home.

The Issue

The issue of ethnography is the study of social practices. A practice “is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other” (Reckwitz 2002: 249) and involves environment and things/objects/artefacts. In the context of educational and classroom research, it is therefore a matter of behavioural routines of pupils, students, teachers, headmasters, and other persons who are influenced by tacit/implicit knowledge about school and teaching. The participants in the field may be unaware of these routines (because it is a *tacit* knowledge) and yet still integrate them automatically into their actions. These social practices are culturally shaped so they can vary in different cultures and societies (Reckwitz 2002: 253). One example of a social practice in the classroom:

- Observation: The teacher usually uses the blackboard; pupils seldom write on the blackboard during lessons and only do so at the teacher’s request.
- Implicit knowledge of the pupils (like unwritten laws): The blackboard is an object or artefact in the classroom, used for holding knowledge that is correct and shall be learned or retained (Kalthoff 2011: 461). The teacher determines when and what is written on the blackboard and whether a pupil should write on it. Writing on the blackboard without permission could result in sanctions.

Relation to Theory

In addition to the “thick description”, a further goal of analysing ethnographic observation protocols can be the elaboration or discovery of “middle-range theories” (Charmaz 2008: 397). In principle, neither the participatory observation nor the sorting, systematisation and interpretation of the data should be pre-structured by pre-defined theories and concepts. Theories should not impede the creative process of data-based discovery and theory formation (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 23).

At the same time, this rule of openness does not mean that a researcher is not informed about the literature on the research subject beforehand. Rather, as far as the subject of research is concerned, it is important to be scientifically informed as well as to remain open to new findings (Blumer 1954: 7).

Methods

Ethnography is methodically diverse. The central element is participant observation. The observed persons are visited within the context of their living conditions. Regarding ethnographic school and classroom research, the researcher participates in class or other activities at school to observe and take notes.

The presence of the researcher provides an introspection into social practice. The purpose is to achieve a “deep familiarity” (Goffman 1989: 130) with the field in order to be able to grasp it in all its facets. However, this requires a longer-lasting or repeated participation (Rock 2007: 32). In addition, artefacts can be collected or photographed (for example worksheets, blackboard presentations, classroom situations), or short ad-hoc interviews can be included (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 16).

Writing

As the term of *ethnography* already shows, writing is a central characteristic of ethnographic research. Writing is not to be understood in the sense of a documentation aimed at producing “a ‘copy’ of social processes as neutral as possible” (Hirschauer 2001: 436). On the contrary, observations and findings must be first put into language. In this process, ‘Silent things’, such as movements, rooms, objects, and smells as well as unspoken things, are made linguistically accessible in the first place. The special achievement of ethnography emerges from the “verbalization of the social” (Hirschauer 2001: 436): It puts the observed phenomena into words and generates a verbalised composition of social practice (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 30; Hirschauer 2001: 432-437). The verbalisation is a selective and interpretative activity that depends, among other things, on the attributions of meaning, linguistic abilities and selection mechanisms of the researcher. It is a specific construction of the experiences made in the field which is shaped by the location, the experiences and ideas of the researcher. At the same time, it is also shaped by the anticipated expectations of the readers (Amann & Hirschauer 1995: 30f.; Hirschauer 2001: 439f.; Kalthoff 2003: 71). This verbalisation is therefore a decisive step in the production of a “thick description” (Geertz 1973: 5f.), it is a structured description of social practices, including their understanding.

2 The researcher(s) in the field

Above all, ethnography is field research. This implies the direct contact/interaction between researchers and the subjects of research in their everyday environment. Based on an open approach, the researcher is able to find out what is important and relevant to the actors in the field and how they structure their everyday lives (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995: 1f.). Therefore, it is the established logic of the field that is the predominant criterion of the researcher’s decisions on behaviour and methods – not his/her own view or the logic of the research. The rules, including the behavioural possibilities, options, opportunities and restrictions in the field, control the researcher’s behaviour and

areas. At the same time, they are a source of knowledge: what the researcher may and may not do and how the researcher is addressed already refers to the logic of the field (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 19f.).

For example, the way schools approach the arrival of the researcher may differ completely. The school management may welcome him/her and introduce him/her to the staff in a friendly manner or the researcher may find a different culture where initial enquiries are answered slowly and access is made more difficult by bureaucratic hurdles. The way in which the researcher is treated and addressed already shows something about the everyday life at a school and what is going on there.

The openness of ethnography is also reflected in the fact that the researcher first enters the field with an open question and then, step by step, develops a concrete research question. He or she will use several research visits, interrupted by phases of data interpretation. By making initial observations and then interpreting those, the ethnographer can make more targeted and focused observations during his next field visit based on the initial findings. It may also be possible that he/she makes observations that were not in the focus at first but which have turned out to be relevant. In the process of repeatedly entering the field and distancing oneself from it, the research question is increasingly becoming focused (Breidenstein et al. 2013: 45).

Furthermore, to work analytically outside the field, is a prerequisite to avoid "going native" (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 17) so-to-speak, a strong identification of the researcher with the actions of the observed persons. The researcher must find a *balance* between appropriate closeness to and getting familiar with the field, on the one hand, and the avoidance of "going native" and over-identification on the other. Familiarity with the field and the trust of the observed persons is essential in order to obtain relevant information as well as to recognise authentic action. The analytical distance is necessary in order not to be too attached to the situation and to be able to work out the implicit knowledge in the field (Emerson & Pollner 2001: 240).

Since the researcher is visible and audible in the field and communicates with the observed persons, the field is not unaffected by the researcher. If you take part in school lessons, it is likely that the teacher or individual students speak to you. Probably the researcher should introduce himself/herself in class and is then asked about the question of the observations. On the one hand, it is ethically inappropriate to keep the focus of the observation secret and leaving teachers and students in the dark. On the other hand, the answer may influence the actions of teachers and students. Insofar, reflecting upon one's role as a researcher in the field is very important, being aware of what he/she has done and said and how teachers and students react to him/her.

The necessity of reflexivity also applies to the question of the subjectivity of the researcher. Ethnographic research aims to make limited generalisable statements on the field within the context of school and teaching. However: Is there a risk that the observations and interpretations could be highly *subjective*? It should be noted that an *objective* observation is not possible (not even with standardised or videotaped observation) and that always a certain perspective is taken (while another one is not). The perspective of one's own observation and perception should, however, always be taken into consideration. This occurs, for example, when the researcher records subjective impressions in the field notes, such as astonishment at a particular event or situation, and subsequently realises that these are regarded as normal by the (other) actors in the field. In addition, interpretation groups are helpful in the interpreting process, if several people can bring together different perspectives and interpretations.

As a participant in the field, it is sometimes necessary for researchers to "expose themselves to, adapt to and, in a certain sense, submit to the cultural orders and situational practices lived in each case" (Breidenstein et al. 2013: 40) in order to become a seismograph of the social processes of the field and to be able to understand them (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 25).

By exposing herself or himself to social events and adapting to them, the ethnographer also makes the participants' settings of relevance and the associated selective mechanisms accessible. Here, 'selectivity' is understood as a fundamental characteristic of social situations and is demanded by the participants because it organises social practice and provides it with meaning. One requirement for the researcher is to be guided by these selection mechanisms to be able to decipher the attribution of meaning and setting of relevance in the field (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 22). From this perspective, selectivity, i.e., the focus on the phenomena, rules and processes set as relevant in the field, do not become disturbances or a lack of methodicality, on the contrary they are precisely the epistemological moments, the "modus vivendi" (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 17) of research, by revealing what the field actually is and what specific social order underlies it. This understanding is also adopted in the face of emerging uncertainties, irritations, or other reactions of the field participants due to the presence of the researcher. The reactive movements of the field do not represent actions that are artificially generated by the presence of the ethnographer, but rather refer to field-immanent structures and existing knowledge that are activated, explained, questioned, or justified by the field participants under the observation of the researcher (Breidenstein et al. 2013: 37-39; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995: 3; Kalthoff 2003: 76). To gain in-depth knowledge and understanding of the field, a longer-term participation is required. The establishment of an observer position recognised in

the field and an established trust of the field participants creates the basis for the researchers to become involved in processes, to ask for information and contextual knowledge and to gain access to relevant information (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 26).

3 Steps of data collection

Access to the field

Good planning is important for access to the field. Thus, it must first be decided which schools are suitable (or particularly suitable) for an ethnographic study. Geographical proximity, a certain pedagogical concept (one should inform oneself as much as possible about the school) or also the acquaintance with the headmaster or a teacher at school are decisive factors. These people can be gatekeepers, thus actors, who simplify, enable, or deny access. Hierarchies must be respected in all cases. Even if, for example, one gets in contact with the field through an acquaintance with a teacher, the gatekeeper at school is always the school management, who ultimately decides whether the researchers get access or not. In many cases, a research project and access to school must be applied for at the education administration.

Once the research permission is granted, the researcher must be able to find his/her way in the field and to seize the opportunities of the observation:

“Access to the field was via Mrs Acivatan. The researcher enters the teacher’s room with her and was the first to attend her lessons. Once familiar with the environment, the researcher moved in the field without Mrs Acivatan. These first movements in the field were uncontrolled, so that depending on the circumstances different teachers were accompanied in the unpredictable course of everyday school life. To be a visitor in the teacher’s room literally meant to be introduced in passing to colleagues, to react to spontaneous offers for classroom visits [...]” (Akbaba 2017: 111f.).

This shows that diverse and heterogeneous observations in class become possible only through the communication and flexibility of the researcher.

Field notes

The researcher takes notes during the observation, the so-called ‘field notes’. Short dialogues and context information can be recorded, and actions can be described. The notes serve to remember what has been seen or heard. In addition to the notes – strictly with permission – photographs of the room, the blackboard, or learning materials can be taken. Because of data protection, either no persons should be on the photographs or the faces must be made unrecognisable for publication (pixelated).

The field notes are taken simultaneously with the event and will therefore include abbreviations, incomplete sentences, or only key notes. Observation protocols must then be written promptly based on these notes, preferably on the same day or the next, to allow a detailed description of the observed phenomena (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw: 14).

Observation protocols

In some publications, only the term 'field notes' is used. Since the notes taken on site differ from the protocols to be interpreted later, it is preferable to differentiate between field notes (written by hand on-site) and observation protocols (later formulated on a computer). This distinction is also underlined by the respective relationship of the two text forms to the field: While the field notes have a double affiliation – "as local practice on site they belong to the field, as writing practice to the academic context" (Hirschauer 2001: 443) – the observation protocols also provide a distance from the field in spatial terms when they are written in a different environment, for example at the researcher's desk. Thus, the preparation of observation protocols represents an interruption of the process in which the researcher performs a *going native* while entering the field, by a *coming home* (Amann & Hirschauer 1997: 28; Emerson & Pollner 2001: 254).

An observation protocol is a more detailed, prompt description based on the field notes and memory. The events/actions are described as precisely as possible, so that everyone not being present in the field can understand them. Names should be anonymised. These protocols are the basis for further work, analysis, and interpretation. This is where the step is taken to describe everyday routines and to put non-verbal things into language.

Characteristics of good observation protocols are above all:

- The event is described as precisely as possible so that one can imagine and understand the situation well.
- Since descriptions are already interpretations, one should try to distinguish linguistically between more 'objective' descriptions (blue pullover) and interpreting comments.
- Example: "It seems to me that the man near the window is bored" (but he could also be tired or introvert). Or idioms like probably ...; In my opinion ...
- The behaviour and reactions of the researcher to the event should be included in the protocol, so that they can be integrated into the data interpretation and enable to reflect upon the researcher's role in the field.
- Perhaps photographs or drawings/sketches complete the protocols.

Change between periods of field research and periods of data interpretation

Once you have created a series of protocols, the first data interpretation can begin. A common procedure for the evaluation of the data material obtained in the field is the coding procedure according to the Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Grounded Theory is not to be understood as a fixed analysis process, but rather represents “a conceptually condensed, methodologically grounded and consistent collection of proposals” (Strübing 2014: 2). They are applied in accordance with the requirements of the respective research context (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 26). Since this article focuses on data collection, the Grounded Theory is not elaborated further at this point.

With the ideas you got from the first analyses, you return (if possible) into the field with more focused observations. This could change several times, creating a circular research process. Such a process is associated with the requirement for researchers to constantly make decisions based on the data, and lead to a shift in the focus of the observations. Moreover, it can also occur that an opening for progressive theorisation may become necessary. The ethnographic research process thus requires a high degree of flexibility, openness and creativity.

4 Conclusion

For researchers, the ethnographic research process is linked with the requirement to react flexible to the situational conditions and circumstances of the field. The decisions and challenges associated with the researchers' participation in social events refer to the structures and dynamics of the field. Therefore, the reactions prove to be moments of enabling insights into the field's immanent modes of action. A reflexive attitude towards one's own role as a researcher provides a further understanding of the field in its peculiarities. With this approach, the knowledge about the object of research can also be condensed.

By establishing access to the field and making the first observations, it is possible to reconstruct how the role of the researcher is constituted in the field, what possibilities but also limits of participation are connected with it and how this affects the observation activity. On the one hand, the foreignness of researchers can become a challenge, especially if it is necessary to establish familiarity with the field and its participants. On the other hand, it also represents a central resource for taking an alienated view and for questioning the self-evident nature of routine practices. The simultaneous requirement to gain trust, while at the same time maintaining a disconcerted view of the phe-

nomena, is a central element in the ethnographic research process. This also includes reflecting on one's role as a researcher in the field by being aware of own assumptions, and thus, always keeping the perspective of the field present.

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School in Rural Mozambique as a Field for Ethnographic Research

Abstracts

EN

The modern rural school in Mozambique, introduced by Portuguese colonialism, faces challenges in delivering quality education – quality according to international standards – and at the same time, it must be in permanent dialogue with its rural context in order to serve the needs of its people. One of the ways to produce scientific evidence about educational practices in these rural schools is to use the ethnographic approach. However, in a study of schools in rural Mozambique, the ethnographic approach faced specific challenges concerning a) the identification of the target population and the sample, b) the non-transparencies of the role of the researcher, c) the objectives of the research process and d) the research process itself. The article describes these challenges and reflects upon their influence on research results and possibilities.

DE

Die moderne Schule auf dem Land in Mosambik, die durch den portugiesischen Kolonialismus eingeführt wurde, steht vor der Herausforderung, qualitativ hochwertige Bildung zu vermitteln – Qualität nach internationalen Standards – und muss gleichzeitig in ständigem Dialog mit ihrem ländlichen Umfeld stehen, um den Bedürfnissen der Bevölkerung gerecht zu werden. Eine der Möglichkeiten, wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse über die Bildungspraktiken in diesen ländlichen Schulen zu gewinnen, ist der ethnografische Ansatz. Bei einer Studie über Schulen im ländlichen Mosambik stand der ethnografische Ansatz jedoch vor besonderen Herausforderungen in Bezug auf: a) die Identifizierung der Adressat:innen und der Stichprobe, b) die Intransparenz der Rolle des Forschers, c) die Ziele des Forschungsprozesses und d) den Forschungsprozess selbst. Der Artikel beschreibt diese Herausforderungen und reflektiert über ihren Einfluss auf die Forschungsergebnisse und -möglichkeiten.

PT

A escola moderna no meio rural moçambicano, introduzida pelo colonialismo português, enfrenta desafios para oferecer uma educação de qualidade – qualidade de acordo com os padrões internacionais – e, ao mesmo tempo, deve estar em diálogo permanente com o seu contexto rural, a fim de servir as necessidades da sua população. Uma das formas de produzir evidência científica sobre as práticas educativas nestas escolas rurais é utilizar a abordagem etnográfica. No entanto, num estudo sobre escolas em zonas rurais de Moçambique, a abordagem etnográfica enfrentou desafios específicos relacionados com a) a identificação da população-alvo e da amostra, b) a não transparência do papel do investigador, c) os objectivos do processo de investigação e d) o próprio processo de investigação. O artigo descreve estes desafios e reflete sobre a sua influência nos resultados e possibilidades da investigação.

JA

モザンビークの農村地帯には、ポルトガルの植民地支配によって学校が導入されたが、質の高い教育をおこなうにあたって現在も困難を抱えている。ここでいう質とは、国際標準として要求されるものである。同時に、人びとのニーズに応えるべく、農村地帯の文脈ではたえざる意見交換が必要になっている。これら農村地帯の学校での教育実践について学術的知見を得る方法の一つとして、エスノグラフィのアプローチがある。しかし、モザンビークの農村地帯の学校調査では、4つの点に課題が生じた；a) 研究対象となるグループとサンプルの特定；b) 研究者の役割の不透明性；c) 研究プロセスの対象；d) 研究プロセスそのもの。本稿では、これらの課題を叙述し、研究の成果に対する影響と可能性について省察する。

1 Introduction

Relating to the post-colonial situation of education in Mozambique – e.g., the persistence of a centralised education system in a structurally heterogeneous region (see part 2), the study I refer to (Mulhanga 1998) was aimed to understand the relationship between the school and the rural community. This, in turn, required knowledge of socio-cultural aspects of the community and schooling practices, utilising an ethnographic approach as one of the methodological resources. The problems and challenges I faced during this study, which was conducted as my doctoral thesis, will serve as a basis for discussing general challenges of ongoing relevance that can be faced in implementing

the ethnographic method, in the search for descriptions to understand the sociocultural realities of lesser-known social groups.

The study, following the methodological approach of ethnography, was carried out in a primary school in a rural area of Mozambique, in Messano, Province Gaza. Its main objective was to examine the standing of the school in particular rural areas, and in doing so, taking into consideration the influence of the colonisation by Portugal on one of the fundamental institutions of modern societies. This rural area of Mozambique is considered to be an area where the traditions of pre-colonial times have been upheld and continue to influence the customs, practices, meanings and social and economic structures.

Due to the paucity of studies concerning these socio-cultural aspects and their relation to education in rural Mozambique, it was necessary to investigate the aforementioned aspects in this rural area and the meanings which people living there attribute to their own life. The method most suited to gathering this specific data is the ethnographic approach, the expectation being that by way of the results gained by ethnographic research on culture and social practices, it would then be possible to examine if and how traditional cultural and social practices are reflected in modern rural schools. More specifically, the study aimed to determine how the traditions of understanding and managing life in the rural context of the school were valued in school culture and practices. In turn, this knowledge would make it possible to question the relevance of the centralised curriculum (issued by the Ministry of Education) and school culture for cultural and social practices of the communities in the respective rural areas.

Hence, the ethnographic approach has become an essential tool in the process of producing the knowledge necessary for the 'dialogue' between the school and its rural context. Furthermore, it provides the crucial aspect of analysing and evaluating the information gleaned from this dialogue. Despite its key role in research on the school and rural area, the application of the ethnographic method presented some challenges that may have, in one way or another, influenced the results of the study conducted. It is these challenges that I intend to broach and reflect upon in this article, as they generated the interest to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of this approach in the specific conditions of those school contexts, especially so when one must also take into account the crucial realm of 'unseen', 'unheard' and 'unspoken' (for example in the sense of supernatural/metaphysical knowledge/wisdom) knowledge production particular to rural areas in Mozambique. These may be unfamiliar to researchers, thus leading to the probability that this knowledge will remain unaccounted for and the chance to assess the value and impact of this knowledge on contextualisation would be forfeited: Is the ethnographic method viable for producing relevant information about the rural school of

Mozambique? What obstacles does a researcher encounter in the field of study?

Due to the way the ethnographic approach is methodologically constructed, it foresees and relies upon contextualisation. Hence, the rural school is the centre of focus, and therefore, some information about the history and development of the school system in Mozambique and the cultural heterogeneity of the rural areas, must be given (part 2). In this part, some of the key findings of the study of school in rural Mozambique will also be highlighted. This is followed by a presentation of what the participants experienced during the research process and the particular challenges in using the ethnographic method in this context (part 3).

The conclusion shall point out the possibilities and the challenges arising when Western research and knowledge practices encounter communities with very different (re)search and knowledge practices and discuss what we can learn from that for the ethnographic approach.

2 Background: School in rural Mozambique

It is common, especially in rural Mozambique, that parents and guardians motivate and urge their children to enter and attend school by employing expressions such as: "You have to go to school to be a doctor and have work...", "You have to go to school to be someone...", "If you don't go to school, you will carry bags...". Other frequently used phrases are: "If you don't go to school, you'll be like us, your parents, and you'll live off the hoe...".

Without these and other expressions being generalisable, they reveal an idea of successful school attendance that simultaneously presents itself as a criticism, by the parents themselves, of the conditions and the context in which they live. These expressions also show that those who use them, in this case the parents, feel that they do not possess the knowledge that is required to live in the world that the school prepares pupils for. The types of motivation described above, not referring to the culture and context of their children's lives, make it difficult to understand whether the desire to see the school contribute to the reading, writing and quantification, meaning, re-signification and interpretation of the world of rural life in which they are living, exists in the parents' perspective.

The category of motivational expressions described above does not leave space for the culture and context of their children's lives in rural areas. It is exactly this unaccounted aspect that, in turn, makes it difficult to understand whether the parents' desire for their children to attend school also signifies that they would encourage and accept a situation whereby their children would foster an opposing understanding and attach a deviating significance

and value to life in the rural environment from that of their parents. Moreover, the question arises as to whether parents take the aforesaid perspective and the ensuing impact and far-reaching consequences this would impose on their and their children's lives into consideration, when urging their children to attend school.

A relevant observation in relation to these types of expressions is the fact that parents understand the school as an institution where their children can obtain a recognised qualification, but that this qualification is one for a world they do not know because they do not live in it: the modern world. This lack of knowledge considerably limits the scope and content of informed discourse between parents and children and the support parents can offer their children in relation to their children's studies and in relation to the modern world.

But why does the modern school in rural areas present these characteristics and difficulties in relation to its context? In order to clarify this, it is important to take into account the historical background of schooling in Mozambique and to mention some characteristics of rural areas in Mozambique.

Several sources on the history of schooling in Mozambique indicate that the introduction and establishment of schools was linked its colonisation (Mazula 1995; Mondlane 1990). According to these sources, the school, as an effective institution of colonisation, actively sought to promote the policy of assimilation. Indigenous Mozambicans who, among other things, were able to speak the Portuguese language, who ceased to practice local customs and traditions, had a job, etc., were considered as being assimilated. Thus, the Portuguese language was introduced as a teaching language, and curriculums were developed based on the Portuguese colonial reality. At certain stages of the implementation of colonial schooling, the above-mentioned sources underline the importance of the role and impact of the Catholic Church, especially in schooling in rural areas of Mozambique. It is also pointed out that, except for some isolated cases of missionaries such as the anthropologist Henri Junod¹, Portuguese colonialism did not promote studies of the identity, culture and social practices of Mozambicans, thus making it difficult for colonial schooling to integrate relevant knowledge about Mozambicans and their culture. Such knowledge, in turn, is of course fundamental for rural schools in order to recognise and value their context

Mozambique's independence in 1975 brought with it the aim of reform, and former disciplines and contents of the colonial curriculum have been replaced by curriculums more linked to the Mozambican reality. Notwithstanding these profound changes, the school education system had failed to eliminate one of

1 Around 1913, Henri Alexander Junod wrote the work entitled, *Uses and Customs of the Bantu*, more specifically of the Tsongas living in southern Mozambique.

the main causes which disconnected the school from its socio-cultural context: the sustained use of Portuguese, a non-native language, as the only language of schooling in a system of curriculum education and centralised management. The first significant signs of a response to these issues appeared in with the introduction of the new Basic Education curriculum in 2004, containing two fundamental innovations: bilingual teaching and the local curriculum. The introduction of bilingual teaching demonstrates the importance of the fundamental role of the first language(s) and how crucial the mother tongue(s) is/are for the teaching and learning process, which was recognised and accordingly acted upon. This change also demonstrated the recognition of the fundamental place of the meanings of themselves and of the world developed by children before they entered school. With the introduction of the adapted curriculum, the managers of the National Education System recognised not only the importance, but above all the need, for the culture and social practices of the students' life contexts to be part of the school's curriculum content.

Regarding rural areas in Mozambique, it may be questioned why they earn special consideration in debates concerning the relationship between schooling and society. This can be explained by the fact that the difficulties of integrating the school in some contexts of Mozambican society lie not only in the colonial history of its establishment but also in the fact that the country is characterised by a large diversity in the population. This diversity, in turn, is characterised by the existence of ethnically diverse populations living within the same geographical context. The country has a vast linguistic diversity, and also comprises of areas at different stages of social and economic development and different forms of knowledge production and knowledge management. These differences are, in turn, reflected in the cognitive and emotional structures of its inhabitants. The German political scientist Nohlen (1992) refers to a type of society, like the Mozambican one, as "structurally heterogeneous" because it has different structures of economic and social organisation. While in certain areas, for example, the centrality of the family is still the most important institution for regulating coexistence and meeting the needs of its members, in cities and towns, the institutions of modernity (e.g., formal jurisdiction, bureaucratic and work relations) are playing an increasingly important role in the management of society.

From the historical perspective on the development of societies (e.g., Tenbruck 1989), Mozambique can be regarded as a country, that finds itself in different forms of societal and social organisation at the same time.

In rural areas of Mozambique, where Bantu languages are predominantly spoken rather than the official language, Portuguese, there is a predominance of knowledge production that is not based on scientific research (see 3.2).

There are regions where populations alternate between their main areas of residence and those of agricultural production throughout the year.

It should be noted that, despite the heterogeneous structure of Mozambican society, the National Education System in the country is centralised², thus hindering regional and local adaptations. This centrality, together with other factors linked to its history, means that schooling is facing crises related to the quality of the education offered, especially regarding the value attached to school and schooling above all in the rural context. In this regard, several studies focused on this post-colonial schooling, with some researchers discussing its quality from the perspective of its functions (Castiano 1997). Other researchers aimed to understand the anthropology and ideology inherent to the genesis of post-colonial schools (Mazula 1995), while others, such as Palme (1992), focused their research on the meaning given to the Mozambican school by the community and schools informants.

The study, whose methodological challenges are the object of reflection, was carried out in the southern part of Mozambique between 1995 and 1998. Through ethnographic research, we sought to understand the relationship of the modern school of colonial origin with the culture of its context. More specifically, the study sought to identify whether or not the contents and educational objectives of the school were in relation to the cultural traditions and educational objectives of the rural context of the school. There were two main research questions: a) whether school prepares children to gain life skills, especially for life in their rural environment; b) whether the rural school contributed to the development of a stable personality for the children.

Among the results achieved, it is important to highlight two of them, namely:

- i) There was a notable absence of the sociocultural traditions of the rural context in the contents, practices and school life, especially with the exclusion of the children's mother tongue as the language of teaching and communication in the school context, a fact that did not contribute to the development of life skills in children for their main life context.
- ii) It was noted that, with the exclusion of culture, and with it the roots gained in their first socialisation, the school negatively interfered in the process of personality development of children (Mulhanga 1998: 174-177).

2 It is based on a model of educational management, in which decision-making power is concentrated in a single central authority, the central government. Thus, schools are run uniformly, following the same policies and guidelines set by the central government.

3 Ethnographic method possibilities and limits in rural areas

Particularly in the light of the significance that ethnographic research assumes, it is important to describe the challenges of the application of the ethnographic method that may have influenced the results of the study conducted. It is these challenges that I intend to broach and reflect upon in this part. More specifically, the challenges faced are the non-transparencies of the role of the researcher and the objectives of the research process (3.1), the identification of the target population and the sample (3.2) and the preparation and implementation of the data collection processes (3.3).

3.1 The role of the researcher and the objectives of the research process

A first aspect that emerged in the research process in the rural context of the school was related to the non-transparency of the function of the researcher and his objectives in that rural context.

The concept of non-transparency of the researcher's role was used by Lang-Wojtasik (2002) to discuss the limits of ethnographic research in contexts where informants lack an idea of *researchers'* roles and the objectives they intend to achieve with their work. In addressing this concept, Lang-Wojtasik not only wanted to draw attention to the dangers of the universalisation of Western-inspired research methods, but also to show the importance of a permanent reflection and re-evaluation of the dynamics between the researcher, the method and the context in conducting research, especially of ethnographic character. According to Lang-Wojtasik (2002), the lack or false understanding of the role of the researcher is problematic, since it can lead to the community developing unrealistic expectations of the researcher and the objectives of the research, which, in turn, can make the development of productive interactions difficult, which, in Stigel's words, are necessary for the establishment of relations of reciprocity that are indispensable for "the metabolism, the unknown cultural community" (Stigel in Thomas 2019: 60).

The concept of non-transparency in relation to the role of the researcher and his objectives, presented by Lang-Wojtasik, describes the experience of research in the Mozambican rural school precisely and raises some questions that may be important for ethnographic research, such as whether the lack of meaning in the local language for the concept of researcher could mean that there is a lack of or no understanding of this concept in the community, of how knowledge is produced and managed in these contexts. Finally, the question arises as to if and to what extent non-transparency affects research.

a) The non-transparency

Starting with the last question, which is related to non-transparency and its consequences, it should be noted that the difficulty to understand what a researcher is and what his function and objectives are, was apparent when the research commenced and continued throughout the study. The following field note of a public meeting where the researcher was presented to the community, demonstrates some of the effects of non-transparency:

At a public meeting, the researcher was presented to the community. The village leader informed those present that the community had received someone who was coming to carry out a job to become a doctor. He added that the doctor would then help them treat diseases. After the researcher quickly informed the village leader that he was in fact preparing to write a book, the leader then related to the villagers that the researcher intended through his work to become a doctor of books. Some participants in the meeting then commented that the researcher could then help their children with matters relating to school³ (it could be because the word books prompted a connection with the school).

Furthermore, it emerged that among some villagers who had already been observing the researcher interviewing villagers and recording the data, the idea had formed that the researcher was, in fact, a spy, and this supposition had circulated in the community. Therefore, it is clear that, should the supposition be considered as being valid, the researcher would be regarded as a threat and consequently, this would innately limit the willingness of villagers to provide the researcher with information.

Unexpectedly, during the course of the research, some members of the community contacted the researcher about a list into which, according to the information circulating, the researcher entered the names of children who would later study in Germany, requesting the researcher to add the names of their children to the list.

Regarding the community's expectations of the researcher's role and objectives, it seems, that in the absence of the concept of researcher and his research activity, community members observed what the researcher was doing in his field work, and from this they drew their conclusions: In their eyes he either became a spy or was capable of helping in the treatment of diseases, or providing support for children attending school in the role of a philanthropist. From these categorisations or attributions, the community developed its expectations of the researcher, whether it was to have diseases treated by him, to enable their children to study in Europe or to avoid being spied on.

3 With the comments of community members, it seemed that the community was trying to pursue the practical purpose of the researcher's work for their lives and less an understanding of the importance of the knowledge he would produce.

This brief extract from an analysis of the ethnographic research experience in the rural context of Mozambique showed ambivalence, uncertainty and misunderstanding about the role and objectives of the researcher, which infer that the research process was threatened by the difference in concepts, and that this difference generated different expectations and objectives between the researcher and community members. Moreover, the presence of the researcher in the community raised expectations that were impossible for the researcher to meet. On the latter aspect, when the presence of the researcher contributes to the emergence of unrealistic expectations for the resolution of existing problems in the communities, the previously cited publication by Lang-Wojtasik (2002: 137) deems this as an ethical issue in ethnographic research, as expectations and needs are evoked that cannot be satisfied by the researcher.

b) Conceptualisation of 'research' in the field: authorities and procedures of knowledge production

The second question that the experience of this study has forced me to ask is whether the lack of meaning of the concept of a researcher in the local language could point to the non-existence or unfamiliarity of this activity in the community. Or, if a meaning of the concept of research exists, how is it characterised, and what is the term and meaning attributed by the community to the activity? This question seems important to me because the search for cultural meanings in a given context is undoubtedly an encounter with the system of production and management of these meanings. It seems equally important to me because each ethnographer is a representative of a concrete system of production of cultural meanings

In the Changane language, which was spoken in the area where the study was carried out, there are concepts corresponding to the word '*search*', namely *kulava*, which also means to search, or *kulandzelela*, which means *to walk behind*. However, there is no evidence of the existence of the concept of '*researcher*', in the sense of someone who is exclusively or partially dedicated to the search, processing, supply and management of information and knowledge, just as there is no evidence of the existence of a professional role, exercised by researchers, as is practiced in Western societies⁴. So how are cultural meanings generated, how are clarifications attained, how are answers concerning the various existential challenges found? Reviewing the approach of this rural community to existential problems, such as sickness, death and misfortune, a social group has been identified that itself actively searches for

4 This is not in contradiction with the fact that in reality, communities have systems of knowledge produced and managed by them, for example through elders. The statement is valid only when it is a question of identifying a specific social role regarding research.

meanings and explanations, comprising of traditional doctors (also known as healers or shaman (Mueller 1997)), who, in the local language, are called *tinhang*, and, of course, the community members who turn to the healers in their own search to understand and come to terms with difficulties they encounter. In fact, when traditional doctors are presented with life problems, such as death, illness, naming new-borns, lack of rain, infertility, etc., by members of their communities, they seek an explanation through two procedures: *Kufemba* and *Kulhalhuva*. In the search for explanations through *Kufemba*, the *Nyanga* – the traditional physician possessed by a spirit – goes into a state of trance in which the causes and the effects are revealed, and accordingly, the *Nyanga* gives a prognosis of the future and advice on the remedial measures to be taken. *Kulhalhuva*, a procedure of searching for explanations, occurs with the use of *Tinhlolo* (artefacts such as bones, shells, wood, skin, etc.) to map out reality. Here, the *Nyanga* uses both *Tinhlolo* and revelations from a spirit without going into a trance. The spirit, in this case, helps the *Nyanga* to ‘see’, i.e., to decipher the meanings that the *Tinhlolos* show.

These search procedures for explanations and solutions differ from those of scientific research in several crucial aspects (method, purpose, data processing). However, the causes that lead to the need for research – the search for explanations and solutions to existential problems affecting human beings – are similar. Moreover, the motivation – to discover the origin of problems and find solutions – is a common factor. This assertion holds despite the fact that academic scientific research differs from the search proceedings of societies in rural communities in Mozambique because scientific research aims to discover and establish sustainable, long term, and not primarily immediate solutions.

Regarding the design and implementation of ethnographic research in contexts similar to this one, it should be noted that, in addition to the non-transparency of the function and objectives of the researcher, there was no correspondence between the local system of knowledge production and the Western scientific traditions. The experience in this research on rural areas may have given clues that describing the meanings, rules, norms of a concrete social world in order to create an insight into local knowledge and practices, which, as we have seen, is the task of ethnography, may require that the ethnographer also identifies the system of the production of knowledge in the social context of the research. In general, this is a complex system, which, besides the knowledge it produces, also contains subsystems, such as legitimations, beliefs and interpretations of this same knowledge.

3.2 Identification of target population and sample (informants) in rural areas

If ethnographic studies aim to determine and describe the meanings, rules, and norms of a concrete social world in order to create an encyclopaedia of local knowledge (Thomas 2019), immediately, the question arises who the holders of the relevant information about this social world are. The answer to this question is not generalisable for all social contexts. In this case, for example, it was shown that the social actors and contributors in the production and legitimisation of meanings involved not only living human beings but also included knowledge bequeathed from the spirits of ancestors (Mulhanga 1998). Ancestral spirits are consulted, and there are spaces and symbols dedicated to them in houses and courtyards, as it is believed that the spirits have, among others, the ability to explain the causes of various phenomena such as illness, death, and learning difficulties. At the same time, there are vital events concerning their happiness or suffering, which the living view as a manifestation of the will of the spirits of their ancestors. It is also believed that spirits possess the ability to be born again. Communication with the ancestors is, in turn, made by people gifted and trained especially for this purpose, called *tinhangas*, in whose bodies the spirits of the ancestors can manifest themselves. It is in the state of trance that meanings are attributed and explanations about phenomena of nature and society are given. In this way, a special challenge is posed to the identification of sources of information and to the establishment of interactions and "reciprocal relationships" (Stagel in Thomas 2019: 11), which are indispensable for the success of the ethnographer's work. The following field note shows how knowledge is produced, shared, and accepted in this region, which is different to standardised Western scientific procedures:

At a public meeting held in the community during the research period, which was attended by about 100 people, a community member was accused of being a wizard and the community decided to expel him from the community. His residence was to be burned within one week. The citizen accepted and agreed to leave the village. The public accusation was that the accused was linked to the appearance of misfortunes such as illness and death, a bad harvest and a divorce case in that community. For the acts of witchcraft, it was said at that meeting that the accused used an animal kept in his home (nwanulambu), which he fed on human blood (Mulhanga 1998).

In relation to this event, it should be noted that the relevance and credibility of the information for the community, which led to the expulsion of the said member, was apparent throughout the prosecution, trial, conviction and accordingly from the acceptance of the sentence by the accused.

In searches for the sources of the information that served as a basis for the conviction and expulsion of the community member, it was possible to ascertain that the information had been brought to the village authorities by several families as a denunciation. The latter, in the search for explanations for the problems they were facing, together with the healers, were informed that the cause of these problems was linked to the spell of the community member now expelled. As sources of information, the healer contacted said that the spirit he possessed would go into a trance to help discover the wizard, what they were doing, who they were attacking and how they were acting. The same healer also related that, from the moment he entered a state of trance until he regained his consciousness, he was disconnected from everything that happened to him and around him. According to him, he only came to know what he had discovered in trance by the explanation of his assistants at the end of his state of trance.

Thus, it is clear that during the study, difficulties were to be encountered in identifying the sample and in the process of searching for information and experiences when this search necessarily involved contacting healers, sorcerers, and ancestral spirits.

These difficulties elicited another great challenge, that of understanding (comprehension), taking into account that understanding results from interpretation, which, in turn, is made on the basis of internalised individual and collective knowledge, beliefs and experiences. Thus, the informants wondered about the reasons for certain questions of the researcher, and the researcher did not understand or did not frame certain answers of the informants, their stories and narratives. As an example of these difficulties, during the research in question, I noticed the following: When carrying out the interviews, I took notes in a notebook and also recorded the interviewees' statements. In the transcription process, I discovered that there were certain contents missing in my written interview notes, i.e., I did not recall what I had heard; that is, those contents were deliberately ignored, but they were in the transcriptions of the recorded interviews. The missing statements indicated, for example, that a crocodile went to the village to look for a person and keep him in the water for a long period of time and then return him to the community. This piece of information did not have access to my consciousness; that is, the verbal codes, the characteristics of the voice and the corresponding body language were not interpreted. Hence, they were not even perceived as being 'incomprehensible' at the very least.

3.3 Preparation and implementation of data collection processes

Other aspects worthy of emphasis in this reflection concerned the challenges faced in identifying informants and establishing them accordingly as well as the course of data collection processes, as the following field notes illustrate:

Case 1: In this case, an interview was negotiated and scheduled with a divorced woman who had had an experience relevant to the research in question. The interview was carried out in her parents' family home where she lived. As the day and time arrived, instead of meeting the daughter alone as agreed, father and daughter presented themselves together for the interview, transforming the interview from an individual to a group format. Neither the woman nor the father explained the reason for his presence at the interview. After the greetings, the father said that the interview could commence. During the interview, the father answered all the questions asked although they were addressed to his daughter ⁵ (Field notes 1996).

Case 2: In the second case (and on two further occasions), while individual interview sessions were taking place, a group of people gathered and participated in the interview, answering questions for the respondents or simply confirming the interviewees' answers without having been invited or having requested permission to partake in the interview (Field notes 1996).

Although these two cases are isolated and, therefore, not to generalise, they give rise to some questions regarding the preparation and conduct of data collection processes. The first question is: Which factors cause informants in the community to deviate from their agreement with the researcher? The second question is how knowledge and experience within the community are validated.

The first question arises as a consequence of two cases in which people from the community who were not selected as informants participated in an interview between identified informants and the researcher without being asked to, and provided information in place of the actual respondent. This question is relevant because the participation of the father of the informant (case 1) and uninvited participants who took part in the interviews (case 2) seems contrary to the premises of scientific research. The premises are (1) the autonomy of an informant over the age of 18 to decide how, where and when to provide information and (2) that each person's life experience is unique, therefore to be relayed only by themselves. These premises guide the preparation of the data collection sessions after the identification of the informants. The premise of uniqueness originates in the concept of individualism prevalent in Western philosophy, which leads the ethnographer to believe in a certain uniqueness

5 In this example, the informant and the interviewer did not insist on the original agreement of an interview with the young woman.

of the information that each individual possesses. At the same time, applying ethnography as the systematic study of special cultures and exploration of cultural phenomena from a subjective point of view, the researcher negotiates with the informants and briefs them on the purposes of the research, guaranteeing secrecy, agreeing on how, when and where the collection of information will be done. The negotiation with the selected informants was carried out directly with subjects over the age of 18 and with the parents or guardians of minors.

Despite this protocol, case 1 shows that the agreement with the informant was neither adhered to by the respondent and her father nor was this divergence challenged by the researcher. At the same time, the father's behaviour can be understood as having fully assumed his daughter's acquiescence. The actions of the respondent's father may be understood as possibly being due to the father being the head (patriarch) of the household and thus assuming full responsibility for his daughter. Hence, his daughter would not be permitted to agree or to give an interview or provide information in a session. Furthermore, this may be a gender related issue whereby the father regarded it as inappropriate for his daughter to negotiate or take part in a session without her father being present. Moreover, the father may have deemed it improper for his daughter to be left alone or directly communicate respectively with an unknown male interviewer, either because his daughter was still living in his home or because she, despite being of age, was not allowed to make independent decisions regarding the communication of information to a stranger. It seems clear that after the identification of informants, regardless of their age, depending on their position in the social structure, negotiations on the conditions of the interviews may nonetheless have to be made with the parents or the family. This, in turn, shows that in certain forms of social organisation, uniqueness and autonomy are not taken into account, hence, hierarchical relationships prevail throughout people's lives.

Therefore, in contexts similar to this one, prior knowledge of the relations between the individual and the collective is necessary for the ethnographer.

The second question related to the two cases concerns how individual knowledge and experiences within the community are validated: In fact, it is the question of what enables a father to feel legitimately authorised to answer for his daughter despite her being of full age. In other words, what leads a community member to believe that their knowledge and experiences are more relevant than the knowledge and experience of others. In the Western tradition, valid knowledge is legitimated by argument and considered more unchallengeable if the arguments are based on scientific methods and findings.

This hypothesis can be supported by Fauser's thesis (1991: 108, 111), with reference to Luhmann's theory of knowledge, when he differentiates between two ways of legitimating the validity of knowledge. One perspective concerns the validity to be found in things themselves and from there, the knowledge is legitimated by the argumentation of its producer or holder. The other considers validation as being done by persons, i.e., knowledge is valid when a person who is considered to be legitimised states it as such. This second perspective of legitimisation is relational, as valid knowledge presupposes the existence of two people relating to that knowledge. At the same time, this perspective presumes hierarchical relations; that is, power relations, because there are people whose opinion is more valid and unquestionable in relation to others. In this strategy of attention on relationships, it can be seen that in the community in question, not only are people guided by hierarchical relationships, but their experiences and knowledge are also in a hierarchical relationship; that is, their validity is proportional to the person's place in the social hierarchy.

Fauser's (1991) argument on the role of relations seems coherent if we take into account that interference, whether in case 1 or case 2, has transformed individual interviews into group interviews, since it is in groups, in collectives, that the value of hierarchical relations (fundamental to the legitimisation of knowledge) is at its highest.

Finally, it should be noted that in this type of legitimisation in the community in question, it is almost impossible to separate knowledge from its legitimate holder in social contexts where knowledge does not exist in the written but only in the oral form. This is why legitimised people always speak, because they are the best placed in hierarchies based on age, sex, gender, power, etc. In this specific research context, where valid knowledge is subordinated to the legitimate person, where people are willing to cede their personal narratives to those considered legitimate, the challenge for the ethnographer, in his search for relevant experience, is necessarily bound to what and whose experience is accepted. Thus, perspectives of different persons in the field might not be accessible to the ethnographer and stay hidden, however, this phenomenon can provide valuable insights into the structures of the social field in which schooling is embedded.

4 Concluding remarks

At the heart of this reflection was the intention of revealing the difficulties that may arise when Western knowledge, methods and research practices are confronted with communities with different knowledge and research practices. The experiences gained in ethnographic research carried out in a rural community in Mozambique served as the basis for this reflection.

This brings us back to the main question of reflection: Can rural schools in Mozambique be a field of ethnographic research or not?

In the dimension of communication between the researcher and the community, the discussion showed that misunderstandings arise when the concepts used by the researcher do not have equivalents or have other meanings in the research community. These are misunderstandings that, as in this case, can lead to expectations or behaviours that counter the research objectives.

One of the most profound findings of the reflection is the existence of the community's own ways to produce, validate, legitimise and communicate knowledge. These are forms (or systems) that represent a challenge to be taken into account in the design of the ethnographic research strategy (in defining objectives, choosing informants, deciding on research instruments, processing data, etc.).

In this system, for example, it was not possible to identify/describe the method used by the healer in trance state to produce knowledge. Knowing that in the Western tradition of research, the method has a huge centrality in the production and validation of knowledge, the ethnographer will face challenges to integrate these forms of knowledge (production) and to communicate them in his/her own scientific community.

This experience, despite being unique, indicates the pertinence of an increased reflective attitude in ethnographic research in communities with sociocultural realities different from those of the West. However, this experience also shows that this approach enables researchers to gain knowledge relevant to the context.

Concerning the findings on how knowledge is produced and legitimised: What significance do they have in the school context? The importance lies in the fact that when children enter school, leaving their social context, they bring with them knowledge and an understanding of forms of its production and legitimisation, with all the consequences that this same knowledge has for the belief system, feelings and behaviours that influence their lives. Furthermore, understanding the form of production and legitimisation of knowledge in tradition and its difference to modern knowledge, can, on the one hand, help to understand why it is difficult to integrate one system into the other and on the other hand, this understanding can facilitate the exploration of possibilities for connections and dialogues between them, which is the biggest challenge of the modern school in the traditional rural context.

For rural areas in Mozambique, a school whose content and forms of knowledge are based on a construction that is articulated within, and integrates, the culture, would be emancipatory and would allow to appropriate the acquired knowledge into the context of their specific existence, thus coming closer to the demands of the process of individualisation, in which the school can no

longer be merely an imposed mediator of the dominant culture but a critical-innovative and democratic agent in favour of individuals and society. Thus, ethnographic research in rural areas opened up possibilities to discuss forms of dialogue between the modern school and its rural context, for example, instead of searching for what is best between the rural tradition of production and science, seeking the knowledge that works to improve people's lives and the reason it works. This search would turn the school in a rural context into a research institution.

Finally, through the experiences gained in the field research process, the ethnographic approach proved to be a field of encounter between the cultures of the researcher and the informant, whose possibility of effective communication requires the recognition of the other, the expansion of the ways of interpreting the other, in permanent curiosity towards what is different. This is the permanent challenge between the teacher, the modern school curriculum and the student and the sociocultural context of the rural school.

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From Taxis to Classrooms in Khayelitsha: The Researcher as a Learner¹

Abstracts

EN

South African township schools are highly sensitive settings where researchers can easily invoke associations of officialdom, creating anxiety amongst teachers who fear that their classroom practices could be reported back to educational authorities. From taxis to classrooms is an account of how I needed to negotiate a complex assemblage of practices, vehicles, people, anxieties, highways and histories until I eventually gained access to classrooms. I describe how, by taking informal public transport (mini-bus taxis) to, and engaging in language learning at the school, I forged a learner-researcher identity for myself that broadened my horizon and also helped me to gradually gain the participants' trust. Abstracting from this particular case, I argue for the importance of immersing oneself in the context of a research location in such a way that it creates common experiences between researchers and participants with their otherwise very different life worlds. I end with a critical note on the term 'teaching research' in international contexts. Much of the essential work in such international research encounters outside the well-researched mainstream happens outside of classrooms. I suggest that to really broaden our horizons and to take our dependency on the particular research location seriously, we should make time for school-based ethnographies instead of trying to head straight for classrooms.

DE

Südafrikanische Township Schulen sind sensible Forschungsfelder. Forscher:innen sind hier ungewöhnlich und werden leicht als bedrohlich ein-

1 Parts of this chapter are based on a methodological subchapter with the title 'From taxis to classrooms' in my monograph Krause, 2021. The version at hand, however, has been substantially extended and substantial changes and adaptations have been made to focus much more on the researcher as a learner in cross-cultural classroom research.

gestuft, weil sie Informationen über Unterrichtspraktiken an Autoritäten weiterleiten könnten. Dieses Kapitel erzählt die Geschichte davon, wie ich Zugang zu so einer Schule bekommen habe. *From Taxis to Classrooms* zeigt, wie ich mich in einer komplexen Assemblage aus Praktiken, Fahrzeugen, Menschen, Ängsten, Highways und südafrikanischer Geschichte zurechtfinden musste, um letztendlich Zugang zu Klassenräumen zu bekommen. Es wird beschrieben wie meine Nutzung öffentlicher Verkehrsmittel (Minibus Taxis) und das Lernen der lokalen Sprache im Feld meinen Horizont erweitert und mir Schritt für Schritt das Vertrauen der Lehrer:innen eingebracht hat. Von diesem Fall abstrahierend argumentiere ich, dass Forscher:innen Wege finden müssen, in die lokalen Realitäten in und um ihr Forschungsfeld herum einzutauchen. Dies resultiert in geteilten Erfahrungen zwischen Forschungsteilnehmer:innen und Forscher:innen mit ansonsten sehr unterschiedlichen Lebenswelten, die dabei helfen, Vertrauen aufzubauen. Am Ende des Artikels steht eine kritische Bemerkung zum Begriff ‚Unterrichtsforschung‘ in internationalen Kontexten. Ein Großteil der essentiellen Arbeit in solchen Begegnungen, wenn sie nicht im bereits gut erforschten Mainstream stattfinden, geschieht außerhalb der Klassenräume. Wenn wir unsere Horizonte erweitern und unsere Abhängigkeit von spezifischen lokalen Realitäten ernst nehmen wollen, erscheint es angebrachter, umfassendere, schulbasierte Ethnografien anzustreben, anstatt direkt den Unterricht anzuvizieren.

PT

As escolas das townships sul-africanas são áreas de investigação sensíveis. Os investigadores não são frequentes neste tipo de escolas e são facilmente classificados como ameaçadores, porque poderiam transmitir às autoridades informações sobre as práticas de ensino. Este capítulo conta a história de como obtive acesso a uma dessas escolas. Dos táxis às salas de aula mostra como tive de navegar num conjunto complexo de práticas, veículos, pessoas, medos, auto-estradas e história sul-africana para finalmente ter acesso às salas de aula. Descreve como a minha utilização de transportes públicos (táxis minibus) e a aprendizagem da língua local no terreno alargaram os meus horizontes e me fizeram ganhar gradualmente a confiança dos professores. Abstraindo deste caso, defendo que os investigadores precisam de encontrar formas de mergulhar nas realidades locais dentro e à volta do seu campo de investigação. Isto resulta em experiências partilhadas entre os participantes na investigação e os investigadores de mundos de vida muito diferentes o que ajuda a criar confiança. No final do artigo, há um comentário crítico sobre o termo “investigação na sala de aula” em contextos internacionais. Grande parte do trabalho essencial em tais encontros, quan-

do não tem lugar na corrente dominante já bem investigada, acontece fora da sala de aula. Se quisermos alargar os nossos horizontes e levar a sério a nossa dependência de realidades locais específicas, parece mais apropriado visar etnografias mais amplas, baseadas na escola, em vez de visar diretamente a sala de aula.

JA

南アフリカの黒人居住区の学校は、慎重な取り扱いを要する研究フィールドである。研究者は学校にとってなじみのない存在であり、即座に危険視される。これは、研究者が授業実践についての情報を当局に提出する可能性があることに由来する。タクシーから教室へ—これは、実践、乗り物、人びと、懸念、高速道路、そして歴史といった複雑な混淆状況に対し、わたしがいかに交渉せねばならなかったかという物語である。このあとにやっと、わたしは教室にたどり着くことができたのである。インフォーマルな乗合いの移動手段(ミニバス・タクシー)を用い、学校での言語学習に参加しながら、どのようにしてわたしが学習者としての研究者というアイデンティティを次第に忘れていったのかを描写する。このアイデンティティは、わたしの地平を広げ、実践家の信頼をじよじよに勝ち取ってゆく助けとなった。この事例から、研究者が自分自身を研究対象となる現場の文脈に溶け込ませることの意義を論じる。そこでは、まったく異なる生活世界をもつ研究者と現場に加わっている人びととのあいだに、共通の経験を生み出すという方法がとられる。本稿は、国際的な文脈での「教授研究」という概念に対するわたしの批判的註釈で締めくくられる。このような国際的な研究活動のなかの本質的な作業の多くは、手厚い研究がおこなわれる主流から外れたところで、そして多くは教室の外で展開している。わたしたちの地平を真に広げ、特定の研究対象となる現場に依存していることを重要な問題としてとらえるために、授業に直接向かうのではなく、学校に拠点を置きながらも幅広さをもつエスノグラフィに時間をかけるべきことを提唱したい。

1 From expert to learner by taxi

1.1 Beginning to know that I don't know

“Go to the Cape Town taxi rank, find the lane towards Khayelitsha, ask whether the taxi is going to ‘Side B’, if so, get on. When you get to Khayelitsha, tell the driver you need to go to Highschool A and then I will pick you up there” (Khayelitsha resident, cited in Krause 2021: 49).

That’s how I was going to get to Khayelitsha, short for ‘ikhaya elitsha’, Xhosa for ‘new home’. Built in the 1980s about 30km outside of Cape Town’s city cen-

tre it is South Africa's second largest township. In the words of Aslam Fataar, Khayelitsha was built under apartheid

"for those blacks who were regarded as superfluous to the cultural, political and economic logics of urban apartheid planners, whose inhabitants were only required for menial work and cheap labour" (Fataar 2009: 11).

Apartheid died, Khayelitsha lives on. Today, with an estimated 1,2 to 2 million inhabitants, it's one of the markers of Cape Town's persistent residential segregation. Somewhere in Khayelitsha was the school where I wanted to do research. Classroom research. So following my informant's directions, I went to the taxi rank, an impressive construction on top of Cape Town's railway station, a vibey place with formal and informal shops and blasting music. It is also a place carefully avoided by most middle-class South Africans, because it counts as informal and prone to crime and violence. I knew the place. I knew Cape Town well. I had stayed here for a few months some years ago. I had taken taxis before. I knew my way around these parts. I was an expert – or so I thought.

I found the line to Khayelitsha. My Xhosa language skills were rudimentary but I could greet and ask where the taxi was going. A bulky man tells me that it is going via Side B, but not without a startled look on his face. Why would a White² girl go to Khayelitsha? Also, why by taxi? Most passengers seemed to ask themselves that, judging by how they eyed me. Minibus taxis constitute a largely unregulated, highly flexible and efficient transport industry, used almost exclusively by the working-class that often lives in townships and works in the city (Clark & Crous 2002). This part of the population, as a remnant of apartheid racial segregation, is in turn Black or Coloured, not White like me. Once seated, neighbouring passengers asked me why I was going to Khayelitsha, what I was doing there, where I was from, etc. I was an object of curiosity, a White body in a Black space, as I realised now. That body made me visible where I wanted to be inconspicuous. It made me insecure where I wanted to play it cool. While I was feeling these feelings and thinking these thoughts, the taxi began to move.

From the rank on top of the city the driver went straight onto the N2 highway. Yes, I had indeed taken taxis before, but only through Cape Town's immediate suburbs – not those that take the highway out to the townships. I noticed that there was no 'conductor'. As D'hondt (2009) finds for taxis in Dar es Salaam

2 Terms like 'Black', 'Coloured' and 'White' reflect local language use with reference to South Africa's different population groups. A remnant of apartheid that is, however, also used for affirmative action today (Posel 2001). I use such terms without racist intention. 'Black' is used for persons of African descent, 'Coloured' for persons of KhoiSan or Cape Malay descent or mixed race, and 'White' indicates European descent.

(which, in my experience, operate similarly to Cape Town taxis), the conductor's presence and his verbal and non-verbal communication with passengers and the driver make the taxi run smoothly. "His job consists of 'collecting' information from the passengers about where they want to be dropped off and 'transmitting' that information to the driver" (D'hondt 2009: 1966). He also collects fares and operates the door. I was used to this type of taxiing – the conductor-mediated type.

Now there was no mediator between us passengers and the driver. I wondered how the fare collection would work without a mediator and also, once in Khayelitsha, how would we know where to get off? Thoughts that made me anxious. I thought I knew how to taxi. Turns out I had no clue. Not around these parts. I would have to rely on other people. I was not only visible but now I felt visibly lost, visibly clueless, no longer expert-like but more like an idiot.

Meanwhile, the driver moves the taxi swiftly and quickly along the N2 highway towards Khayelitsha. Twidle (2017), in his walking ethnography of the N2, describes this highway as "a corridor of motorist anxiety and middle-class paranoia" (Twidle 2017: 66). While it is easy for middle-class South Africans to avoid going into the townships, the highway cannot be avoided so easily. It connects too much. It links the residential and more industrial suburbs to the city, takes you to the airport or straight to your coastal holiday domicile. Or to Khayelitsha. The N2, Twidle writes, is "a space where we are all in it together – though not, of course, all in the same way" (ibid.: 63).

Indeed it makes a difference whether you ride in your private car and complain about these "reckless taxi drivers" (Ramphela 2018) or if you are in the taxi yourself, relying on that driver to get you where you need to be, preferably alive. Inevitably, you see the journey differently. Trusting the driver with your life, in the same 15 seater – with a little creativity one can make that 18 – like everyone else, makes it harder to tell yourself how 'useless' he is. High horses aren't easily ridden around these parts. If only to put myself at ease, I began noticing the skills of the driver. He makes his living by being faster than his colleagues, knows his routes like the palm of his hand and certainly has an interest in getting home alive, too. So who knows, maybe he is a better driver than anybody else on the road. Possible. Anyways, I had no choice but to rely on his expertise, because I didn't have any.

Because there are no maps of the routes and no officially designated stops, D'hondt observes how passengers on a taxi are oriented towards as able to infer autonomously where they are and what is an accepted stop "on the basis of their familiarity with this form of transport" (2009: 1973). Clearly, I was not as familiar with this form of transport as I thought, as I got a fright when the driver pulled over to the side of the highway shortly before the turn-off to

Khayelitsha and, magically it seemed to me, some people got off while others remained seated. Nothing was wrong with the taxi and not everybody got off. Why? What was going on? What had I missed?

Thinking back, shortly before the driver stopped there was an exchange between him and the passengers where he asked something in Xhosa and some people, not all, raised their hands in response. I missed that. "Mutual monitoring" (D'hondt 2009: 1968), something every taxi passenger needs to engage in, happened without me. Reading the startled look on my face my seat neighbour asked me: "Are you going to Side B?" I affirmed. "Then get off and get on the other taxi", she said. This confirmed everybody's suspicion then I had no clue about how things worked here.

Indeed, another taxi stopped behind us on the highway. I got on. Having swapped taxis, the next problem was that the driver didn't know the landmark that I was supposed to give him according to my informant. It didn't count as a stop. Or maybe I pronounced it wrong. So instead of playing it cool at least in the second taxi I was outed again as 'umlungo olahlekileyo eKhayelitsha' (a White person lost in Khayelitsha), now having to pool all the expertise in this taxi to co-construct where I probably wanted to go. An attempt that was eventually successful. I made it to the school. Embarrassed, humbled and relieved, beginning to know that I knew nothing about the location of my research and how things worked here.

1.2 Taxiing my way in

"How did you get here?", asked the people who sat in a little house by the gate when they saw me walking instead of driving through the school gate:

me: By taxi. I got off at the police station (an established 'stop') and walked.

Lihle:³ Why do you not come by car?

me: I don't have a car.

Lihle: Why do you not have car?

me: I'm a student, I can't afford a car.

Lihle: Ah ok. Aren't you scared here in Khayelitsha?

me: No, I'm fine.⁴

Exchanges similar to this one often ensued during my first days at the school (see also Krause 2021). It mattered how I got there, because in South Africa forms of transport index social class. Social class, in turn, has historically been

3 The name has been changed.

4 This is not an exact transcript of such an exchange as I didn't record informal interactions. Rather, it is based on memory protocols from my field notes.

closely tied to race, due to colonialism and later Apartheid, when the ruling class was the White minority which ordered the population along racial lines (Bowker & Star 1999; Posel 2001).

While the entanglement of race and class is loosening, racial residential segregation persists. In Cape Town the working class areas equal Black or Coloured areas, while the middle class areas are more mixed but have a high proportion of Whites. Public transport here remains almost exclusively a non-White affair (Seekings 2008). In contrast to Germany, where CEOs may take trains and busses like everybody else, in South Africa you buy yourself free from the perceived (and actual) dangers of using public transport as soon as you can. The middle-class, and with it the majority of Whites, can sooner than others. Taking taxis to the research site had several effects: Firstly, while my plan already was to strategically position myself as a learner-researcher at the school, taking taxis to Khayelitsha made me realise that I am actually a learner in this space. An example from my fieldnotes illustrates the type of skills I had to learn over time by taking taxis:

Day 7 (30/10/13)
 Yuh! I sat next to the driver this morning! I really have to learn how to count that away just, I have to know how many people make what sum:
 → 1 - 14,50
 2 - 29
 3 - ~~43,50~~ 43,50
 4 - ~~58~~ 58
 5 - 72,50
 6 - 87
 → Then you just collect all you need (ask the driver how much he needs before) in one place & keep the rest in another, then you ask "Abantu bona change?"

Fig. 1: Field Notes 1

Since there is no conductor, whoever ends up sitting next to the driver is responsible for collecting the fares and then giving passengers their change back. On the 30th October 2013 that was me for the first time. With a price of ZAR 14,50 per person this responsibility overstrained my mathematically not very apt brain, so I wrote a calculation into my research diary for future reference. Below it is my step-by-step explanation to myself about how to go about the process of fee collection. The driver needs to tell you how many

passengers are on board – so how much money he expects. Then you can count that money up to the sum he mentions. The rest is the change that needs to be redistributed amongst the passengers. That process is initiated by turning to the passengers and asking: “Abantu banenchange?” (Does someone need change?). It took me a while but I eventually learned how to collect fees smoothly. It is experiences like this one that turned the somewhat arrogant ‘wanna-be-expert’ that left the taxi rank for the first time a week earlier into a humbled version of herself, a learner version.

Secondly, moving around like everybody else meant that at the school I had relatable stories to tell. From particularly complex routes the taxi took, via interesting conversations with passengers, to flat tires, smoking engines and the umlungu figuring out how to collect fares – out of necessity rather than strategically, taxis were not only my physical way into Khayelitsha but also part of the narrative that helped mitigate my foreignness at the school.

Thirdly, me taking public transport surprised the people at the school, because it contrasted with the behaviour of other White people that would occasionally visit. NGO workers or departmental officials come in their private cars and with particular agendas. Taxis made categorising me as ‘another White visitor’ more difficult. They cut across associations of class, race and behaviour, blurring on my behalf the lines of segregation so firmly implemented under apartheid: We live here, You live there. We can’t afford, You can afford. We take taxis, You drive cars. We are Black, You are White. It is not that taxis made me ‘We’, but they made me slightly less ‘You’. They helped in sending the message that I wasn’t there to teach, to ‘improve things’ or to check on things. Taxis were my first step to adopting a ‘learner’s stance’ as a researcher, which, in Marker’s words, “destabilizes the anthropologist’s dubious claim to being the expert” (2003: 369). I arrived, therefore, as a learner, struggling with transport, struggling with language, reliant on local experts. With hindsight, this was probably the first move towards gaining the trust of people at the school. The next step was to convince the principal and the teachers about the integrity of my research project so that I could get their informed consent to observe and record teaching and conduct interviews.

Introducing the project

2.1 Being a potential threat

While taking taxis made me into an actual learner somewhat contingently, I now consciously and strategically enacted this learner identity towards the future research participants. A staff meeting was called upon my request after I had spent a couple of days ‘hanging out’ at the school, getting to know the

secretary, the maintenance staff and the librarian. It was now time to talk to the teachers.

When everyone had sat down in the staff room, I nervously explained why I was there:

When I first came to Cape Town in 2009 I volunteered for an NGO, the one that is also doing work here at this school. It is through them that I got to know about your school here. During my work for them at a school in Observatory I saw for the first time that many children in South Africa cannot use the language they know best in the classroom. Their experience at school is therefore very different and much more complicated than mine was. I was born in Germany, spoke German at home and went to school in German. From first grade to matric. But children here in Khayelitsha have to deal with two languages of instruction, first Xhosa for three years and then the switch to English, even though English is a foreign language for them.⁵ Since then I've always thought that it must be so difficult to deal with this language situation in the classroom. I wouldn't know how to do it, because in German schools everything is in German. The reason I'm here is because I am interested in how you do it in your classrooms. I am convinced that we in Germany, because we are not used to linguistic diversity, have a lot to learn from South African teachers like you. This is why, if you allow me, I would love to spend some time at your school and observe some teaching. Also, I would love to interview you about your experiences with the language situation and your opinions about it. Whatever I learn here will be used for my Master's thesis only. Nobody will get to know the name of the school or of any of you.⁶

My introduction of the project shows how I consciously defined my researcher identity via a lack of knowledge, a lack of understanding due to my own educational background. I wanted the take away to be that I was there to learn, not to impart knowledge, not to criticise, not to judge. Even though teachers seemingly understood my motivations they were still sceptical. One of them eventually asked: "So how do we know that you are not connected to any political organisation or the department of education?" I realised then that trust wasn't going to be gained that easily.

My supervisor was right to warn me back in Germany when planning the project that I would probably be regarded as a potential threat at the school. This

5 In accordance with the widespread conviction that children learn best through their 'mother-tongue' Alexander (2009); Brock-Utne, Desai, and Qorro (2003), in areas where a dominant 'African language' can be identified – e.g., in Black townships like Khayelitsha in greater Cape Town – schools normally use this language as the Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) in the Foundation Phase (from Grade R to Grade 3) in primary schools. Then again, aligned with the 'monolingual nation state ideal', in Grade 4 the LoLT changes to English in most schools (Ouane and Glanz 2011) – a so-called 'early transition' language policy model. For Khayelitsha this means three years with Xhosa as LoLT and then English from Grade 4.

6 This is not an exact transcript of what I said in the meeting but a condensed version based on a memory protocol as the meeting was not sound recorded.

needs to be understood in the context that township schools and teachers are highly stigmatised in South Africa. It has become common-sense that students here perform much worse than their peers from more affluent institutions located in the inner-city or suburbia (Department of Education 2017). Voices in the media (Nkosi 2016; van der Berg & Spaull 2017), scholarly work on township teaching (Nel & Müller 2010) and on parents' school choice for their children in South Africa (Lombard 2007; Maile 2004; Msila 2009), tend to imply that teachers are directly responsible for the often poor academic performance of their students.

No wonder then, that teachers would be wary about having a stranger sitting in their classrooms. Here, 'doing research' was neither a self-explanatory nor an easily explained activity. Why would I want to observe what people do at a 'peripheral school' generally criticised for bad rather than admired for best practice? Surely the real intention is to spill the beans about everything that is wrong with the place to local officials I stand in some undisclosed relationship with (see also Setati 2005 for a discussion). Especially my interest in multilingual classroom practices – or what is commonly referred to as 'code-switching' at the school – would likely worry teachers, because this practice in particular is seen as getting in the way of proper teaching. It is scrutinised by educational authorities that urge schools "to reduce the amount of code-switching and code mixing in order to ensure maximum exposure to the LoLT" (Western Cape Government 2017).

In response to the teacher's question, I again emphasised the learner's stance I was taking. I made as clear as I could that I was not interested in leaking any information and that I purely wanted to know how teachers dealt with an extremely complicated linguistic situation. I assured them that, for the first couple of weeks, I would not ask to enter their classrooms. Rather I would hang out at the school, help out where I could and work on my local language skills. I said that I would be around and that they could ask me any questions about me and my research whenever they liked. After a few weeks they could then still decide whether or not they felt comfortable having me in class. This was my way to work towards participants' informed consent via engagements at the research site rather than demanding it right here, right now (Gordon 2003). I emphasised that I will only observe classroom practice when the particular teacher agrees to host me in advance and that the same applied for conducting interviews. I again assured the anonymity of all research participants and the school itself and clarified that the research outcomes would only be used for my Master's thesis. When there were no further questions, the meeting was closed. Even though content with how I presented myself and my research, I walked away rather insecure about how things would move forward from here.

2.2 Hanging out and gaining trust

No attempts at getting access to classrooms for the first three weeks – that was my promise to myself after the meeting. Time for my more general ethnographic interest in finding out what is going on at the school more broadly (Heath & Street 2008), whilst working towards gaining the teachers' trust. I aimed at making sure that they saw me at the school consistently and at creating as many opportunities as possible for casual chats. A great way of doing this was to engage in language learning at the research site.

Coming from a background of African studies and having learned Swahili for five years at university, I came prepared to learn another language closely related in terms of grammatical structure: Xhosa. I had taught myself basic greeting procedures and some verbal structures so that I could begin immediately to ask people how to say this or that in Xhosa. I wrote everything down in my field journal, creating random vocabulary lists looking more or less like this one:

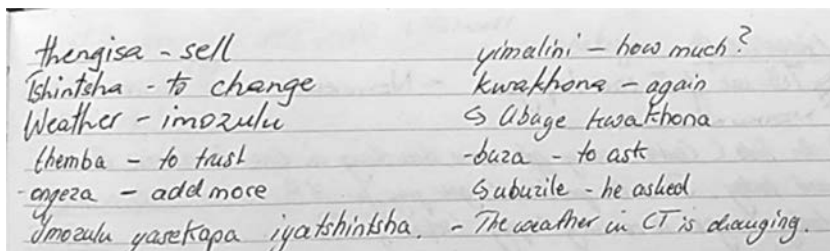


Fig. 2: Field Notes 2

The different handwritings show that sometimes teachers or staff would write words and their translations down for me if I struggled with spelling them. Turning the research participants into my informal language teachers was a great way to break the ice and to start conversations. Also, it continuously and literally reinforced my role as a learner at the research site. I was the one who didn't know, who struggled with pronunciation or with spelling. I was the one who made a fool of herself and who relied on local experts.

I also reliably arrived at the school without a car, walking through the gate. Being a taxi-taker, a Xhosa learner and someone who was always approachable for anyone seemed, over time, to mitigate the fear that I might be associated with officialdom and leak sensitive information. Teachers began to open up during our chats in the staff room, telling me about internal conflicts between teachers and the principal at the school, their struggles in the classroom, their weekends and their church. Maybe I had taxied and language my way in, I thought. So it was time to see if I could get access to classrooms.

3 Inside the classroom

3.1 They said yes!

At this stage, I understood better what it meant for teachers to let someone into their teaching space. Not only my potential communication with external officials scared them but also, there were tensions between some teachers and the principal. So maybe me talking to him about what I saw in classrooms also wasn't a great prospect. On top of that, teachers had big classes with between 35 and 40 children and were overworked. So I needed to make sure that I was as little of an additional burden as possible.

To my surprise, all the teachers I asked if I could observe their lessons said yes – even to my request to sound record them. They gave me written consent but under the condition that I will always ask their renewed oral consent each time before entering their classrooms. That was more than fine with me. I had been seriously anxious about the possibility of all of them refusing to let me in. This was a great day for the project but it wasn't smooth sailing from here. Gaining access to classrooms, I realised, is not something you tick off your to do list. It is an ongoing effort. Oftentimes I had to literally run after teachers on their way to the classroom to remind them that I was going to observe their next lesson – as agreed upon for example the day before. Teachers would sometimes react nervously, telling me the lesson was going to be 'boring', not worth seeing. They might say that if I told them what I was interested in they could give me a better lesson to observe. Just not this one right now.

These were critical moments. They were going to make the difference between the findings of large scale research projects, where observations take place maybe once a week on an agreed upon day and time, and a long term ethnographic study. The former gives teachers the chance to prepare a particularly well-structured lesson for that day and time, while the latter aims at gaining an insider's view of day-to-day (classroom) realities (Heath & Street 2008; Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtli 2006; Willig 2014).

I reacted by reassuring teachers that I wasn't interested in 'exciting' lessons and I wasn't going to evaluate them. Rather, I completely understood how not every lesson is going to be planned perfectly, seeing the huge workload teachers have to cope with. I emphasised that I was there to learn from them – especially how they dealt with everyday classroom realities, which I know could be messy and difficult. Most of the time, after such a conversation that took place for example while walking from the staff to the classroom, teachers then agreed to let me in. Sometimes they didn't. That's the risk one takes.

With hindsight, I think that teachers accommodated me most of the time because I positioned myself as a learner and thereby enabled them to 'do their job' with me in some ways. Outside the classroom they were my language

teachers and taught me about Khayelitsha, the school and their struggles and successes. Inside the classroom I was then also a learner – albeit a more passive one – observing and learning from how they did things. This is not simply a methodological swipe of hand. Rather, I actually firmly believe that for example Germany, with classrooms diversifying quickly due to new migratory dynamics (Markic & Abels 2014), could indeed learn a lot by looking at practices in Southern contexts where teachers have been dealing with linguistically complex classroom situations all along.

3.2 Not there to judge

As an ethnographer sometimes you can only guess in the aftermath what it was that made people grant you access to a certain space. It is always a complex assemblage of things. I was lucky enough to find out rather explicitly from one teacher – in an interview during my PhD research – what the difficulties were of having me in class but also how she appropriated my narrative of being an interested, non-judgemental learner in order to address the difficulties.

Interview Excerpt Grade 5 Teacher

T = Teacher R = Researcher (Lara Krause-Alzaidi, author)

- 1 T: [...] they didn't perform the same as when we are alone in class, without them in the
- 2 classroom. They seem to change. Just to accommodate this person or they're shy, let me
- 3 just put it that way.
- 4 R: Do you feel like that was always the case when I was there or did they also get used to me
- 5 a bit?
- 6 T: Yes they were getting used to you because I always told them that Achwayitile works in
- 7 our school.⁷ She's been here for a long time. She understands Xhosa. She's also an English
- 8 teacher. Don't mind her when she is here. She is here just to see how we do things in our
- 9 school. She's not here to judge you. So just be yourself when she is here. I tried to tell
- 10 them, yes. But I could see the first time she came, all the time before they say anything
- 11 they say anything they will have one look at Achwayitile before they answered.
- 12 R: Yah but then that I felt like also they didn't even notice me anymore.
- 13 T: Yah with time then they didn't.

She here speaks about her experience that the presence of an observer can distract students. In lines 1-3 she refers to visits from subject advisors or from colleagues – teachers sometimes observe each other's lessons – and how her students would react to that with shyness. I then took the opportunity to ask whether my presence in the classroom had been distracting (line 4-5). Her response in lines 10-11 shows a clear 'observer effect' (McIntyre 1980), i.e., how

7 'Achwayitile' is the Xhosa name I was given early on at the school. Also, during my PhD I indeed worked for the NGO at the school for a while, organising the volunteers who provided an English literacy support program for students.

my presence in the beginning de-routinised classroom practices and effected how students (and probably also the teacher) behaved, until I slowly became part of the furniture (line 12-13) (see also Setati 2005).

This teacher, as she explains in lines 6-9, took an active role in mitigating this observer effect. Her response shows the extent to which she had appropriated the narrative with which I was positioning myself as a learner-researcher at the school from the first day I arrived:

- I understand (or at least make a substantial effort to understand) Xhosa (line 7)
- I am the one who stands to learn something from how things are done at the school (line 8-9)
- I don't intend to 'judge' or evaluate practices (line 9)

She refers to me as an English teacher (line 7-8), which might be a side effect of my emphasis on how interested I am in learning from teachers' practices in Khayelitsha so I could take those insights to Germany. I clarified with her afterwards that I am actually not a teacher but a researcher. Nevertheless, as I mentioned before, research in this space is not a self-explanatory or familiar activity. So to make students understand why I was there, describing me as an interested English teacher framed my presence in familiar terms and made the slight departure from the truth seem uncontroversial to me.

My positioning as a learner-researcher resonated with this teacher and her comments and actions illustrate how it can be a powerful way of building trust and mitigating the observer effect and initially perceived threats. By speaking to the students on my behalf and explaining my presence, this particular teacher helped me a great deal in creating a classroom atmosphere where students could – over time – be comfortable with my presence (line 6; 12-13). I take from this that my long-term presence and engagement at the school, and the learner identity I was forging throughout, have allowed me to observe teaching practices that came at least close to the day-to-day realities.

While other teachers didn't make it as explicit – in my next research project I would ensure to ask every teacher about how they perceived and dealt with my presence in class – after having me in class once or twice I noticed that the gazes of the students towards me became less. Since they had been seeing me at the school for a while now, I wasn't such a curiosity anymore. Mundane classroom routines, as far as I could recognise them, set in rather quickly.

4 Conclusion: So what?

Telling the story of accessing a research field from taxis to classrooms shows that a complex assemblage of practices, vehicles, people, anxieties, highways and histories needs to be negotiated until one gets to see some teaching. That is, if one is interested in accessing spaces that lie outside the well-researched mainstream. Here, teachers often have a lot to lose and a researcher is a potential threat. I here provided insights into the practices that have helped me to find my way to and into the school, and eventually into classrooms.

Taxiing and later language learning confronted me with my lack of local knowledge and nudged me into the role of a learner who relies on local expertise – a role that I would later carry over into the school as a researcher who takes a learner-stance.

Taxiing and languaging also influenced the way I was received at the school. They prevented me from being put straight into the ‘White visitors’ category and sheltered me from the associations that come with that category and over which I have no control. These practices were also ice-breakers, common topics to chat about. They made me more relatable – more ‘We’ than ‘You’ – and, over time, more trustworthy.

While, like all ethnographies, the scenario described here is very particular, I believe that a question of more general applicability can be derived from it that might help in planning to gain access to sensitive research fields in international contexts: How can researchers immerse themselves in the context of their research location in such a way that it:

- a) broadens their horizons by making them aware of what they don't know?
- b) creates common experiences between them and the participants with their otherwise very different life worlds?

The answers will certainly not always be taxiing and language learning but each research site affords us its own opportunities for such practices. We just have to remember to look for them instead of trying to head straight for the classroom.

Once inside the classroom, again a lot depends on the previous work outside. For example, as discussed in 3.2, a careful positioning – in my case as a learner-researcher – before asking to enter the classroom can help to win teachers as allies in mitigating the researcher's foreignness in the classroom. Questions of more general applicability for researchers then become: How much time should I spend at the school before attempting to gain access to classrooms? And: How should I position myself as a researcher so that I can gain the participants' trust? (see Hopwood 2007 for a helpful discussion)

I leave the work on this chapter with a scepticism towards terms like 'teaching research' or 'classroom research' in international contexts. In the project at hand, much of the essential work happened outside the classrooms. If we want to broaden our horizons and take our dependency on the research location seriously, then I suggest that we need to integrate into our research plans time for struggles, time for taxis, time for anxiety, indeed: time for ethnography. Instead of aiming at teaching or classroom research I suggest we make time for school-based ethnographies. Because actually we don't know how things work in their schools.

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The Researcher in an Intercultural Context – A Commentary

Abstracts

EN

The contributions collected in section 2 focus on the role and positioning of the researcher in the research field. Although the contributions are compiled in a comparable way – on the basis of ethnography as a shared research strategy, simultaneously very different perspectives on researchers in the research field are being developed, stemming from different social and cultural backgrounds that structure research practice and the field. The commentary proceeds in two steps: first, the scientific norms of acting in the field codified in ethnography are discussed. In a second step, the article comments on the concrete field approaches in two research projects, which the researchers methodologically reflect on as learning processes.

DE

Die in Teil 2 versammelten Beiträge konzentrieren sich auf die Rolle und Positionierung des:der Forscher:in im Forschungsfeld. Obwohl die Beiträge in vergleichbarer Weise – auf der Grundlage der Ethnographie als gemeinsamer Forschungsstrategie – verfasst sind, werden gleichzeitig sehr unterschiedliche Perspektiven auf die Forschenden im Forschungsfeld entwickelt, die aus unterschiedlichen sozialen und kulturellen Hintergründen herrühren, die die Forschungspraxis und das Feld strukturieren. Der Kommentar geht in zwei Schritten vor: Zunächst werden die in der Ethnographie kodifizierten wissenschaftlichen Normen des Handelns im Feld diskutiert. In einem zweiten Schritt werden die konkreten Feldzugänge in zwei Forschungsprojekten kommentiert, die von den Forschenden methodisch als Lernprozesse reflektiert werden.

PT

As contribuições recolhidas na secção 2 centram-se no papel e no posicionamento do investigador no campo de investigação. Embora os contributos

sejam compilados de forma comparável – com base na etnografia como estratégia de investigação partilhada, estão simultaneamente a ser desenvolvidas perspectivas muito diferentes sobre os investigadores no campo de investigação, decorrentes de diferentes contextos sociais e culturais que estruturam a prática de investigação e o campo. O comentário prossegue em dois passos: primeiro, são discutidas as normas científicas de atuação no terreno codificadas na etnografia. Num segundo passo, o artigo comenta as abordagens de campo concretas em dois projectos de investigação, sobre as quais os investigadores reflectem metodologicamente como processos de aprendizagem.

JA

第二部に収録された各論稿は、研究フィールドでの研究者の役割と立ち位置に焦点を当てている。これらの論文は、エスノグラフィの方法をとっており、相互に類似した論点をもつものの、フィールドでの研究者に対するまなざしはひじょうに異なっている。これは、研究実践とフィールドとを構成している社会的・文化的背景の違いから生じている。コメントは二段階に分けておこなった：第一に、エスノグラフィに盛り込まれたフィールドでの行為に関する学術的規範を議論した。第二に、二つの研究プロジェクトでとられた具体的なフィールドへのアプローチ方法にコメントした。ここでは、研究者が方法論に照らして自身の学習プロセスとして省察するアプローチを検討した。

Ethnography: acting in the field as a research norm

The contribution by Karin Bräu and Laura Fuhrmann opens the chapter with a general introduction to ethnography and key challenges in collecting data. The two authors present ethnography as an open research strategy that always values appropriateness to the research objects more highly than accurate adherence to certain methodological norms – of course, this is also a norm that the researcher has to follow. The great strength of ethnography is that it is genuine field research. The researcher's task is to position themselves in the field in such a way that direct contact with those being researched, and the most unobstructed insight possible into their everyday practice, can be achieved. Openness is the decisive criterion for this and means a fundamental openness to the new things that can be experienced in the context of research as well as a corresponding openness in addressing the field and its members, of the research question and of the observation perspectives. Because it is not the established scientific categories that guide knowledge, but what is experienced in the field, the development of genuinely new knowledge becomes

possible. The goal that guides knowledge production is to find out “what the hell is going on” (Geertz 1973). The aim is to recognise the implicit rules and structures according to which the everyday social life of the people under research functions. Ethnography is primarily concerned with description as a prerequisite for understanding, not with evaluations on the basis of categories that are thought to be universal. Bräu and Fuhrmann problematise access to the field (here: schools and the classroom) and the positioning of researchers in it in two main ways: on the one hand, as a problem of formal access, which requires knowledge of explicit and implicit hierarchies in schools and school administration (who has the power/authority to grant or deny the researcher access to the field); on the other hand, as a problem of access to so-called “gatekeepers” in the field who allow observation of their everyday practice. The positioning of the researcher in the field is characterised as a field of tension between sensitivity towards the research field, and towards the rules and expectations of scientific discourse: on the one hand, proximity and involvement in the field are crucial (relationship to the situation and field). On the other hand, results must be generalisable in order to be recognised in scientific discourse. Accordingly, any forms of “going native” and “over-identification” (Amann & Hirschauer 1997) should be avoided. The presentation primarily refers to relevant methodological literature from German-speaking and Anglo-Saxon countries, but problematises the Eurocentric and colonial roots of the approach in ethnology of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Acting in the field as a practical problem and learning opportunity

The two texts by Laura-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi and Félix J. Mulhanga use the research strategy of ethnography in research contexts that are characterised by a high degree of social and cultural difference between the researcher and the researched. The report on both research projects makes it clear that ethnography is a suitable strategy for productively processing these differences and making them fruitful for scientific knowledge. At the same time, it becomes clear what the openness required in ethnography as a fundamental attitude of the researchers can also imply: in certain research fields, in which researchers have great experiences of foreignness, openness means that the researchers have to carry out profound learning processes in order to be recognised in the field.

In her self-reflective article “From taxis to classroom in Khayelitsha”, Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi describes the researcher as a learner. The title already marks clearly that we must assume a multi-level entry into the research

field. This multi-level nature of field access is certainly not a specific characteristic of the field that Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi is investigating. However, due to the cultural differences, it is particularly tangible here and therefore accessible for methodological reflection. In the case of Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi's research project, field access does not begin when you enter school or classroom, but rather when you arrive. The researcher wants to research teaching in a South African township school and finds that the township, as the dominant social structure in a highly segregated society, forms the crucial framework for the research: research on teaching in the townships cannot be separated from social conditions on a macro level. Entering the field is not entering the classroom, but entering the surrounding culture. Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi describes how the security she acquired living in South Africa and acting as a field researcher is dissolving. She describes herself as disoriented and "visible" in an unpleasant way. She writes: "I was an object of curiosity, a White body in a Black space, as I realised now. That body made me visible where I wanted to be inconspicuous. It made me insecure where I wanted to play it cool." This form of visibility is certainly largely unknown to the German ethnographer in the German school, who firstly has to actively create an "alienation of his own culture" (Amann & Hirschauer 1997) in order to adopt an ethnographic observation stance. Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi's perception of being visible to everyone, of standing out and of being an object of curiosity, indicates that an experience of foreignness occurs for the researcher without any involvement of her own. The initial discomfort, caused by her own unavoidable visibility, may be explained by the fact that the ethnographer actually wants to avoid being particularly visible in order to be able to pursue her observations undisturbed and without being disruptive. At the same time, this creates a productive tension that, on the one hand, enables valuable methodological reflection by the researcher in the field. On the other hand, Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi gains deeper insights into the structure of the field, which are highly relevant to her research question. The researcher finds herself involved in a history of power, control and disregard that unfolds in South Africa along the difference of being 'white' or 'black': the field initially does not allow Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi to transform herself into an observer in order to conduct research, because for the people in the field, the white observer cannot be separated from power structures of evaluation and judgement. Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi describes how the uncertainty of her role in the field and her identity as a researcher gave rise to a profound learning process.

Félix J. Mulhanga reflects on his experience as a researcher in the field in rural Mozambique against the background of an explicit postcolonial classification of the education system. Mulhanga draws attention to the highly

heterogeneous society in Mozambique, which can be described, among other things, by the difference between urban and rural areas – a difference that plays a crucial role for Mulhanga as a research background, having grown up in a rural area and moved to urban areas in the course of his education. Cultural difference to the research field, in his case, does not stem from different geographical origin, but from a life course of moving away and returning. Rural areas are particularly interesting for Mulhanga because he sees a strong “simultaneity of the non-simultaneous” (Albrecht 1991): On the one hand, there is a continuity of a centralised school system in rural areas that has colonial roots and an assimilating function during the colonial period. On the other hand, many pre-colonial traditions, practices and social structures are alive in rural areas. His research approach aimed to describe how these pre-colonial traditions and social structures influence schools and can be preserved through schools and school education. The knowledge acquired through ethnography should be a basis for a ‘dialogue’ between the school and its rural context. When reflecting on his observer perspective, Mulhanga emphasises two aspects: The question of how the research approach of ethnography explores the “crucial realm of ‘unseen’, ‘unheard’ and ‘unspoken’ (for example in the sense of supernatural/metaphysical knowledge/wisdom) knowledge production particular to rural areas in Mozambique”. This question makes it clear that the field can be foreign to the researcher – not so much as a person, but in terms of his boundedness to a scientific discourse and its epistemological and methodological norms. The problem is, to what extent it is possible to describe forms of indigenous knowledge production and epistemology in a ‘scientifically’ (as referring to the mostly Western-dominated discourse) appropriate or connectable way. The second aspect of Mulhanga’s reflection concerns the question of how and as what the researcher is recognised in the field. With the concept of “non-transparency” (Lang-Wojtasik 2002) he addresses the fact that a special translation work has to be carried out when the social communities being researched have no concept or idea of research or the researcher. This question makes it clear that the researcher is a foreigner to the field. Both experiences of foreignness are situated differently than those of Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi, but also develop a strong potential for methodological reflection and a more intensive opportunity to acquire knowledge, which is also used in the article.

The two contributions by Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi and Félix Mulhanga make it clear that research is not a neutral practice, but is perceived in the field as a colonial epistemic practice. In Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi’s article, the role of the researcher in the field is problematised primarily along the lines of the difference between ‘black’ and ‘white’. The central difference in Félix Mulhanga’s contribution seems to lie between pre- and post-colonial thinking. In

both contributions, school is recognised as a legacy of colonial rule. Furthermore, research is not perceived as a neutral practice, but is designed by the field as a colonial epistemic practice. Both researchers show themselves to be very sensitive to these tensions and structure their research in the field as personal learning processes. The critical status of ethnography as a colonial knowledge practice is reflected and a warning is given against universalising this Western-inspired form of knowledge acquisition and its epistemic values. At the same time, both researchers emphasise that ethnography, thanks to its openness and methodologically anchored reflexivity, still represents a suitable means of generating knowledge in postcolonial contexts. Conceptualising research as learning can help to reflect on forms of knowledge production and the power constellations embedded therein and to prevent ethnocentric, ahistorical, depoliticised or paternalistic approaches to the world from being reproduced (Andreotti & de Souza 2012).

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Section 3:
‘Standortgebundenheit’:
Theoretical, Cultural, and/or
Normative Pre-Understandings in
Reconstructive Data Analysis

Introduction to Reconstructive Methodologies and Methods

Abstracts

EN

This article presents an overview of reconstructive methods, which are part of qualitative research methods, and their methodologies. It will neither describe in detail the individual methods in their usage nor hold a debate on methodological details. Reconstructive methods differ in their theoretical roots their theoretical roots and backgrounds as well as in the data collection and data analysis. But they also have some similarities, which will be emphasised in this paper. The aim is to point out basic principles and fields of application and thus going beyond the similarities and differences the similarities and the differences of reconstructive research methods, so as to furthermore discern, which method seems suitable for which research question. This paper is an introduction to the topic of reconstructive methodologies with particular reference to school and teaching research.

First, general ideas, key assumptions and principles of reconstructive research methods are pointed out. As the second step, the focus shifts to typical topics and questions of reconstructive social research and which method seems appropriate in each respective case.

DE

Dieser Artikel gibt einen Überblick über die rekonstruktiven Methoden, die Teil der qualitativen Forschungsmethoden sind, und ihre Methodologien. Dabei werden weder die einzelnen Methoden in ihrer Anwendung detailliert beschrieben, noch wird eine Debatte über methodologische Details geführt. Rekonstruktive Methoden unterscheiden sich in ihren theoretischen Wurzeln und Hintergründen sowie in der Datenerhebung und Datenanalyse. Sie weisen aber auch einige Gemeinsamkeiten auf, die in diesem Artikel hervorgehoben werden sollen. Ziel ist es, über die Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede der rekonstruktiven Forschungsmethoden hinaus, Grundprinzipien und Anwendungsbereiche aufzuzeigen, um darüber hinaus zu

erkennen, welche Methode für welche Fragestellung geeignet erscheint. Dieser Artikel ist eine Einführung in das Thema rekonstruktive Methoden mit besonderem Bezug zur Schul- und Unterrichtsforschung.

Zunächst werden allgemeine Ideen, Grundannahmen und Prinzipien rekonstruktiver Forschungsmethoden aufgezeigt. In einem zweiten Schritt wird der Fokus auf typische Themen und Fragestellungen der rekonstruktiven Sozialforschung gelegt und aufgezeigt, welche Methode im jeweiligen Fall angemessen erscheint.

PT

Este artigo apresenta uma visão geral dos métodos reconstitutivos que fazem parte dos métodos de investigação qualitativa e das suas metodologias. Os métodos individuais não são descritos em pormenor, nem é feito um debate sobre os detalhes metodológicos. Os métodos reconstitutivos diferem nas suas raízes e fundamentos teóricos, bem como na recolha e análise de dados. No entanto, também têm algumas semelhanças, que serão realçadas neste artigo. Para além das semelhanças e diferenças entre os métodos de investigação reconstitutiva, o objetivo é realçar os princípios básicos e as áreas de aplicação, de modo a reconhecer qual o método que se revela adequado para cada questão de investigação. Este artigo é uma introdução ao tema dos métodos reconstitutivos, com especial referência à investigação na escola e na sala de aula.

Em primeiro lugar, são apresentadas ideias gerais, pressupostos básicos e princípios dos métodos de investigação reconstitutivos. Numa segunda fase, o foco é colocado em tópicos e questões típicas da investigação social reconstitutiva e é mostrado qual o método que parece adequado em cada caso.

JA

本稿では、質的研究方法の一部をなす再構成的方法とその方法論を概観する。ただし、個別の方法について活用方法を詳述したり、方法論の細部にわたる論争を紹介するものではない。理論的なルーツや背景に応じて、またデータ収集と分析の各段階に対しても、再構成的方法は多岐にわたる。しかし、類似性を強調することもできる。基本原則と活用の場合を示すという目的に向け、再構成的研究方法の類似点と相違点を踏まえたうえで、さらにどの方法がどの研究設問に適しているかを見極める。本稿は、学校と教授の研究分野での再構成的方法論の議論への導入となる。

さいしよに、再構成的研究方法の全体を支える考え方、鍵となる理論的立場や原則を示す。次のステップとして、再構成的社会関係研究におい

て特徴的な論点や疑問へと焦点を移し、どの方法が個別の事例において適切であるかを見てゆく。

1 Key Assumptions and Principles: Common Features of Reconstructive Methods

1.1 Goals

What are the goals of reconstructive social research? Generally speaking, the main goal is to understand and explain human (everyday) action. The purpose is to reconstruct and understand the meaning and sense that the actors assign to their social world. Understanding is therefore the central principle of recognition. The aim is to discover something new, to understand and describe something in a way not previously considered. Therefore, the targeted result is theory formation. Thus, reconstructive research differs diametrically from quantitative research, which starts with the formulation of a theory or hypotheses. However, this approach of quantitative research bears the risk of reproducing what the researchers already assume. Reconstructive research counters this risk by examining patterns of interpretation of the subjects of research. For this purpose, it does not check one's own assumptions as hypotheses, but rather tries to control them reflexively.

Noticeably, the methodology of Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin 1998) already refers in its name to the fact that an appropriate to the object and data grounded theory, is the result of the research. This theory, often referred to as a 'middle-range' theory (Hood 2010: 156), can take various forms. It can consist of a "thick description" (Geertz 1973) in which human action is conceptualised. In other cases, type formation is the result of reconstructive research and in this respect data analysis reconstructs explanations for the acting of actors and/or for institutional systems. In all cases, contrasts of single cases, of text excerpts, codes, categories, and concepts are a central measure within theory formation.

1.2 Key Assumptions

The basic assumptions and theoretical frameworks of reconstructive social research shall be presented in the following sections. The justifiable premises, assumptions or concepts on the human image, human reality and the perspective on the world are the basis for the goal mentioned above to understand and explain human action.

Reconstructive social research presumes a “theory of everyday action and recognition”¹ (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 12) and a social-constructivist understanding of social reality (Rosenthal 2011: 15, 38). The human is understood as an individual who creates (and not only reacts to) social reality in interactions with others. The world is constantly interpreted subjectively and constructed by humans. This is what Alfred Schütz calls the “first order constructions” (Schütz 1971: 68). But these interpretations of subjects take place in an already pre-structured and thus supra-subjective world.

“The terms and forms by which we achieve understanding of the world and ourselves are social artefacts, products of historically and culturally situated interchanges among people [...]. The degree to which a given account of the world or self is sustained across time is not dependent on the objective validity of the account but on the vicissitude of social processes” (Gergen 1994: 49-50).

The way of perceiving and interpreting occurring events depends on one’s own, and therefore subjective, experiences, the present milieu, gender and other factors. Therefore, it is site-dependent. These interpretations structure the everyday actions mostly without one being aware of it. The action and the interpretation of the world on which the action is based become “self-evident” and “normal” and therefore cannot be easily consciously articulated. As a result, they need to be *reconstructed*. This is what reconstructive research aims to do.

These scientific constructions must connect to the interpretations and primary constructions of the actors in everyday life (Flick 2009: 77) and interpret them. Therefore, scientific concept formations are “second order constructions”:

“The intellectual objects formed by social scientists relate to and are based on mental objects that are formed in the understanding of people living among their fellow people in everyday life. The constructions that the social scientist uses are therefore, so to speak, second order constructions: they are constructions of those constructions that are formed by the actors in the social field” (Schütz 1971: 6).

Reconstructive social research claims to reconstruct the complex constructional achievements of the actors in the field, especially when or because they are not explicable.

This means: Since researchers are subject to site-dependency and therefore have no direct access to the imaginaries of the research field, they must take the path of methodically controlled foreign understanding (second-order constructions). They must also constantly reflect their own perspective on the analytical and interpretative process.

1 German quotes have been translated by the author of this paper.

Summarised: Subjects with their meanings and interests are the starting point for reconstructive social research. Their actions develop step by step and intertwine with others and the available resources. On the one hand, supra-subjective framings, for example social institutions, influence acting. On the other hand, although the acting is not fully determined, it is free in a certain way. Thus, social pre-structures only become powerful if they receive meaning and importance by the acting person.

Although these key assumptions apply to all reconstructive methods, other theoretical framings are particularly relevant depending on the individual method. I would like to mention just a few without going into detail: symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, phenomenology, sociology of knowledge, practice theory, psychoanalysis.

1.3 Principles

Some basic principles (e. g., Flick 2009: 14) apply to the reconstructive social research which may be understood as research attitude:

Openness

Reconstructive social research requires a fundamental openness on the part of the researcher towards research subjects, situations and in some cases even methods.

"[...] because qualitative research aims at a complex analysis of the respective field, the openness to the field approach is an important condition. Qualitative research strategies do not want to put pre-formulated theory concepts on the respective field or, like quantitative research, to check pre-formulated hypothesis in real life. They want to gain generalisations and models out of the researcher's own genuine experience in the research field. The process is structured through questions and theoretical reflections, but these are to be permanently modified and extended during the survey" (Krüger 2010: 53, paraphrasing Strauss & Corbin 1998: 8).

Openness is necessary to remain receptive to unexpected information and to be able to react to changing circumstances. The research field is to be recorded from the participants' point of view and their relevance structures. Therefore, the researcher must approach the field or the participants without explicit assumptions and hypotheses on the field and with data collection methods that pre-structure as little as possible. This turns out to be one of the central challenges in the field of school and teaching research. Based on the assumption that a majority will have attended school at some stage in their life, the topic of school will be familiar to most of us. Therefore, the aim not to be influenced by one's own experiences is particularly difficult. In practical re-

search, the principle of openness means that sometimes the research question is not yet clearly defined and sharpens in the course of research,

- the choice of interview partners or the places to be visited is based on the principle of theoretical sampling,
- interviews include open questions or just give one input impulse and stimulate a flow of speech and free conversation as far as possible,
- observations follow the research field and not a predetermined structure.

This principle of openness in the field access and data collection is countered by methodical control during data interpretation (for example strict sequentiality, formal analysis, common interpretation in groups, contrasting cases...). Nevertheless, the principle of openness in the sense of creativity and spontaneity also applies to the data interpretation which is permitted and later needs to be controlled, reviewed and reflected.

Communication

The researcher and the participants of the research communicate and interact with each other. The researchers are often present during the data collection, so that the data is not – like in quantitative social research – collected independently from the researcher. Data collection is a communicative achievement. During group discussions and interviews, for example, it can be very decisive which impulses are set or how questions are asked to start a free conversation. During videography or participating observation, it is possible that direct reactions towards the present researcher or the camera may occur. The fact that data collection depends on the researcher is not considered as erroneous in the reconstructive research but is used by interpreting this as a part of the social world of the field and by reflecting the researcher's influence. To ensure that the researcher's role will be reflected and interpreted, the data must make the researcher visible: for example, the interview questions are literally transcribed, ethnographic protocols include researcher's impressions and scenes in which she or he is involved.

Reflexivity (Steger 2003)

Reflexivity plays a role in different ways. Reflexivity supports the principle of openness as it allows a permanent act of thinking about (1) what is going on, (2) one's own influence on the field and the situation and (3) what possible effects may the presence of the researchers have on the actors or interview partners. Reflexivity thereby enables to rethink first interpretations of situations and potentially create new ones.

2 Major Research questions and Methods of Reconstructive Research

2.1 Major Research Questions

Understanding human action under these basic assumptions can mean different things. I would like to distinguish between four goals of scientific knowledge, introduced as four major research questions.

1. Description of subjective views: *What is the subject's view?*

The goal of this research question is to create an understanding of the subjective views of the actors in the field. This means to put oneself into the subjective realities and world views of the participants and to record them in an appropriate and comprehensible way. It also involves the reconstruction of inconsistencies. Generalisations and theory formation are for example to form types of views or perspectives. Biographical studies in particular pursue this research question.

Example: *How do English teachers from the former German Democratic Republic experience the transformation of their profession after the fall of Berlin Wall?* (Dirks 2000)

2. Description of real-life realities and/or structures of interaction as well as of social practices: *How does everyday life work in social milieus? Which social practices can be reconstructed?*

Question number two focuses on understanding of real-life realities and their rules as well as the actions that have become natural and are not questioned by the participants. An ethnographic approach and the perspective of practice theory are particularly suitable.

Example: *What is the homework situation like for children and their parents at home?* (Bräu, Harring & Weyl 2017)

3. Reconstructions of action guiding structures and the 'objective' meaning and latent deep structure of human expressions: *What are the objective structures on which action is based? Which structural logic exists?*

What is referred to here is not about the intentions of the participants or interview partners, but the deeper-lying structures that are understood as an own level of reality. These deeply embedded structures guide the actions without

the participants themselves being aware of it. Many studies using "Objective Hermeneutics" (Oevermann et al. 1987) pursue this line of questioning. Example: *What can be said about the culture of a school regarding the enrolment and farewell speeches?* (Helsper 2008)

4. Reconstruction of socially pre-typed knowledge patterns and interpretation work of the participants: *Which knowledge orders and orientations do the participants have? Which discourses or discourse logics are effective in the field?*

These studies are about the reconstruction of the participant's orientations, attitudes and/ or what has emerged and is communicated as unquestioned truths in a field or milieu. Such 'discourses' are powerful because they define what is regarded as reasonable (Keller, Knoblauch & Reichertz 2013). Especially the Documentary Method (Bohnsack, Pfaff & Weller 2010) and various forms of the discourse analysis (Fegter et al. 2015; Keller 2011) are suitable for identifying orientations and attitudes of social groups.

Examples: *How do teachers construct and address differences in inclusive classrooms?* (Sturm 2018) *Which discourses about people with a migrant background are powerful in school?* (Akbaba 2017)

Certain methods are particularly suitable for each question. Nonetheless, it is by no means possible to link one method directly to one research question. In addition to that, it is even more complex if several of these questions are approached in a study, e.g., the description of everyday actions and their embedment in knowledge orders and discourses.

2.2 Methods of Reconstructive Social Research

It is necessary to distinguish between methods of data collection and of data interpretation although they are sometimes closely related.

In principle, there are four basic data collection procedures in research: interview/survey, observation, collection of documents/artefacts and experiment. The last procedure can be disregarded – qualitative experimental designs are rarely done. The remaining data collection procedures are divided into the following methods of data collection (table 1):

Tab: 1: Methods of data collection

Main data collection procedures	Method	Collected and edited data	Description of data collection
interview/ survey	guided interviews/ expert interviews	transcript	interviews based on guide-line with narrower and more open questions
	biographical interviews		narrative interview with open impulse; interview partners should speak as freely as possible; afterwards immanent and exmanent questions
	group discussions		discussion with natural or assembled groups; discussion impulse so that interview partners should speak and discuss as freely as possible; immanent and exmanent questions
observation	participatory observation	field notes/ protocol	presence at the social event
	videography/ technical record	transcript/ still images/ film	use of handheld or fixed cameras; one or more cameras and perspectives; focusing on the entire classroom, on specific areas or moveable as handheld camera
collection of documents or artefacts	document analysis artefact analysis	objects/ texts/ photo- graphs/ films	for example homepages, protocols, worksheets, photographs, black board, books, furniture, pens etc.

In many cases the results of the data collection are recorded in texts, such as transcripts of interviews and film sequences or observation protocols. In addition, photographs, films or objects can be analysed directly, i.e., without being transferred into text. Alternatively, photographs are part of protocols of participatory observation. For example, one can study schoolbooks as documents, but one can also observe and study how teachers and students utilise the schoolbook.

The most widely known methods of data interpretation in reconstructive research are shown in the following table 2:

Tab. 2: Methods of data interpretation

Method	Procedure Features	Goals
Grounded Theory	coding, categorizing	Theory formation (e.g. type formation, case structure hypothesis ...)
Documentary method (see Martens & Kinoshita in this volume)	formulating interpretation, reflecting interpretation, immanent und exmanent case comparisons, case description, type formation	
Objective hermeneutics (see Mbaye & Schelle in this volume)	sequence analysis, creating interpretations, Case structure hypothesis	
Biographical and narrative analysis	formal text analysis, structural description, analytical abstraction, knowledge analysis, case comparison, type formation	
Video analysis (see Leicht in this volume)	uses several/different methods and steps of data interpretation	

To show the complex relationship between research questions, theoretical framing, and the methods of data collection and data interpretation, they are combined in table 3, inspired by Reichertz (2016: 36-37).

Tab. 3: Relation of research question, theoretical frame, methods of data collection and data interpretation (following Reichertz 2016: 36-37, but adapted)

Research goal (research question)	Description of subjective views	life/ of social practices/ of structures of interaction	Reconstruction of the structural logic of action and interaction/ latent meaning	Reconstruction of socially pre-typed knowledge patterns and discourses
Reference point	Subjects and their views	(Everyday-) action in milieus	structural logic latent meaning	tacit knowledge, orientations/attitudes, knowledge order, discourse logics
Theoretical frames	Symbolic Interactionism, Theory of Narration	Praxeology Symbolic Interactionism, Ethnomethodology, Sociology of knowledge, (Social-)Constructivism, Cultural Studies	Theory of Socialization Psychoanalysis	Sociology of Knowledge Praxeology (Social-)Constructivism
Methods of data collection	Interviews (biographic, guided) Collection of documents and artefacts: e.g., diaries, autobiographies	Participant Observation (Ethnography), Group discussions, interviews, video recordings, photographs, collection of artefacts	Interviews, group discussions, video recordings, any kind of data	Interviews, group discussions, collection of documents and artefacts, video recordings,
Methods of data interpretation	Biographical and Narrative analysis	Grounded Theory, Documentary Method, Analysis of conversation	Objective Hermeneutics Deep Hermeneutics Narrative Analysis Discourse Analysis	Documentary Method Discourse Analysis, Grounded Theory
Fields of application, e.g. ...	Biographical Research (teachers, students, head masters ...) Research on Acceptance (e.g., of a teaching method)	Research an everyday life in school	Research on school books Teaching Research	Teaching Research Discourse Research Research on school books
Examples	<i>How do English teachers from the former GDR experience the transformation of their job after the fall of Berlin Wall?</i> (Dirks 2000)	<i>What is the homework situation like for children and their parents at home?</i> (Bräü 2017)	<i>What can be said about the culture of a school regarding the enrolment and farewell speeches?</i> (Helsper 2008)	<i>How do teachers construct and address differences in inclusive classrooms?</i> (Sturm 2018) <i>Which discourses about people with a migrant background are powerful in school?</i> (Akbaba 2017)

Finally: It is very important to use methods consciously depending on knowledge interests and the questioning pursued. Nevertheless, we should remember that the central focus of research is not the methods but the contents.

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Objective Hermeneutics – Key Principles and Procedures¹

Abstracts

EN

This article provides an overview of the objective-hermeneutic sequence analysis, as a reconstructive analysis method and as a “Kunstlehre” (theory of art). In addition to the theoretical assumptions and key principles, the interpretative procedure based on the 5 principles of Wernet is described. A short excursus on the question and challenge of methodically controlled analysis and understanding of foreign cultural, but also foreign language data, as encountered by the authors in the context of transcultural and comparative teaching research, rounds off this article.

DE

Der vorliegende Artikel gibt einen Überblick über die objektiv-hermeneutische Sequenzanalyse, als rekonstruktive Auswertungsmethode und “Kunstlehre”. Neben den theoretischen Annahmen und Grundprinzipien wird das interpretative Vorgehen anhand der fünf Prinzipien nach Wernet beschrieben. Ein kleiner Exkurs über die Frage und Herausforderung des methodisch kontrollierten Analysierens und Verstehens von fremdkulturellen aber auch fremdsprachlichen Daten, wie es der Autorin und dem Autor im Kontext der transkulturellen und vergleichenden Unterrichtsforschung begegnet, rundet diesen Beitrag ab.

PT

Este artigo apresenta uma visão geral da análise sequencial hermenêutica objetiva como método de avaliação reconstrutiva e “teoria da arte”. Para além dos pressupostos teóricos e dos princípios básicos, o procedimento interpretativo é descrito com base nos cinco princípios de Wernet. Um breve excursus sobre a questão e o desafio da análise e compreensão de dados

1 Thanks to Annika Scholz and Dr. Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi for translating the text.

culturais e linguísticos estrangeiros, metodicamente controlada, tal como encontrado pelos autores no contexto da investigação do ensino transcultural e comparada, completa este artigo.

JA

本稿では、再構成をおこなう分析方法と「技の理論」として、客観的解釈学のシーケンス分析を概観する。理論的基盤と基本原則にくわえ、ヴェアネットが提唱した5つの原則にもとづいて解釈手順を叙述する。また、異なる文化や外国語のデータを方法的制御のもとに分析し理解する際の問いや課題についても言及する。その際、書き手であるわたしたちがトランスカルチュラルな比較授業研究にどのように向き合ったのかを示し、論考をまとめる。

1 Theoretical assumptions

The method of objective hermeneutics was developed in the 1970s by Ulrich Oevermann and colleagues who were looking at the relationship between social class, forms of language and social interaction (Oevermann et al. 1979). The method is situated in the empirical, case based and qualitative reconstructive research tradition and is utilised in the social sciences, the humanities, in cultural studies as well as in the empirical field of school and teaching research (Combe & Helsper 1994; Schelle 2003).

The method of objective hermeneutics is concerned with tracing the general structural characteristics, i.e., the case structure of a specific life practice (Oevermann 2000: 117) and finding out how the concrete case represents a specific position, a particular response, a specific variant (Wernet 2012: 184). The focus is not put on the subjective intentional meaning of a life practice (hence it does not focus on what somebody could have intended), but instead it relies upon the reconstruction of the latent, objective meaning structures of the analysed material (forms of expression) (Oevermann 2013). According to Bourdieu (1979) “every individual, whether they may be aware of it or not, may want it or not, is a producer and reproducer of objective sense”² (ibid.: 178). In objective hermeneutics all protocols of natural interactions are taken into consideration, meaning everything “that can be objectified and leaves recordable traces” (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 251) in any form of text. Cases in point are for example protocols of interaction, school textbooks or photographs. On the premise that every social life practice is constituted by “rule generated” as well as “rule guided” action (Oevermann 2000: 64), the intention of the method of objective hermeneutics is orientated towards the

2 All citations are translated.

idea that there actually are regularities which exist beyond subjective feeling and meaning that determine the actions of each individual (Schelle 2003). The aim of reconstructing latent structures is to formulate the structure of a case. This can be regarded as a kind of pattern rendered recognisable by repeating everything “that is expressed in a statement as ‘objective meaning’” (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 253). In order to achieve this aim, the methodical approach needs to adhere to certain steps in the process of interpretation.

2 Method and principal steps of interpretation

Andreas Wernet proposes five principles regarding the objective hermeneutical analysis process, which have become firmly established: “*Kontextfreiheit*” (context-free interpretation), “*Wörtlichkeit*” (literal meaning), “*Sequentialität*” (sequentiality), “*Extensivität*” (extensiveness) and “*Sparsamkeit*” (parsimony) (cf. Wernet 2009: 6).

“*Kontextfreiheit*” (context-free interpretation)

The objective hermeneutical reconstruction begins with a thought experiment in order to find answers to the following question: “Who could have said that in which situation and under which circumstances?” (Franzmann 2016: 27). By comparing various imaginable fields of contexts, the objective hermeneutical approach consciously and methodically neglects the actual context to capture the specific connotation of an expression (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 257). Therefore, this approach tries to formulate “narratives that show a maximum of diverse and contrasting situations [...] that consistently match the generated statement and pragmatically fulfil their conditions of validity” (Oevermann 1983: 236). In terms of dealing with context knowledge, or rather previous knowledge of data that is to be interpreted, establishing a “methodically controlled artificial naivety” enables one to observe the familiar from a distance instead of describing it from an inside perspective of practice that precisely is the object of analysis (Oevermann 1993: 264).

“*Sequentialität*” (sequentiality)

With the principle of sequentiality, objective hermeneutics expresses the inner structure of the content being analysed. During the course of interpretation, the empirical material is analysed step by step. After the complete reconstruction of a sequence (when dealing with large data sets like a lesson in class), it is helpful to scan the data in search of “usable” sequences that are in turn interpreted according to the rules of the sequence analysis (Wernet 2009: 31).

“Wörtlichkeit” (literal meaning)

Applying the principle of literal meaning is to look at data material as an “expression of reality” (Wernet 2009: 23). Each text element is “put on the gold scale” and examined precisely with regard to its structure and meaning (Wernet 2009: 24). From a systematic point of view, the principle of literal meaning indicates that one must leave the level of paraphrasing the content and focus on the structure of the text (Wernet 2009).

“Extensivität” (extensiveness)

The principle of extensiveness requests that even every minor and inconspicuous detail needs to be included into the sequential analysis and needs to be defined as purposefully motivated (Oevermann 2000: 100). This implies that an extensive sequential analysis initially requires numerous versions of interpretation. As “the struggle for the text” (Oevermann et al. 1979: 393) underlines, more and more interpretations are gradually left behind until the structure of the case is revealed.

“Sparsamkeit” (parsimony)

This principle puts an end to an extensive, detailed and precise analysis. Instead of “an aimless and endless search for meaning” (Wernet 2009: 35), it only introduces interpretations of “‘normal’ situations and contexts which are necessary for the overall understanding of the text” (Leber 1994: 228). The principle of parsimony functions as a kind of “handrail” for a context free and extensive sequential analysis (Mbaye 2018: 130).

The educationalist Rumpf very poignantly described the objective hermeneutical reconstruction of class sequences as a form of “detective work” to avoid hasty judgments (Rumpf 1991; Schelle 2003). The practical procedure of objective hermeneutics does not differ logically from the procedures of everyday knowledge production. It literally tries to explore its object as a form of “*Kunstlehre*” (theory of art) by aiming to differentiate the logic of professional forms of practices (Oevermann 2013). However, the empirical method of objective hermeneutics can be considered as a meticulous and time-consuming approach. This is why Oevermann himself describes the methodical proceedings as “a laboratory situation for scientists” (Oevermann 2014: 38).

The steps of interpretation outlined here will be illustrated in following article in this volume (Schelle & Mbaye) with the aid of protocols of foreign language classes, in which different forms of addressing and the subject of teaching play

a significant role. The reconstruction of foreign cultural or foreign language data can be seen as a particular challenge for the interpreters.

3 Dealing with foreign cultural data

The study of comparative research confronts scientists with the challenges of a methodically controlled analysis and understanding of foreign cultural, but also foreign language data (Mbaye 2018; Schelle 2013). Reconstructive methods, like in particular objective hermeneutics, are sensitive towards differences and therefore allow:

- to relativise “the impregnation of one’s own view” (Hollstein, Schelle & Meister 2012),
- to reflect one’s own “habits of seeing and thinking” (ibid.) and therefore avoid risks of ethnocentrism.

Mixed teams of interpreters (autochthonous and allochthonous) in particular (Schelle 2013) enable us to engage in the “language of the case” (Cappai 2010: 129) and to empathise with “cultural ‘underlying structures’ of the society that is the focus of investigation” (Cappai 2010: 151).

A further challenge lies in handling translations that often correlate with shifts of meaning or loss of significance of particular elements. Following the principles of literal meaning and sequentiality, the interpretation of the case should be as close to the source text as possible. This explains why in our German-Senegalese projects, all protocols of classroom interaction are left in their respective original language (Mbaye 2018; Schelle 2013; Schelle & Mbaye in this volume). Since its emergence within the framework of the project “Childhood home and school” (Oevermann et al. 1979), the method of objective hermeneutics has evolved further. It has influenced various disciplines and working contexts (Franzmann 2016), including our German-Senegalese projects.

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Carla Schelle and Mamadou Mbaye

Comparative Reconstructions of Subject Matter and Addressing Practices in Senegalese and German Classrooms¹

Abstracts

EN

Based on studies of comparative interpretative teaching research, the contribution addresses methodological, methodical and theoretical challenges of comparing sequences from lessons in Germany and Senegal, taking two countries as case examples whose comparison seems to be rather unusual. The evaluation method of objective hermeneutics, which seems to be particularly sensitive to foreign cultural situations, is used for reconstruction. In terms of content, the focus is on the constitution of objects in mutual interactions in the classroom. Further cases and questions show how research and teaching can benefit from this approach. Finally, the limits of comparative research will be marked, for example with regard to the blind spots of observation.

DE

Basierend auf Forschungen in der interpretativen vergleichenden Unterrichtsforschung widmet sich der Beitrag den damit einhergehenden methodologischen, methodischen und theoretischen Herausforderungen. Mit Unterrichtssequenzen aus Senegal und Deutschland geht eine eher ungewöhnliche Länderauswahl einher. Zur Rekonstruktion dient die Auswertungsmethode der Objektiven Hermeneutik, die besonders sensibilibisiert scheint für fremdkulturelle Lagen. Inhaltlich fokussiert wird die Gegenstandskonstituierung in wechselseitigen Interaktionen im Klassenzimmer. Weitere Fälle und Fragen zeigen, wie Forschung und Lehre von dieser Zugangsweise profitieren können. Abschließend werden Grenzen vergleichender Forschung markiert, etwa mit Blick auf die blinden Flecke der Beobachtung.

1 Thanks to Annika Scholz and Dr. Lara-Stephanie Krause-Alzaidi for translating the text.

PT

Baseado na investigação interpretativa e comparativa do ensino, o artigo é dedicado aos desafios metodólicos, metodológicos e teóricos que estão associados a este domínio. A seleção de sequências de ensino do Senegal e da Alemanha representa uma seleção bastante incomum de países. É utilizado para a reconstrução o método de análise da hermenêutica objetiva, que parece ser particularmente sensível a situações culturais estrangeiras. Em termos de conteúdo, o foco é a constituição do objeto em interações na sala de aula. Outros casos e questões mostram como a investigação e o ensino podem beneficiar desta abordagem. Por fim, são salientados os limites da investigação comparativa, por exemplo, no que diz respeito aos pontos cegos da observação.

JA

解釈と比較をおこなう授業研究の事例をもとに、本稿では研究の展開につきまとう方法論、方法そのもの、そして理論にかかわる課題を検討する。具体的にはセネガルとドイツというあまりなじみのない組み合わせをもとに、授業シークエンスを検討する。再構成に際しては、客観的解釈学の分析方法を用いている。この方法は、異なる文化に対してとくに配慮しており、ここでは教室での相互行為のなかで学習対象が構成される過程を検討する。複数の事例や問いを用い、研究と教授にとってこの方法がどのような利点をもたらすのかを示す。さいごに、比較研究の限界を指摘し、観察につきまとう盲点への留意を促す。

1 Introduction

Comparative interpretative studies have been at the core of our research and teaching. We address in this piece particular methodological, methodical and theoretical challenges of empirical comparisons that occur in the context of the classroom in Germany and Senegal – two countries whose comparison might at first seem rather unusual (Mbaye 2018; Schelle et al. 2018).

Comparative studies always depend on a *Tertium Comperationis*. The case examples we describe are sequences from lessons in Germany and Senegal that are comparable with regard to content and subject. Based on long-standing experience in comparative Franco-German teaching research (Hollstein, Schelle & Meister 2012; Straub 2015) there have been several binational exchanges between Dakar and Mainz since 2011, which resulted in several case studies (cf. Früchtenicht & Mbaye 2016; Schelle & Straub 2016).

Comparative research is significant, because comparison can uncover invisible common-sense assumptions that are taken for granted in one or the other

context so they can be productively discussed. In the same vein, comparative approaches also allow for a foregrounding of local specificities. When dealing with data from other cultural contexts it is important to discuss and reflect that the interpreter, the process of interpretation and the objects to be interpreted depend on their specific contexts, histories and social milieus (Cappai 2010 referring to Soeffner; Schelle 2013).

2 Challenges of comparative research – methodological considerations

As Karl Mannheim has framed it, the reflection of one's own location and of the *"Standortgebundenheit"* (local situatedness) or rather the *"Seinsgebundenheit des Wissens"* (the situatedness of knowledge) is particularly important with regard to case studies from different cultural settings (Fritzsche 2013). The sequences analysed come from two very different countries whose school and education systems have historically developed in very different ways. Senegal and Germany still differ with regard to the types of schools that are prevalent in each country, the subject disciplines, the cultures of teaching and learning and the languages of learning and teaching. In Senegal, for example, it is not the indigenous languages that are officially used for teaching. Instead, French is the main language of schooling (see Mbaye & Schelle in this volume). Schooling itself always needs to be looked at as a national institution (cf. Adick 2009; Schelle & Straub 2018). This means that all class activities are framed normatively and in a curricular manner. Therefore, it is imperative to carefully reconstruct specific aspects of the respective cultural context without hastily attributing observations to national patterns. Culturalization, essentialisation and othering thus need to be avoided (Caruso 2013; Fritzsche 2013). In our empirical field of comparative research – between Germany, France and Senegal – we try to methodically control the challenges one encounters when dealing with comparisons. Interpreting in a mixed team of native speakers is central to this process. German and French transcripts remain in their respective language and are, for the purposes of gaining a wider audience, going to be translated into English (see below). The process of translating and understanding the transcripts is considered to be a mutual, knowledge generating process (Bittner & Günther 2013; Schelle & Straub 2018; Schittenhelm 2017; Stegmaier 2013).

3 Teaching as interaction, addressing and subject matter (theoretical concept)

In research as well as in teaching, we endorse the theoretical concept of teaching as being a form of interaction (Luhmann 2002). This means that in the process teachers as well as pupils communicatively (verbally and non-verbally) produce or constitute all kinds of objects via a form of practices. Practices are seen as “a sequential [...] doing, which in practicing makes sense and can be understood” and as a primal, institutionalised form of the social (Reh, Rabenstein & Idel 2011: 214). We focus on object related practices and therefore we assume that this mutually generated process of addressing, of subject and of object can be subsumed in the term of a subjectivation process. In class or rather in constituting a teaching subject/topic – like Reh & Ricken are appropriately pointing out – it all revolves around the question “how one is by whom in front of whom as whom addressed explicitly or implicitly” (Reh & Ricken 2012: 42).

In a narrower sense, what can be said about the subject/topic of teaching? In relation to that, we are going to focus on a Franco-German research study under the supervision of Carla Schelle that aims at constituting teaching subjects/topics in the classroom. In this project (sponsored by the German Research Foundation, DFG, 2018-2021), subjects of teaching are phenomenologically considered as a signifier, as Schütz & Luckmann (1994) point out. This signifier in the classroom has a particular structure, a particular way of functioning (and relates to *an object/a case* or a subject) (Kleiner 2014; Pollmanns 2010). With regard to subject matters in the classroom, one can see that they:

- always stand for showing, presenting and learning something.
- are positioned situationally and are acquired via enunciation (Sünkel 1996).
- relate to one’s own natural disposition and to a kind of representation (truth) being evoked in others and refers to what others see in it, how they understand and comprehend it (Lauterbach 2010).

In short, subjects of teaching/subject matters are generated through practices in mutual teacher-pupil-interactions (see Schelle & Straub 2018). Amid existing studies of comparative research on teaching in mathematics, foreign languages and politics (e.g., Früchtenicht & Mbaye 2016; Knipping 2012; Mbaye 2018; Schelle & Straub 2016, 2018; Schelle et al. 2018), we assume that there are cultural variances and similarities in addressing and constituting of objects in class that can be made visible when comparing in teaching practices.

4 Sampling method: class observations, transcripts

The lessons which were transcribed into the following sequences were taken from Mbaye (2018)², a comparative German-Senegalese study aiming at revealing practices of error correction in foreign language classes. However, the data will be looked at in a slightly different manner. The lessons were recorded by Mamadou Mbaye in French lessons in Germany as well as in German lessons in Senegal by using audio- and videotaping. The recordings were subsequently transcribed in the original language. The foreign language documents were not translated during the process of interpretation, as – depending on the research focus – context and structure of the original language can be lost when documents are translated. An example from Mbaye (2018) illustrates this point: speech acts that do not sound well formed in German can indeed sound well formed when translated into another language.

Once translated, the sequence: *Guten Tag Frau*, a greeting that took place in a German lesson in Senegal (Mbaye 2018) is regarded as incomplete in German. ‘Frau’ never stands alone in a formal greeting but is always followed by the person’s surname: “*Guten Tag Frau Müller, Guten Tag Herr Schmidt*”. In contrast to that, in French one can greet without adding any name: *Bonjour Madame*, just like in English: *Good morning Madam*.

This is why the data analysis took place in several meetings in a mixed research workshop with researchers who were familiar with the environment out of which the data material had originated (cf. Oevermann et al. 1979: 392; Oevermann 2002). This kind of procedure is vitally important for a comparative objective hermeneutical interpretation (see the article by Mbaye & Schelle in this volume; Wernet 2009). In the following chapter, certain steps of interpretation that focus on the meaning of addressing and the constitution of the object of teaching in interactions early in a lesson are made comprehensible.

2 This dissertation was funded by DAAD and submitted at the Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz.

5 Reconstruction of two cases – choral speaking and individual speaking

5.1 First case: „welchesche Datum haben ...?“ – choral speaking, simultaneously saying the date

Embedment of the sequence

This scene documents the beginning of a German lesson in Senegal (Mbaye 2018). All students are already in the classroom. The teacher enters the classroom, puts her belongings on her desk, walks towards one of the female pupils who sits up front and talks to her. Finally, she turns towards the class and asks them to formulate the question about the date in French: (“is there anyone who can say which day we have today”). Subsequently one of the pupils raises his hand (“Abou Ka”). The teacher gives him the right to speak up and then asks him to put the question to a classmate named Barry. Abou Ka follows the request of his teacher:

00.01.03	Abou Ka:	<i>welchesche Datum haben</i> whawhats is date
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In a context free and literal perspective, the presented sequence shows the beginning of a phrasing that asks for the date (of the day) in halting German (“*welchesche Datum haben*”). If we detach the interaction from its educational context, the following stories can be panned out:

- A person is filling out a form while sitting at a desk and is thereby uttering the words.
- Another possibility is a child that comes up with a special plan while sitting at a breakfast table. And it thereby excitedly asks another person for the date of the day.
- It is equally possible that somebody is reading a text, is hesitating while reading out loud and thinks how these words should be pronounced.

By leaving the original context and by putting the sequence into various contexts, we can see that quite a few other ways of interpreting the sequence are possible. Every context presented here has in common that we are confronted with a not well-formed sentence and that the speaker finds himself in a position of reflecting, thinking and/or hesitation. It is to be expected that the missing syntactical elements will be completed. Yet there needs to be a reason why the speaker Abou Ka interrupts his act of speaking.

The next sequence:

00.01.07	Lehrerin:	hahan hahan c'est pas welchesche c'est?
	Teacher:	heyhey heyhey it is not whawhats? It is?

In response to Abou Ka, the teacher reacts with a sort of language *mélange* that can be classified into three phases: she begins with a double “heyhey”, then she dismisses what would be from her point of view regarded as an incorrect element (“*c'est pas welchesche*”). Eventually, she initiates a correction (“*c'est?/It is?*”). With her insistent phrasing, the pupil, or rather how he speaks, is being addressed as deficient. It is interesting to see that the teacher is repeating the clumsy contribution of the pupil and is thereby seemingly initiating a negotiation of the correction. It is not clear, however, if she is turning to the person who caused the supposed error (as an act of self-correction) or/and if she addresses and includes the entire class (in an act of external correction).

What happens next?

00.01.07	<i>viele SuS:</i> many pupils:	<i>[gleichzeitig]: Welches</i> [simultaneously]: What
00.01.08	<i>Lehrerin:</i> teacher:	<i>hmm?</i> hmm?
00.01.09	<i>viele SuS:</i> many pupils:	<i>[gleichzeitig]: Welches</i> [simultaneously]: What
00.01.09	<i>Lehrerin:</i> teacher.	<i>Welches</i> What
00.01.10	<i>viele SuS:</i> many pupils:	<i>[gleichzeitig]: Datum</i> [simultaneously]: date
00.01.11	<i>Lehrerin:</i> teacher:	<i>Datum</i> date
00.01.12	<i>viele SuS:</i> many pupils:	<i>[gleichzeitig]: haben</i> [simultaneously]: is
00.01.13	<i>Lehrerin:</i> teacher:	<i>haben wir heute? oui</i> Barry c'est Barry? Oui is the date of today? Yes Barry it is Barry? Yes

Following suit, by implementing a process of correction, the pupils respond by answering in a chorus (external correction) and in a back-and-forth relay with their teacher. It is clear that having a pupil give the right answer is more important for the teacher than giving an individual feedback to Abou Ka. The intervention by the teacher and the reactions of the pupils lead to a situation where fluent communication cannot be established. The pupil Abou Ka as producer of the “error” is being deprived of self-correction due to the chorus-like intervention of the pupil collective. The commonly highly ritualised

practice of choric speaking characterises not only this interaction but seems to be highly significant in this classroom in general (cf. Mbaye 2018).

Below we introduce a second case, because according to objective hermeneutics one's understanding of one case becomes more thorough when contrasting it to another case.

5.2 Second case: "nous sommes quelle date?" – an individual speaking, saying the date face-to-face

Embedment of the sequence

The following sequence documents the beginning of a French class at a secondary school for boys in Germany (Mbaye 2018). The teacher opens the door of the classroom, the pupils enter and take their seats. Then the teacher positions herself in front of the class and the pupils stand up. At this point, the transcript begins:

00.00.00	Lehrerin:	bonjour m'sieurs
	teacher:	good morning gentlemen
00.00.02	Schüler:	[gemeinsam]: bon-jour ma-dame Mül-ler
	pupils:	[together]: go-od mor-ning ma-dame Mül-ler
00.00.08	Lehrerin:	nous sommes quelle date? [viele Schüler melden sich] Bruno
	teacher:	What is the date? [many pupils hold up their hands] Bruno
00.00.11	Bruno:	Bruno: c'est ähm mercredi le:: trois
	Bruno:	ähm décembre deux mille quatorze
		thats ähm wednesday the third ähm december two thousand fourteen
00.00.20	Lehrerin:	merci asseyez-vous [Schüler:innen setzen sich hin und L. schreibt an die Tafel]
	teacher:	thanks sit down [pupils sit down, teacher writes on the board]

The teacher greets the pupils formally in French by saying "bonjour". She addresses the pupils as "m'sieurs" ("gentlemen"), even though the subjects being addressed are school boys aged 12 to 13. The pupils being addressed as "gentlemen" react, contrary to expectation, with a chorus-like response. This practice seems contradictory in relation to the formal, grown up addressing of the teacher. The pupils seem to be aware of their role and position as a collective in need of teaching and learning. It becomes clear that this case does not show a greeting that happens out of sheer politeness, but it shows an act of greeting shaped by didactics or orchestration that serves the purpose of

“establishing a form of order in the classroom” (cf. Rabenstein & Reh 2010; Wagner-Willi 2005). The teacher continues and asks for the date of the day in French (“*nous sommes quelle date?*”). A few pupils raise their hand. The teacher turns to Bruno whom she addresses with his first name. He then begins to answer. In relation to the question that is being asked, there is no well-formed syntactic sentence in Bruno’s manner of speaking. How will the teacher react? She does not respond but instead thanks the student who is performing and/or his other classmates by saying “*merci*”. Quite obviously she does not seem to mind these kinds of “errors”. It seems that the ritualised practice of this beginning of class has priority over technical accuracy (cf. Mbaye 2018).

5.3 Contrasting of cases: collective-orientated versus individualised addressing and acting

Comparing and contrasting these two cases produces the following results: In both cases the question that asks for the date of the day is the central cornerstone and serves as a ritualised practice which establishes the social and content-related “order of the class” in the respective target language (cf. Rabenstein & Reh 2010). In the case from Germany, we can see that this kind of ritualised practice happens quickly and unobstructed despite a very small error (which is being overlooked by the teacher) in the target language French and in some form of face-to-face situation. The kind of grown up, formal addressing, the acknowledgment expressed towards the pupils as well as the acceptance of the not well-formed statement of the pupil Bruno read as a polite and formalised but also motivated social interaction with the pupils. In contrast, in the Senegalese case the correct wording of the question (which asks for the date of the day) is being generated by interaction and/or interplay between the teacher, the presenting pupil and the pupil collective. This is characterised as a practice of a chorus-like error repair (correction) in which the individual is no longer being addressed. In fact, the object/the wording in the target language is being generated collectively (cf. Mbaye 2018). In this relation between the pupil being addressed as a subject and the pupil collective, subjectivation processes become apparent (cf. Reh & Ricken 2012). Similarly generated chorus-like actions are outlined by Caruso as “provision of experience by a collective” (Caruso 2011: 28 in relation to León Florido 2001). Beck (2011) has made observations in Swahili that show a completion of phrases via chorus-like speaking and described these as “a linguistic process that is associated with authoritarian argumentation and didactical hierarchy [...]”, and by which the speaker assumes consent of the audience and makes it explicit through this form of institutionalised “repair” (Beck 2011: 123ff.). For this practice, the listeners need to be in a position where they can

actually complete the sentence (ibid., cf. Schelle 2013: 262 ff.). According to the Senegalese author Sow (2004), collective acting and the primacy of the collective in the process of teaching and learning in Senegal, has its roots in the "*éducation traditionnelle*", which is about teaching children the particular common values of the respective group (of which they are a part)³. In a following sequence taking place in a Senegalese classroom, the emphasis is on the default of a joint manner of speaking (or a chorus-like speaking) when teaching children how to read and write. This is also observable in the process of memorising or reciting poems, songs or vocabulary in class. The example from Germany then contrasts with this communal practice of chorus-like speaking. Here we can instead see a teaching practice that is born out of its historic educational ("*bildungshistorisch*") context and oriented around every single pupil ("*Schülersubjekt*") (Hollstein 2013, 2016; Hörner 2000; Hörner & Many 2017; Schelle 2016).

Workshops on empirical school and teaching research at the University of Mainz, where sequences taken from foreign settings were methodically reconstructed, have finally made it possible to reflect on pre-understandings and "site-dependency" (cf. Cappai 2010).

Two further case examples show that an alternating reference of the sequential and literal reconstruction between object and addressing can stimulate a debate on the theme of casuistic teacher training.

6 Further questions and perspectives for working on cases that focus on the subject and addressing

The following shows once again how case studies are suitable for comparative research and for academic teaching. Questions that emerged from the first reconstructions of cases can demonstrate what can systematically be taken into consideration when reconstructing cases. Both cases show the beginning of class as "an opening of social practice" in language classrooms where pupils learn a foreign language. Opening sequences are very suitable material for objective hermeneutical examination because, as mentioned earlier, beginnings of class are attributed with an increased structuring ability regarding the practice that is generated (*through them*) (Zizek 2015: 322). Looking at these cases, we do not provide detailed interpretations but rather questions to reflect upon and work with. The aim is to facilitate critical, methodologically and theoretically well-structured analyses of case studies as part of teacher training.

3 For an example for South Africa see in a previous study from Chick published 1996.

6.1 Addressing and subject “on se tient bien droit” – standing upright and the role of the body⁴

The beginning of class was recorded in February 2013 during research visits of Carla Schelle at a catholic primary school in Dakar. It shows a so-called “Cours préparatoire” (which can be more or less compared to the second year in primary school) in France. The 26 female students and 18 male students are about 8 years old and they speak French as a foreign language or second language. French classes in Senegal are originally not designed as foreign language classes. At the beginning of the transcript, the pupils are being asked to stand up:

00:00:30	teacher:	[...] on se lève [tape deux fois dans les mains] on se tient bien droit We stand up [claps two times her hands] and we hold straight
	pupils sing:	le coq chante le jour paraît, tout s'éveille dans le village, pour que le bon couscous soit prêt, femmes debout et du courage, pilons pan-pan, pilons pan-pan, pilons pan-pan, pilons gaiement
00:01:04	teacher:	les bras le long du corps on se tient bien droit un deux trois the arms close to the body and we hold straight one two three
	pupils sing:	pincez tous vos koras, frappez les balafons, le lion a rugi, le dompteur de la brousse, d'un bond s'est élancé, dissipant les ténèbres, soleil sur nos terreurs, soleil sur notre espoir, debout, frères, voici l'Afrique rassemblée, fibres de mon cœur vert. épaule contre épaule, mes plus que frères, ô Sénégalais, debout, unissons la mer et les sources, unissons la steppe et la forêt, salut Afrique mère [les élèves applaudissent] [pupils clap their hands]
00:02:12	teacher:	asseyez-vous alors sit down okay[teacher starts with the chapter of today]

At this point, and referring to the theoretical assumptions that were dealt with earlier in this chapter, one may ask: As whom are the pupils being addressed

⁴ See also Schelle 2019; Schelle, Fritzsche & Lehmann-Rommelt 2021.

and acknowledged? Which function does this kind of practice have for the community being present? For the French class? In what way does the practice of addressing and the subject merge into one another (language and content of the texts being sung, what are they about?), which kind of normative requirements, institutionalised frameworks and curricula guidelines are therewith implied?

Commentary: Teacher and pupils practice a highly ritualised opening sequence. Two song texts deal with the Senegalese context (culture and history) in a language that is only just being acquired. Addressing and thematic content of the lesson co-constitute each other. Similar to the sequences from Senegalese classrooms presented earlier, we can observe the addressing of the pupils as a collective. Through choral singing the object of teaching is then constituted cooperatively in the target language.

The sequence can be compared with the following one:

6.2 Addressing and subject “how is your dog by the way”? – “How is your dog?”

The protocol⁵ resulted from a school internship of a student who had visited grade 6 at a Gymnasium in Germany in 2011. The mid-morning break has just ended and the 5th lesson of the day begins in a French class.

The German transcript has been translated into English:

T: Can you help Jakob, Peter to take the garbage ... Peter, clean up the hallway together.

[...]

[Pupils take their seats; keep on chatting; stand up.]

Bonjour!

P (all): **Bonjour Madame XXX!**

[Pupils take their seats; two pupils enter the classroom from outside.]

P1: Miss ***, you wanted to implement a seating order.

T: Yes, I will do that.

[...]

P2: Can you give me the key? I have forgotten my jacket.

T: And what about you, Albert? Tom can go and get his jacket all by himself.

P3: Yes I have forgotten my pencil... probably in music class.

T: I don't have a key for the music room anyway ... Well then go and have a look.

[Two pupils leave the classroom.]

P1: Can you please tell Jakob that he can take off his jacket?

5 The document shown above is taken from the internal case archive for teacher training at the University of Mainz.

- T: Oh, today you are all somehow a little bit confused!
[Teacher takes her seat.]
- T: **Comment vas-tu, Heike?** (How do you do, Heike)
- P4: **Äh ... ça va bien.** / (Äh... I am doing fine.)
- P5: Miss XXX actually, how is your dog?
- T: Fine ... Alma is doing fine.
Et toi, Erika, ça va bien? (And you, Erika, are you doing fine?)
- P6: **Oui, ça va bien.** (Yes, I am fine.)

One may ask again: As whom are the pupils being addressed and acknowledged? And, a little bit different from the foregoing questions: In what way do the practice of addressing and the subject merge into each other? Which kind of normative requirements, institutionalised frameworks and curricula guidelines are thereby implied?

Commentary: Here it becomes clear that several attempts are undertaken before the lesson in the target language can begin. A pupil reacts to the exercise about addressing in French that had just begun. He interrupts the official conversation with a private question in the first language. Similar to the first example from Germany, we see a teaching practice born out of its historic educational context and mainly oriented around individual pupils.

By contrasting both sequences with regard to similarities and cultural variances, following questions can be helpful: In what sense can normative expectations, institutional framing and curricula guidelines be seen as specific for the respective cultural context, as a national element or even a transnational element? What meaning do the particular subjects of the target language (traditional songs, greeting, dialogue) have for the teacher and the pupils? How do personal/subjective relations, polite and less polite manners of speaking, closeness and distance develop in their respective manner and how can they be reconstructed and interpreted regarding their position in an institutional framing and curricula guidelines?

7 Blind spots and methodological challenges

Finally, it is important to once again zoom into the methodical and theoretical challenges regarding blind spots, language and translation as well as context knowledge (Schelle 2016).

Within the framework of the empirical field that is interpretative educational research, we assume that observations are selective and subjective. Speaking from Niklas Luhmann's point of view, it is actually the term of "distinction", so that observation is not only a "matter of perspective, but inherently paradoxical" (Reh 2012: 3). It produces "its very own blind spots", which cannot be seen by observers (ibid.: 7), because "every observation at the moment of

observing can only see the one side which has been described and not the one which has not been described" (ibid.: 17, see also Schelle 2016). Therefore, we presume that observing foreign cultural contexts, including what we know about the respective pragmatic context, will remain incomplete, things can always be overlooked and the unknown may not take centre stage and therefore will not enter the process of evaluation (cf. Schelle 2015).

During the process of translation, meaning of content can be lost or new meanings of content surface, which may turn into obstacles for the interpretation. Translating foreign language documents entails the danger of seizing a foreign vocabulary and incorporating them into one's own vocabulary and its meaning, thus generating blind spots again (cf. Hollstein, Schelle & Meister 2012).

With regard to the transcripts from Senegal, we need to take into additional consideration that the French language as the lingua franca and the language of schooling, is by no means the first language of all participants involved in the schools in Senegal from which the presented documents originated (see Mbaye 2018). This means that there must be a peculiar handling of French in Senegal that is being adjusted to the existing living conditions and that not only leads to the fact of words and sentences sounding differently to the French spoken in France but also attributes a different meaning to certain words and designations (Chnane-Davin & Thiam 2016). A translation into English is posing an additional challenge. Translations always reach their limits if there is no equivalent in the other language. This is exemplified when looking at the term of "*Bildung*" for which there is no equivalent in French or English and which is a particular result of the history of education in Germany. One constantly needs to work hard to generate understanding and comprehension.

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Reconstructive Video-Analysis: Making Methodological Reflected Selections during the Research Process

Abstracts

EN

The central challenge in reconstructing social meaning or the course of interaction from video material is the selection of units of analysis. This cannot be decided at the beginning of the research process on the basis of the research question and the basic theoretical assumptions alone. Instead, one has to develop and refine criteria that allow a systematic and adequate selection. The article presents two analytical procedures according to Jörg Dinkelaker and Matthias Herrle (2009), which meet this challenge in a methodologically guided way, and illustrates the procedures by means of a study on the emergence of a teaching topic.

DE

Die zentrale Herausforderung, um anhand von Videomaterial soziale Bedeutung oder den Verlauf von Interaktionen rekonstruieren zu können, besteht in der Auswahl von Analyseeinheiten. Diese kann nicht zu Beginn des Forschungsprozesses allein anhand der Forschungsfrage und den theoretischen Grundannahmen entschieden werden. Stattdessen sind in der Arbeit mit dem Videomaterial Kriterien zu entwickeln und zu schärfen, die eine systematische und adäquate Auswahl ermöglichen. Der Artikel präsentiert zwei Analyseverfahren nach Jörg Dinkelaker und Matthias Herrle (2009), die dieser Herausforderung methodisch geleitet begegnen, und illustriert die Verfahren anhand einer Studie zum Entstehen eines Unterrichtsthemas.

PT

O desafio central para poder reconstruir o significado social ou o curso das interações com base em material de vídeo reside na seleção das unidades de análise. Isto não pode ser decidido no início do processo de investigação apenas com base na pergunta de investigação e nos pressupostos teóri-

cos básicos. Ao invés, devem ser desenvolvidos e aperfeiçoados critérios no trabalho com o material de vídeo para permitir uma seleção sistemática e adequada. O artigo apresenta dois métodos de análise seguindo Jörg Dinkelaker e Matthias Herrle (2009), que respondem a este desafio de uma forma metódica orientada, e ilustra os métodos utilizando um estudo sobre o desenvolvimento de um tópico de ensino.

JA

ビデオという資料から社会関係上の意味や相互行為の流れを再構成する際、分析対象となる単位の選択は大きな困難である。分析単位は、研究プロセスの最初期に、研究設問や基本的な理論的立場によってのみ決定することができないからである。そのため、研究者には体系的で妥当な選択を可能にする指標を開発・生成してゆくが必要になる。イエルク・ディンケルアカーとマティアス・ヘーレによる分析手続き(2009年)では、方法論による制御でこの課題に対応している。本稿では、授業の主題がどのように生成されるのかという問いについて、この手続き方法によって二つの事例を検討する。

Introduction

Videos may make it clearer than other types of data material how challenging the selection of units of analysis can be in order to reconstruct social meaning. While watching a videotaped lesson, the researcher does not only hear people talking in a strict sequential order, but can observe multiple people interacting with one another simultaneously. Also, the technical possibilities opened up by videography allow an observation on a microscopic level. For example, by playing the videos slowly, the sequential entanglement of spatially arranged students, teachers, and things used in the classroom come to the fore and challenge initial ideas of the point of interest, which can lead to an overload. The constantly arising question is: What absolutely must be included in the analysis, and what can be neglected as a context? (Dinkelaker 2018: 142).

In qualitative research, it is a common assumption that a selection of data is necessary to answer a research question. However, the research question alone is not sufficient to productively limit selection out of data material (Reichert 2016: 29-31), which becomes very clear while working with videos. Instead, one needs to develop criteria during the process of analysis according to the basic theoretical assumptions, the research question and the videos themselves in order to select cutouts for closer examination.

In their book "Erziehungswissenschaftliche Videographie" (engl. "Educational videography", 2009) Jörg Dinkelaker and Matthias Herrle suggest several

methodological based proceedings to not only select data units but also to reconstruct social meaning and the course of interaction (Reichertz 2016: 35-36) by using videos. I will explain two of their proceedings – segmentation analysis and sequence analysis – on the basis of my dissertation “Das klassenöffentliche Entstehen eines Unterrichtsthemas” (engl. “The public constitution of a lesson’s topic in a classroom”, Leicht 2021). In doing so, I am less concerned with the specific results of my study than with illustrating the process by which criteria for selecting units of analysis can be developed based on video material to ultimately answer a specific research question.

To do this, it is necessary to outline my research interest and basic theoretical assumptions in a first chapter. I also explain why I chose the method of interaction analysis, which is central to the approach of Dinkelaker and Herrle (Dinkelaker & Herrle 2009: 11), and how initial considerations were derived for choosing data units. In my second chapter I describe segmentation analysis and sequence analysis during which my initial considerations for selecting data units were not only applied to the video material but also adapted to what became apparent while working with the videos. The third chapter summarises and draws conclusions from the considerations.

A Research Interest as an Example: The Constitution of a Lesson’s Topic

General Didactics and specialist didactics of the various school subjects have several questions in common. They discuss possible learning content for a school curriculum and teaching methods in order to develop theoretical concepts on how to teach in a certain way. All together didactics seek to identify the content via which teachers and learners work towards a specifically communicated, intended learning output. However, there are few empirical insights. There are some empirical results on the outcomes of certain teaching procedures (e.g., Hattie 2009). But it is still somewhat unclear, what is actually happening in the classroom. How does a topic occur in daily lesson interaction? And what exactly emerges here as a topic?

Theoretical Background: Practice Theory (Reckwitz 2002, 2003)

To investigate these questions, an understanding of the social is needed. Based on the assumption that a lesson’s topic does not exist before the school lesson but rather emerges during classroom interaction, the project is founded upon theory of social practices as introduced by Andreas Reckwitz (2002, 2003). According to him, a practice is the smallest unit of the social and can be defined as performed routines among present bodies and artifacts (Reckwitz

2003: 288-289). While this process is carried out, it can be observed and be reconstructed afterwards. Likewise in interaction analysis, as stated before, my research focus is limited to only what is observable and cannot refer to (invisible) intentions, motives or understandings that may or may not influence the participant's action. According to the specific social theoretical understanding, a 'lesson' is understood as a chain of particular practices or – in other words – carried out routines between present bodies and artifacts. With this theoretical approach not only verbal references come into sight. Rather one can analyse multiple modalities of interaction (Mondada & Schmitt 2010: 22) such as specific artifacts, non-verbal references and the spatial arrangement. In the sense of practices theory, I refer to a 'lesson's topic' as a reconstructed coherence of meaning that emerges during performed multimodal practices of a school lesson and that refers to a topic stated in a school curriculum.

Methodical decision: Interaction analysis

If practices are understood as a "nexus of doings and sayings" (Schatzki, cf. Reckwitz 2022: 250), they can be decomposed into single references and become observable in their microscopic components when a video recording is played in slowed-down motion. Not only this makes interaction analysis an appropriate method to investigate the research question on the constitution of a lesson's topic.

Furthermore, interaction analysis is based on ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Krummheuer 2011: 1) and shaped by the basic assumption, that "[...] knowledge and action are fundamentally social in origin, organization, and use, and are situated in particular social and material ecologies" (Jordan & Henderson 1995: 51). In this sense knowledge and practices are less conceptualised as "located in the heads of individuals" but more as "situated in the interaction among members of particular community" and the material being used (Jordan & Henderson 1995: 51). These premises resonate with practice theory and have methodological consequences. One has to observe the details of social interaction in time and space and in the naturally occurring or – to say it differently – in everyday settings (Jordan & Henderson 1995; Krummheuer 2011: 1-2). In this sense interaction analysis aims to reconstruct consistency and patterns of references among participants and diverse resources (Jordan & Henderson 1995: 51), which is also possible by using videotaped interaction.

First assumptions as selection criteria

If the emergence of a lesson's topic is linked to the performance of multimodal practices among several participants, there are several preconditions

that need to be considered. As I'll show later, these preconditions can serve as criteria to select units of the videotaped lesson.

First and foremost, participants need to coordinate their bodies and movements to interact with one another. They do not only need to coordinate their posture and movements initially, but also to continue or even end an interaction (Deppermann & Schmitt 2007). In this way the spatial arrangement of participants and artifacts offers visible insights in the beginning, procedure and ending of practices and can serve as a one criterion. Besides, participants must be looking at or listening to the same source, for example, for a shared meaning of something to emerge. Thereby a joint focal point (Dinkelaker 2015, 2010) is formed, which not only enables collective teaching and learning, but also allows a common topic to emerge. Hence, the joint focal point can function as another criteria, to select segments of the video, that are of interest for the research question on the constitution of a lesson's topic.

Reconstructive Video-Analysis according to Dinkelaker and Herrle (2009)

In their book „Erziehungswissenschaftliche Videographie“ (2009) Dinkelaker and Herrle start with videography as a method of data collection and data preparation to focus on four different proceedings for data analysis that relate to interactions observable in the videos. Here, I will describe segmentation analysis and sequence analysis as a form of interaction analysis that is performed to reconstruct how a lesson's topic is being constituted in a videotaped classroom.

Segmentation analysis

According to Dinkelaker and Herrle, a segmentation analysis aims to provide an overview of the videotaped interaction course (Dinkelaker & Herrle 2009: 55). In general, each event of any duration is segmented in some way (Jordan & Henderson 1995: 59). There are shifts in the interactional patterns that are significant, not only to maintain the interaction between the participants. They are also important to the researcher, because they help him or her to identify regularities and chances in the ways in which the participants deal with one another (Jordan & Henderson 1995: 41). Dinkelaker and Herrle point out that different segments can often be distinguished by three criteria: a) spatial arrangement and position of the participants, b) turn-taking and c) the topic talked about (Dinkelaker & Herrle 2009: 54). Beside those criteria certain markers that accompanied changes of the interactional patterns can be observed repeatedly. For example, verbal expressions e.g., “well”, “ok”, “so”

or non-verbal markers such as 'standing up' or 'walking into the middle' in a learning environment set new segments into motion (ibid.: 55). Based on the criteria and markers, an observer can develop an overview on the interactional course by conducting two proceedings. At first, they can distinguish different segments along the criteria. Thereafter, it is possible to identify boundaries and transition phases between the different segments according to the markers in a second procedure.

However, appropriate criteria and markers differ in each case. To define them for a certain video, Dinkelaker and Herrle suggest watching a video several times at accelerated speed and without sound. In doing so, one becomes aware of visible changes in the interactional patterns, which makes it possible to differentiate between segments. Here the criteria of spatial arrangement and orientation of the participants is important. Then the speed is reduced little by little and turn-taking as well as the topic talked about becomes observable. By doing so it is not only possible to identify markers but also boundaries and transitions phases of the segments.

In my study I used the criteria described before – spatial arrangement and joint focal point – to distinguish different segments in a first videotaped lesson. In doing so, I was able to differentiate three main segments, in which the joint focal point was 1) formed, 2) maintained or 3) disintegrated among the participants. Based on the assumption that a joint focal point is fundamental for topic related practices, I focused on the second segment in the following. Here I used the spatial arrangement as another criterion to identify several specific and smaller segments where, e.g., the participants were positioned in a frontal seating arrangement or in a group arrangement. In addition, a specific spatial position of the teacher next to her table ("base-position", Leicht 2021: 287-288) proved to be a reliable marker to determine the boundary between the smaller segments.

Sequence analysis

Sequence Analysis examines the ways in which the participants refer to one another and how meaning is created alongside. More precisely, the main question one has to ask is: How do successive references form meaning in a sequence?

To do so, the research has to follow the sequence of the connecting references. Each one is understood as a specific selection behind the horizon of other possibilities (Dinkelaker & Herrle 2009: 75-76). The point to start from is always a single reference that should be reconstructed in its chain linking. You explore possible meanings and think of several new references, that could follow. After that, you confront your interpretations with the next observable

reference in order to see, which connections were realised by the observed participants. In this way you can modify, expand or change your interpretation of how participants form meaning. You continue interpreting alongside the following references, in order to reconstruct regularities and patterns in which the participants interact with one another.

Sequence analysis is a widely used method in qualitative research, to which Dinkelaker and Herrle explicitly refer (for similarities with objective hermeneutics cf. e.g., Mbaye and Schelle in this volume). However, it has been used mainly to interpret verbal conversation (Dinkelaker & Herrle 2009: 75). If you want to conduct research on multimodal interaction or practices, enhancement is needed to deal with the complexity and multimodality of the observable references in a video, which makes ongoing selections and modification of the procedure necessary (Dinkelaker & Herrle 2009: 76-81). The following questions can be helpful in order to not lose sight of one's own research interest:

(A) Which sequence of the video shall be selected and why is that?

Not every segment nor every scene might be of interest for your particular research question, which makes it possible to choose particular cutouts of your video for a detailed sequence analysis. In my case I chose the second segment, because I was interested in classroom practices, which depend on a joint focal point (Leicht 2021: 118-119, 123). Additionally, I selected transition scenes between different spatial arrangements within that particular segment to find out how the lesson's topic was transformed publicly here.

(B) Which utterance do you focus on and what is their background?

Since a video offers multitude and simultaneous utterances for observation, one needs to focus on some that reflect the particular research interest and disregard others as their context is out of sight (Dinkelaker & Herrle 2009: 77). For my research on the lesson's topic, I chose bodily movements (skillful performance, Reckwitz 2003: 290) in the transition scenes of the second segment that were public, in other words visible and/or audible for all observed participants, based on the assumption that something needs to be generally perceptible to become a lesson's topic. Also, these movements had to reveal a connection to the learning content stated in the curriculum. In this way my theoretical background, as well as the basic assumptions, helped me to choose utterances for and conduct a sequence analysis in order to answer my research question in the end (Leicht 2021: 425-432).

Conclusion: Systematic Selections

In general, a systematic selection of segments, scenes and utterances is necessary to reconstruct social meaning and interactional patterns by using videotaped lessons. Vague assumptions based on a research interest and theories can guide the initial observation during a segmentation analysis, but need to be fleshed out and developed with more information from the video. As concrete criteria and markers, they can help to distinguish between different segments and scenes and thus facilitate the selection of units. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to decide during the sequence analysis which utterances the analysis should consider. Here, too, the initial considerations can be helpful and can be further adjusted on the basis of the video.

Overall, this makes it clear that the selection of units of analysis is always reversible when using video data, i.e., it can always turn out differently (Dinkelaker 2018). Therefore, working with videos shows the importance of systematically questioning one's own (theoretical) assumptions again and again on the basis of the data material. If required, one has to consistently revise and adjust the presuppositions as well as the selection of the units of analysis. It is only through such an iterative process that the research design can become consistent and produce adequate research results. In this respect, videography does not differ from other methods of data collection and analysis in qualitative research. However, it draws attention to the visible bodily and spatial dimensions of social processes and thus the interaction as a complex, multi-modal event is made accessible. This makes the need for an ongoing selection of units of analysis during the research process more obvious and pressing than working with other data material.

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The Role of Cultural and Theoretical Pre-Understandings in Qualitative Teaching Research – Exemplified by Reconstructions of Processes of Individualisation and Collectivisation in Lessons

Abstracts

EN

Everyday understanding of science implies a notion of 'objectivity' – however, many scientists have argued that gaining scientific understanding is inseparably bound to the understanding person. In this article, we argue that in (qualitative) teaching research both theoretical and cultural pre-understandings shape the results of research in a way that is enabling and limiting at the same time. We demonstrate this with examples of our own research, focusing on the interwoven processes of individualisation and collectivisation as practices of addressation in lessons, in order to account for the question, how students' self-reliant thinking and responsible participation in communities can be enhanced. Therefore, on a first level we present our research itself, introducing our theoretical framework, methodological assumptions and methodical procedures. We also set forth some key findings from two lessons that provide maximum contrast regarding school levels, subject matter, classroom size and maybe cultural context: One key finding stems from a science lesson in a rather large primary school classroom in Japan, the other from a literature lesson in a small course in upper secondary education in Germany. On a second level, we observe our observations and reflect on the implications of theoretical and cultural pre-understandings. In our conclusion, we discuss possibilities to reflect the influence of these pre-understandings in qualitative teaching research.

DE

Das alltägliche Verständnis von Wissenschaft impliziert das Konzept der ‚Objektivität‘ – viele Wissenschaftler:innen haben jedoch argumentiert,

dass das Erlangen eines wissenschaftlichen Verständnisses untrennbar mit der verstehenden Person verbunden ist. In diesem Artikel argumentieren wir, dass in der (qualitativen) Unterrichtsforschung sowohl theoretische als auch kulturelle Vorverständnisse in einer zugleich ermöglichenden und begrenzenden Weise prägend für die durch Forschung gewonnenen Erkenntnisse sind. Wir werden dies an Beispielen aus unserer eigenen Forschung zeigen. Diese fokussiert die ineinander verwobenen Prozesse der Individualisierung und Kollektivierung als Praktiken der Adressierung im Unterricht in Bezug auf die Frage, wie das eigenverantwortliche Denken der Schülerinnen und Schüler und ihre verantwortliche Beteiligung an Gemeinschaften gefördert werden können. Daher werden wir auf einer ersten Ebene unsere Forschung selbst darstellen, indem wir unseren theoretischen Rahmen, die methodischen Annahmen und methodischen Verfahren beschreiben. Dabei präsentieren wir auch einige Schlüsselergebnisse aus zwei Unterrichtsstunden, die als maximal kontrastierend in Bezug auf Schulstufe, Unterrichtsfach, Klassengröße und (vielleicht) kulturellen Kontext angesehen werden können: Eine stammt aus dem naturwissenschaftlichen Unterricht in einer größeren Grundschulklasse in Japan, die zweite aus dem Literaturunterricht in einem kleinen Leistungskurs der Sekundarstufe II in Deutschland. Auf einer zweiten Ebene beobachten wir unsere Beobachtungen und reflektieren die Auswirkungen unserer theoretischen und kulturellen Vorverständnisse. Abschließend diskutieren wir Möglichkeiten, den Einfluss dieser Vorverständnisse in der qualitativen Unterrichtsforschung zu reflektieren.

PT

A compreensão cotidiana da ciência implica o conceito de 'objetividade' – no entanto, muitos cientistas têm defendido que a obtenção da compreensão científica está inextricavelmente ligada à pessoa que a compreende. Neste artigo, defendemos que, na investigação (qualitativa) na sala de aula, os preconceitos teóricos e culturais moldam o conhecimento adquirido através da investigação de uma forma que é simultaneamente facilitadora e limitadora. Demonstraremos isto utilizando exemplos da nossa própria investigação. Esta centra-se nos processos interligados de individualização e coletivização como práticas de comunicação na sala de aula, em relação à questão de como se pode promover o pensamento autónomo dos alunos e a sua participação responsável nas comunidades. Assim, num primeiro nível, apresentaremos a nossa investigação em si, descrevendo o nosso enquadramento teórico, os pressupostos metodológicos e os procedimentos metódicos. Apresentamos também algumas observações importantes de duas aulas que podem ser consideradas como maximamente contrastantes em termos de nível escolar, disciplina, dimensão da turma e (talvez) con-

texto cultural: Uma é de uma aula de ciências numa mais numerosa turma do ensino primário no Japão, a segunda de uma aula de literatura numa turma pequena do ensino secundário na Alemanha. No segundo nível, observamos as nossas observações e refletimos sobre o impacto dos nossos preconceitos teóricos e culturais. Por último, discutimos as possibilidades de refletir sobre a influência destes preconceitos na investigação qualitativa na sala de aula.

JA

日常的な文脈では、科学研究は「客観性」という考え方のもとにとらえられることが多い。これに対し、多くの議論では、学術的意味での理解の達成は、まさに理解という作業をしている人物と分かちがたく結びついているとされている。本稿では、(質的)授業研究において、理論的にもまた文化的にも前提となる理解のしかたがあり、この理解のしかたが研究を通して獲得される認識に対して、可能性を広げるとともに限界ももたらしていることを論じる。筆者らの研究では、授業における呼びかけの実践としての個別化と集合化が相互に入り混じるプロセスに焦点を当てている。この検討は、自らの思考に対する生徒自身の責任、そして共同体への責任ある参加がどのように促進されるのかという問いのもとにおこなわれる。そのため、第一の位相として、わたしたちの研究をまず紹介する。ここでは、理論枠組み、方法論的前提と手続きを叙述し、二つの授業例から中心的な研究結果を示す。この二つの授業は、学年、教科、学級規模そして(おそらくは)文化的背景に関連して、最大級に対照的だとみなせる。一つは、日本の小学校の相対的に大規模な学級でおこなわれた理科の授業である。もう一つは、ドイツの後期中等教育段階の小規模な重点コースでおこなわれた文学の授業である。二つ目の位相として、わたしたち自らがおこなった観察を観察し、自身の理論・文化に関する前提となる理解のしかたの影響を省察する。さいごに、質的授業研究におけるこれら前提となる理解のしかたの影響を省察する可能性について議論する。

1 Introduction

The everyday understanding of scientific research implies the “ubiquitous and irresistible” (Daston & Galison 2007: 29) notion of objectivity: “To be objective is to aspire to knowledge that bears no trace of the knower – knowledge unmarked by prejudice or skill, fantasy or judgement, wishing or striving” (ibid.: 17). Questioning the role of cultural and theoretical pre-understandings (or even prejudice?) in one’s own research might not be very popular under these circumstances, as it feels like challenging the scientific character of one’s own

research. However, many scientists have argued that gaining scientific understanding is inseparably bound to the understanding person (Fuchs 2001: 19-21). Hence, in this text, we argue that in (qualitative) teaching research both theoretical and cultural pre-understandings shape the results in a way that is both enabling and limiting at the same time. With the aim of showing this with examples of our own research, we will move back and forth between two levels of observation throughout the text: On the first level, we introduce some of our research on individualisation and collectivisation in classroom interaction. At certain points throughout the presentation of our research, we move to the second level of observing our own observations, thus reflecting on the role of cultural and theoretical pre-understandings. These observations of observations will be presented in indented paragraphs in order to give an orientation to the reader.

Before we start with the introduction of our research, however, we need to clarify how we understand theory and culture as sources of preconceptions for research (chapter 2). Thereafter, we explain our theoretical pre-understandings of processes of individualisation and collectivisation, of lessons and of democratic education, also highlighting some of the normative implications of these pre-understandings (chapter 3). We will then explain our methodological procedures (chapter 4), before exploring two empirical examples of different lessons (chapter 5 and 6), and, at the same time, observing our observations regarding the role of theoretical and cultural pre-understandings (intended paragraphs in these chapters). In the last part (chapter 7) we will give a comparative summary of the findings concerning the lessons, reflect further on the role of theoretical and cultural pre-understandings for our research process and findings, and we will discuss possibilities of detecting and reflecting these pre-understandings, thus enhancing the intersubjective comprehensibility of reconstructions.

2 Preface: culture, theory and our research interests

2.1 Culture

To uncover the role of 'cultural' pre-understandings, we need to clarify how we use and understand the term 'culture'. With Reckwitz (2003: 285f.) and following Swidler (1986), we understand culture as an everyday practical "tool-kit" (Reckwitz 2003: 286). In this praxeological understanding, culture comprises sets of practices, being patterns of understanding the world, moving in it, dealing with objects, wishing for or doing something. These practices are formed by groups of interacting people and form these groups at the same time (Valsiner 2003). Therefore, we also interpret research practices as

a cultural phenomenon, a research culture. Due to their scientific socialisation, researchers are bound to a certain research culture, that provides (often taken-for-granted, and therefore not explicitly stated) practices, conventions and orientations for their research work. These practices, conventions and orientations can be detected in methodical procedures, theoretical considerations, ways of understanding as well as in specific research interests. However, in using these practices, conventions and orientations – which might mean maintaining as well as changing them – these researchers also (re-)produce the particular research culture. As these assumptions tend to be highly self-evident for researchers, they are not always explicitly stated.

Striving for objectivity that is, aiming to extinguish the researchers' pre-conceptions and his/her observational position from the research results, has to be regarded as part of a research culture as well – in this case, as part of a research culture that is mostly connected to quantitative measuring and positivist modes of discovery, rooted in the Western understanding of 'modern science' and a Western modern understanding of the 'scientific self' (Daston & Galison 2007: 27-38).

As stated above, in this text we adopt the attitude not to eliminate the researchers' position and pre-conceptions, but to explicate and reflect this by means of observing the observations, which is part of a specific research culture inspired by critical post-modernist ethnography (Berg & Fuchs 1993: 14f.). However, this approach remains connected to the 'Western-modern-scientist' strive for 'objectivity' – albeit reformulating it as an effort for intersubjectivity as the impossibility of perspective-free scientific insight is acknowledged.

2.2 Theory

Following Lindemann (2008: 123-126) we differentiate between three interconnected dimensions of theory: first, theoretical considerations connected to the research topic itself, in this case, to lessons; second, general theoretical assumptions about 'the social' that have implications for methodology (see 3.1); and third, theories about society in general. Differentiating between these dimensions of theory helps us to understand the different roles of theory in pedagogical research, especially regarding the phenomenon of normative assumptions.

The claim of objectivity has – at least in Western research communities – led to normativity (thinking of what should be) always being discussed as a problem for empirical research (which is required to exclusively describe what is). Yet, educational research is ineluctably linked to norms and values: Research on educational processes (for example, in the classroom) inevitably responds to the question of what seems (not) desirable from a pedagogical point of

view, i.e., as a goal for the development of others (Hallitzky et al. 2014: 74; Koller 2012: 9). Normativity here refers primarily to societally discussed values and theoretical understandings in the above mentioned third dimension of theoretical perspectives (see 2.3 for the position of this text). More specific pedagogical or didactical theories (first dimension of theoretical understandings) recur on those discussions and thus focus on different criteria or core categories of what should be researched upon. Both theoretical dimensions have enabling and limiting consequences for research possibilities (see Hallitzky et al. 2018 for a theoretical, Herfter et al. 2019 for an empirical exploration of these issues).

2.3 Interest: Why do we do research on processes of individualisation and collectivisation?

Our normative starting point is that school (and pedagogy as a whole) should strive to enhance self-determination of the pupils. This orientation seems to be a broadly accepted demand when one relies on particular values of the Western and northern hemisphere. According to Reinhard Uhle (1995), this ideal of self-determined personalities has been called the “pedagogical imperative of modernity”. However, this is not without controversy, as there are also discussions about the value of communities and about social responsibility (see Etzioni 2014 for an overview). Our research interest is rooted in this area of tension, as we argue that enhancing individual self-determination is of equal importance as a humane way of organising communities and society as a whole.

In line with educational theorists such as John Dewey and Wolfgang Klafki, we assume that schooling is not only aimed at imparting subject-specific knowledge and abilities but also at developing self-determined and socially responsible personalities who will be able to shape humane ways of living together and solving contemporary problems (e.g., Dewey 1961: 87; Klafki 2007: 52). Our research question is therefore: How can self-determined thinking as well as the abilities to shape humane ways of living together be enhanced in school?

Thus, in our research on interactional processes in lessons, we focus on the question of how teachers promote independent thinking processes of students in the common classroom interaction. Hence, we do not focus on individualisation or collectivisation in classrooms as a means to achieve better results concerning subject-specific knowledge or competencies, but as processes of shaping specific personalities and communities.

Observing our observation, the claim of autonomy and self-determination is bound to a specific cultural ‘mindset’ that presupposes the ability and right of individuals to

make their own life choices, an understanding which is connected to a theory of society linked to the movements of the (rationalist) enlightenment and emancipation from external rule. Although this mindset appears to be self-evident and universal due to its widespread occurrence and hegemony, it does not lack alternatives (e.g., Fuchs 2001: 2). The discussions that evolved because of the bias of the individual focus also show that culture bound values are not unchangeable or unquestionable – in any case, they will not lose their culturality, as the whole discussion is to be regarded a specific cultural phenomenon. We, for our case, start from this (necessarily) culturally bound discussion, as there won't be a 'non-cultural' starting point. However, making this connection and dependency transparent is the condition for leaving it open to discussion, and, if necessary, change.

3 Theoretical background: individualisation and collectivisation, lessons and democratic education

3.1 Individualisation and collectivisation

For the second dimension of theory (Lindemann 2008: 123f.), the socio-theoretical assumptions, we again refer to a theoretical framework based on praxeological and interactional understanding of individualisation and collectivisation.

In this perspective, human beings can only constitute themselves as individuals in interaction with others: The concepts of recognition (Anerkennung, Honneth 1992) or of addressation are paradigmatic for this viewpoint. The consequence is to assume an equal originality of individual and sociality: By realising human activity as a common activity, a specific sociality and specific individualities or persons are established at the same time. In practical acts of addressing and readdressing, individuals and groups use certain opportunities for action while at the same time they are 'forced' into specific patterns of behaviour, for example certain ways of moving, speaking, understanding situations, expressing emotions, etc. This 'establishing' of socialities and individualities is what we call processes of individualisation and collectivisation. They include 'reproductional' (keeping someone or something as it was) as well as 'changing' processes.

3.2 Lessons

Concerning the first dimension of 'theory' related to the specific research field (Lindemann 2008: 124), we have to explain our theoretical (pre-empirical) understanding of 'lessons'. On the one hand it refers to the presented understanding of interactional and addressational situations. On the other hand, we correspond to Kolbe et al. (2008: 130) in the assumption that two specific rela-

tions have to be dealt with in lessons: the relation of 'teaching' and 'learning', and the difference of relevant and irrelevant knowledge in regard to school requirements.

The differentiation of 'relevant' and 'irrelevant' refers to a societal context, since it enacts societal necessities, decisions and values. The 'relevance' of knowledge and abilities stems from situations beyond the lesson itself, for which lessons should prepare the learners. As 'preparational' situations, lessons are arrangements that are specifically – and separated from other parts of societal practice (Sünkel 2002: 45f.) – established with the aim of imparting and acquiring knowledge and skills.

Concerning the processes of individualisation and collectivisation in lessons, it is of a certain importance to recognise that the lesson is on the one hand a somehow 'artificial' situation and interaction – as it cannot be a lesson without 'pointing' to or 'preparing' for a situation or task beyond the lesson itself. On the other hand, for the individuals involved, it is still a 'real' situation in the sense that they address others, are addressed and re-address themselves in relation to specific expectations, norms and social meanings that are 'really' enacted (and not 'just' referenced to) in the situation.

3.3 Democratic education

Regarding the third dimension of theory concerning society in general (Lindemann 2008: 124f.), we recur on values of democratic development of individuals and society by means of education, for example following John Dewey's and Wolfgang Klafki's theories of democracy in education. Dewey's understanding of democracy can be described as a 'social idea' of respectful, tolerant, constructive, and peaceful coexistence which forms the individual and socio-moral base of societal and political democratisation: "A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey 1961: 87). Associated to our socio-theoretical understanding of individualisation and collectivisation, the stated values of democracy and democratic education can be seen as a way of living together and forming specific shapes of individuals and communities. Connecting our theoretical understandings of individualisation and collectivisation, lessons, and democratic education, we can specify the question which we are going to look at: We ask, *how specific interactional conditions in lessons – being both 'real' interactional and somehow 'artificial' preparational situations – are connected to the emergence of special persons in specific communities* (which is a thought very much connected to the idea of 'Bildung' in Germany, e.g. Klafki 2007: 20-25). More specifically, we reconstruct our empirical mate-

rial in order to understand, how teachers promote (or prevent, respectively) independent thinking processes of individuals and joint responsibility within interactional processes in lessons.

4 Methodical procedures

As a methodological consequence of our theoretical understanding of individualisation and collectivisation, we focus on addressations that take place in the lessons. Based on the approach of videographic interactional analysis, we work with videographic material as well as with the transcripts of lessons (for a more detailed description of methodological assumptions and concrete procedures, see Leicht in this book):

We¹ first use the video data to get an overview of different groupings and focuses of attention throughout the lesson. This step is called segmentation analysis. Its results enable us to choose scenes for further interpretation according to our research question. These scenes are transcribed, taking verbal and some non-verbal information into account. In the next step, the sequence analysis, we examine the interactional practices in the chosen scene following it in sequential order. To answer our research question, we must not only 'understand' what happens in general in a kind of everyday understanding. Moreover, we have to focus on specific aspects of the interaction to reconstruct how particular modes of teaching and learning as well as norms and values of 'individuality' and 'sociality' are enacted. From this perspective, we take addressation practices, spatial arrangements and the usage of artifacts into account. To keep these aspects focused, we fix them as heuristic questions², e.g. "Which possibilities of acquiring knowledge, abilities and attitudes, i.e., of becoming a specific person who responsibly integrates into the group and contributes to the way it develops, are opened or closed in the interaction?". Due to space restrictions, we do not show the whole sequential interpretation in detail, the intention being to include the passages which are most important concerning our research question.

1 Who is 'we'? Regarding the two examples, several other researchers from our department participated in the interpretation processes, namely: Gereon Eulitz, Christopher Hempel, Christian Herfter, Emi Kinoshita, Johanna Leicht, and Stephan Weser. For this text, we as the authors re-collected the interpretations, took them further and reflected on them.

2 Heuristic questions are not the same as research questions, but rather queries that concretise specific aspects of the research question and can be posed more directly to the empirical material.

5 Empirical example I – Reasoning on and experimenting with electric circuits

Our first example is a science class from a third grade in a Japanese primary school which deals with the topic of electricity.

We focus on a scene in which the children change from three larger groups, whereby each group is working with a whiteboard at the middle tables, into the arrangement of students sitting at the side tables facing the teacher who is standing at the front of the classroom. The teacher has taken one of the whiteboards to the front and is holding it up. We chose this scene because we were interested in how the relation of individual thinking in particular groups and collective deliberation is handled.



Fig. 1: Change of the classroom arrangement before and after the chosen segment, teacher marked with an arrow

5.1 Pedagogical norms: different opinions welcome

T40³ *Listening to the discussion, I think this is interesting because the opinions are divided.*

T42 [...]

*What do you think at a glance? Is there anyone who thinks the miniature bulbs of this circuit are going to come on?
(children raising hands for their opinion)*

T44 *Then, I want to ask the minority. Each of you who think these miniature bulbs are going to come on, would you explain why?*

After the children have taken their seats and look to the front, the teacher starts with (T40): “Listening to the discussion, I think this is interesting because the opinions are divided.” In the first part (“Listening to the discussion, I think this is interesting”) the teacher positions himself somehow outside the

3 In the transcript of the lesson, our Japanese cooperation partners numbered the turns of the teacher and the students separately. For the students, the gender (‘g’ or ‘b’ for girls or boys) was added, and a consecutive number was assigned.

discussion that has been taking place in the group, but as attending and being interested in it. With the next words ("because the opinions are divided") the teacher legitimises the choice of the specific whiteboard. The 'division of opinions' seems to make something relevant for the whole class to look at: A norm of considering and appreciating different opinions is established in this situation.

After an explanation concerning the arrangement on the whiteboard, the teacher (T42) asks: "What do you think at a glance? Is there anyone who thinks the miniature bulbs of this circuit are going to come on?" The pupils are thus encouraged to express spontaneous ideas. The specific topic (whether the bulbs are going to light up when connected to the battery) enables two, and only two, different opinions: to light up, or not to light up. Furthermore, only one of these opinions can be 'right' in the sense that the prediction is going to come true.

The situation is clearly marked as a situation of learning: Different opinions are legitimate and even 'interesting', even though only one of them can be scientifically true. This enacts the pedagogical norm of the provisional nature of knowledge in learning situations (in contrast to test situations): It is ok to make a wrong prediction when you are still supposed to learn something new. Students are thus addressed as 'thinking' or reasoning individuals that have their own ideas about the subject. Even though these ideas may not correspond to scientific truth, this is seen as legitimate. Moreover, in asking the students for their prediction, the teacher himself enacts a pedagogical norm of listening to the viewpoints and understandings of the learners.

In the next utterances, the children raise their hands either for the opinion of 'miniature bulbs are going to light up' or 'are not going to light up'.

After that, the teacher (T44) addresses the smaller group, which has predicted that the lights are going to come on, as "the minority" – using a remarkable metaphor from a context of democratic negotiation and discourse. Inviting the students to explain their prediction, the teacher again addresses the students as 'thinking' individuals, who can not only make a prediction but also give reasons for it.

In terms of 'observing our observation' it is interesting what we 'saw' interpreting this scene: We do not know from this one case, why the teacher addressed this group. However, we tended to think, that the teacher would ask this group first, because the other group had the correct prediction. Some of us seemed to 'recognise' a pattern of teaching, which could be described as 'Leave the correct answer for the end because it is the answer that will have to be kept in mind'. Yet, this assumption turned out to be wrong, as the first groups prediction – the bulbs are going to light up – was right. Thus, we might have been led wrong by our preliminary – and in this case more implicit – understanding of teaching patterns.

5.2 Procedural guidance – hidden leadership: forcing reasoning and explaining

C54/ b7	<i>[...] (explanation) [...] How is it?</i>
C55/ ?	<i>Another opinion</i>
T46	<i>What do you mean [...]?</i>
C56/ b7	<i>[...] (explanation) [...]</i>
T47	<i>Turn yourself towards your classmates</i>

After the first student (C54/ b7) gives an explanation, he ends with the expression that has been translated as “How is it?”. We see this expression at the end of many students’ contributions; it seems to be a ritual of asking the other students about their point of view to what has been said. The others (C55/?) answer with expressions like ‘I agree’ or ‘another opinion’ without having to sign up or being called by the teacher. In these interactions, we can observe the negotiation about the validity of certain knowledge. This negotiation is conducted between the students themselves.

As you can see in the teacher’s next sentence (T46), he is not confirming or neglecting what has been explained as ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. Instead, marking incomprehension by ‘what do you mean’ he establishes or enacts a norm of making one’s own reasoning comprehensible for others. Yet, even though he is suspending his ‘authority’ in relation to the subject (as well as the norm of ‘scientific truth’ in favour of comprehensibility of reasons), he at the same time acts as the person who is ‘leading’ the process of discussion in terms of deciding what is the next thing to happen (like either going more detailed into the explanation or going on to the next argument).

The norm of ‘discussing the reasons with the whole class’ becomes visible when the teacher urges a student to turn towards his classmates (and not to talk only to the teacher). The fact that the teacher needs to express this norm shows a certain unfamiliarity of this way of discussion and hints that this arrangement of discussion without the teacher’s authority is somehow fragile. The patterns we described concerning this scene were characteristic for the whole part of the lesson in which the predictions were discussed.

Again, we will make some remarks regarding what we observed when reflecting on our interpretations. Some of the phenomena that we highlighted here – like the ritual of asking for opinions, the reaction of other students without being called up by the teacher, or the teacher postponing his subject knowledge – have been remarkable for us.

The fact that they were remarkable or ‘special’ is of course related to our pre-understanding of lesson interactions: We would (maybe implicitly) ‘expect’ patterns of ‘teacher questioning – student answer – teacher evaluation’ or ‘teacher questioning – student reasoning – teacher evaluation’. Since Mehan’s (1979) ethnographic

classroom studies it is known as the IRE-sequence and we observed these patterns many times previously (Hallitzky et al. 2016). This experiential and theoretical pre-understanding seems to enable us to recognise what is specific in the interaction as something special when we interpret classroom situations. The deviance of the empirical data in regard to our pre-understanding and expectations was, however, the trigger and key to be able to detect the particular pre-understandings.

Summarising the findings regarding this lesson, it is important that the teacher is not taking the role as primary addressee of students' answers and as the authority of knowledge. Thereby, a space for the joint discussion is opened. In this whole sequence the continuous uncertainty of knowledge is crucial for the process of 'finding the truth together'.

The class is established as a discussion community and the individuals are addressed and can experience themselves as thinking individuals who are able to explain their reasoning and discuss their knowledge with their peers in order to take responsibility for finding the solution.

However, in regard to the finding of truth in this lesson, the teacher's statement following the discussion of reasons and a second query about students' opinions is crucial: "But we don't know the truth if we don't do an experiment" (T57). Truth in physics is not subject to democratic principles and cannot be negotiated or decided by voting – nevertheless, in the process of finding a solution, a culture of mutual respect, valuation of different understandings and open discourse is realised. Thus, we can see possibilities of establishing a democratic culture of teaching and learning even in relation to a topic outside of democratic considerations.

6 Empirical example II – Talking about Literature

Our second example can be regarded as maximum contrast, a literature class at an upper secondary school in Germany, dealing with Schiller's⁴ drama "Maria Stuart". In addition to contrasting examples as a general strategy for generalising results, the choice of examples from different world regions might provide us with a greater heterogeneity of interaction patterns. In this way it becomes more likely that cultural pre-conceptions are irritated and thus detected (see 7.3). We interpreted this lesson with the same methodical steps and focusing the same questions, and we will show a very small part of our interpretations. Yet as the lesson itself is maximum contrast, we chose a scene, that appears somewhat similar to the one in the science class in regard to the physical arrangement and use of artefacts: The focus of attention is towards

4 Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) was a German writer, philosopher and historian. In his classical dramas he articulated an ideal of aesthetic education.

the front of the classroom after the students had formerly been sitting in decentralised groups. In this scene, an overhead transparency is shown by a student, while the teacher sits in between the other students. The topic discussed in the scene is a figure of the drama called 'Burleigh'.



Fig. 2: Classroom Arrangement at the beginning of the chosen scene, teacher marked with an arrow

The specific spatial arrangement can already give some insights into patterns of individualisation and collectivisation here. The student who is presenting comes to the front and stands to the side, next to the projector, while talking. Thus, he takes a position where he can be seen by everyone, but one that is still different from the usual teacher's position (who is usually centred in the front). The teacher does not stay at the front, but takes a seat in the students' rows, bodily integrating herself into the listening group, and remains there when giving input and moderating the discussion after the presentation. This can be seen as an attempt to stage herself as a member of the learning group and to arrange an open exchange about the literary protagonist. At the same time, she is still controlling the course of the lesson by her moderation. Thus, the teacher's position seems somehow similar to what we have observed in the first lesson.

6.1 Are we Observing a Discussion or an Examination?

Starting the presentation of the group work, the teacher picked a student with the following words:

01 T⁵ [*students' name*] \ well why not you/ come on you will master that as good as all the others \ [...] the others are going to help you then -

Concerning this passage, two variants of interpretations came up in our research group: One of the first interpretation tendencies that was articulated in the research group was that this assignment is supposed to be an examination, as she seems to express an expectation and norm of showing competence ("you will master"). In this interpretation, the addition "the others are going to help you then" has to be read as undermining the trust in the students' competence. The second interpretation was, that she presumes a 'collective competence' and a 'collective responsibility' in a way that a mutual support and supplementation would be 'natural'. The situation would not be framed as an examination, but as a situation of collecting and discussing results within a 'thinking community' with a common task to which everyone has to contribute.

Both of these interpretations could be plausibilised, so we had to look into what happens after the student's presentation.

Before we do that, we are going to make some remarks observing our observation (or interpretation, respectively), showing that each of these different interpretations is rooted in specific preliminary understandings of 'lessons' or 'interaction in lessons'. The first interpretation resumes that the presentation of a group work is 'normally' or at least 'often' a situation with examinational character, because we 'know' that teachers use these presentations to allocate marks for oral participation. We also 'know' that school is not only about learning, but also about showing one's capacity and performance, since school, especially the German 'Gymnasium', is regarded as a selecting institution.

The second interpretation presumes that the presentation of group work connects to a common task, referring to a different pre-understanding of teaching and learning that does not include the necessity or prevalence of allocating marks for oral participation. These background assumptions might stem from teaching (or learning) experiences in primary schools (where marks for oral participation are not as frequently given) or in university (where only the final exam counts).

In this case, we can see that different pre-understandings in a group of researchers provide reasons for different interpretation tendencies and can thus lead to more di-

5 In this transcript, all the turns were numbered sequentially, regardless of who was speaking. The latter was marked by 'T' for 'teacher' or 'S (Nr.)' for a specific student. Slashes indicate lowering (\) or raising (/) of the voice, a horizontal line (-) means that the voice is held in suspension.

verse ways of understanding a lesson. However, we need to analyse how the empirical situation develops, to reconstruct how the participants understand the interaction.

After the presentation, the teacher opens a space for additional explanations and/or questions to the group. The situation seems to stay ambivalent to the students (as it was to us). The teacher's questions can be understood both in an 'examinational' and in a 'discussional' sense. One of the students seems to interpret the space for comments as a request of judging the presentation of his classmates. In the following, the teacher frames the situation more clearly as a content related discussion ("maybe the picture of Burleigh can be broadened") and not an examinational one. Then, some students take part in this discussion by asking questions or coming up with different understandings of the character.

6.2 A fragile arrangement of open discussion

The following discussion occurs as a moderated talk between readers hosted by the teacher.

- 10 S10 *I still have a question how it is meant [...]*
11 T *alright, could the others please answer/*
12 S1 *[answer]*
13 T *yes\ and s2/*
14 S2 *[another answer]*

The teacher only takes on the role of calling up the next student and sometimes re-addressing a question to the group. She does not evaluate any of the students' answers, in this way enacting a norm of 'open discussion' that is somehow similar to the first example.

After some time, the teacher again assumes a more leading role in the discussion process, integrating her knowledge about the characterisation of Burleigh into the discourse.

- 28 S4 *[...]I meant that he is not afraid of uhm of using things that*
 serve a higher purpose - [...]
29 T *yes yes exactly*
30 S4 *[...]*
31 T *yes\ well he is maybe the type for whom one could also think*
 of the phrase the end justifies the means here\ and the purpose
 you have clearly determined\ this is here about ehm saving
 England here this is just somehow his patriotism and from his
 picture of kingship - now [...] somehow I believe that with the
 ideal of leadership that he embodies here [...] that is one like
 one would say that goes back to Machiavelli

What we find in this lesson as a whole is an ambiguous position of the teacher in a fragile arrangement:

On the one hand, the situation is supposed to be (at least similar to) an open discussion. Thus, the teacher places herself as a discussing individual inside the discussing community. In this position, she passes the word to the next student, whenever someone is signing up to say something; and, even in situations where she proposes a 'solution' to the students, she marks her knowledge as 'individual interpretations' with comments such as "somehow I believe" or "I got to this thought somehow".

On the other hand, the teacher has to 'steer' the discussion to make sure that the students understand Burleigh's ideal of leadership that characterises this figure. This means that the discussion is in fact not open, but has a pre-defined solution – it is, in the end, an arranged discussion. Since the students seem not to find the solution by themselves, the teacher assumes a more lecturing role, making a longer comment on Burleigh's ideal of leadership. Even though she is still trying to frame that as a 'personal thought', the students address her in the position of a lecturer, at one point asking her to "say it again to the full extent".

The arrangement of the open discussion that we find in this lesson thus shows clearly the fragility of this proper construction – being an arrangement and open at the same time.

7 Relating and reflecting the perspectives

7.1 Relating the cases

In both lessons we find patterns of addressing the students as 'thinking individuals' in 'discussion communities' and the students can show themselves as – and in the long term learn to be – reasoning discussants or readers. In both cases it is also clear that the discussion is not in fact 'open', but it is 'guided' and the result is already predetermined by the teacher. Thus, the arrangement is characterised by a certain fragility and ambiguity, due to the structural situation of a lesson with its dual character of interactional situation and preparational learning.

In this dual character we also find the paradoxical structure of control and openness, the implicit aim that the students should not only listen to and acquire established knowledge, but also think for themselves and learn to discuss their thoughts with others. This is in line with the concepts of democratic education we introduced in chapter 3. However, with this aim, both teachers find themselves in an ambiguous position: They have to 'conceal' their knowledge in order not to inhibit students' thoughts and opinions, whilst also hav-

ing to assume responsibility for the results. Thus, in the analysed lessons we observed many instances (and ways) of balancing the poles of 'controlling' and 'opening'.

What seems to make a difference between the two lessons are some characteristics of the respective topics.

The first difference can be found in the positions that can be taken by the students. In the first example the topic – electric circuits – allows for only two different answers, but still fosters manifold reasonings in order to explain one's prediction. In contrast, in the second example, there are no clearly pre-defined positions, as the literary material opens more scope for interpretations. On the one hand, such an open exchange of arguments seems to be more realistic, but on the other hand, there is no tension between two contradictory, mutually exclusive options and the students' position is much less clear.

The second difference relates to how the students can find the solution. In the first example, the experiment will give the answer to the question under discussion – the students can (and will) just try it out. In contrast, the literary text does not give an answer about the interpretation. The students (and the teacher, respectively) do not have the option to 'try out' which understanding of Burleigh is adequate. This is why, in this case, the teacher has to 'lend her voice' to that content knowledge, she has to tell the students what they cannot conclude by themselves. This aspect seems to make a difference in the teacher's position, and this might be the reason why the fragility of the arrangement of an open discourse seems much more obvious in the second example. This at least would be a hypothesis that could be followed in further investigations.

7.2 The role of theoretical pre-understandings

Now again, we will 'observe our observation' and highlight some crucial aspects concerning the role of theoretical and cultural pre-understandings.

Concerning the theoretical pre-understanding, we have emphasised the dual character of lessons as being both somehow artificial, preparational situations and 'real' interactional situations at the same time. Starting from this assumption, it might not be very surprising to find certain ambiguities and paradoxes in the empirical data, as we did in both lessons. Hence, we might ask ourselves, whether we have not just found what we knew before, merely confirming our pre-understandings?

Maybe the answer is "yes and no".

Yes, because the theoretical assumption certainly guided our interpretation, maybe inhibiting other possible insights. For example, we did not go more deeply into the issue of how the science teacher imparts the methodical competences of conducting

experiments (which is certainly an interesting aspect in the first example). So yes, we are kept in the frame of our theoretical assumptions.

On the other hand: No, we are not 'restricted' to our theoretical assumptions, because we can find out more about the presupposed 'dual character' of lessons only by using these theoretical assumptions as a magnifying glass or a sensitising instrument. By putting special focus onto the ambivalent situational structure, we can find different ways of dealing with it. Only because of this special focus, we are able to gain some insight about how the topic and its representation connect to certain fragilities of the teaching and discussion arrangement.

The theoretical understanding thus sets a specific frame for possible results – which is at the same time enabling and limiting.

7.3 Detecting and questioning cultural pre-understandings

The topic gets a little more complicated when we turn to the impact of cultural pre-understandings. Firstly, one cannot *not* have such pre-understandings – somehow, every researcher 'knows' lessons and has expectations of how they work. Secondly, these pre-understandings are bound to experiences in daily life and are mostly not explicitly reflected upon. Therefore, these pre-understandings may influence on our interpretations 'from behind our backs' – rather unconsciously.

Their enabling role might be simply that they allow us to understand something 'at all', i.e., to not completely alienate with the situation. When researching in different parts of the world, this cultural pre-understanding probably also makes it possible to get an idea about what is going on even without understanding the language (for example, knowing a bell ringing might mean that the lesson has just ended).

In regard to the limiting aspect of cultural pre-understandings, they can guide or restrict the interpretation of a lesson. This is specifically 'risky' when the researcher cannot make these pre-understandings explicit, as in this case, the results, bound to hidden pre-conceptions, might not be intersubjectively comprehensible.

The comments in indented paragraphs have shown examples on the way cultural pre-understandings can guide (or mislead) interpretations. In these 'observations of observations' we could only reflect on those implicit cultural pre-understandings that we were able to detect and to explicate. There could – and we're afraid there will – be some more implicit presumptions in our interpretations that we have not yet discovered.

In the methodological discussion, this is the crucial point: It is only possible to 'see' implicit presumptions in the moment they are questioned – and the other way round. A special effort is needed to reflect these implicit assumptions. Therefore, it is important to find ways that provide the highest possible probability for challenging and questioning our pre-understandings as well as the highest possible sensitivity for our own interpretational routines.

In our examples, we came to question and challenge our pre-understandings for two reasons: One was the occurrence that our presumptions simply proved wrong: Thus, we have to give them a chance to fail. This chance might be higher when we analyse lessons from different cultural contexts, as our pre-understandings are pretty much formed in our own context. Furthermore, we wouldn't have realised that the group called up first had the 'right' prediction if we had not looked into the part of the lesson in which the experiment is conducted. Thus, a very narrow focus on specific scenes seems problematic, yet often necessary in order to conduct a detailed analysis. The other factor that helped in challenging our pre-understanding was the fact that interpretations took place in a group of different people with – seemingly – different pre-understandings. Therefore, as a conclusion, it is beneficial to discuss interpretations in groups of people who have different background experiences and therefore provide different interpretations. Even though some 'common' (and therefore: not challenged and not reflectable) presumptions will remain, differing interpretations can be used to question each other respectively. By asking what kind of presumptions have to be taken for one or the other interpretation to be plausible or understandable, these presumptions have to be explicated and can be discussed. The necessity of the highest possible sensitivity for the interpretational routines – starts right there: Since interpretational routines as well as explicit and implicit power relations might inhibit a 'rational' discussion of different interpretations, we have to reflect: How are different interpretations articulated, discussed and questioned, and how is an agreement reached in the end? We, for now, have illustrated this by means of examples that were remarkable to us. For a more systematic reflection, it would be necessary to use recordings and transcripts of interpretation discussions as empirical material. This, however, is work yet to be done.

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Matthias Martens and Emi Kinoshita

Cultural Constructions in Classroom Interaction Research: The Documentary Method in Intercultural Interpretation Settings

Abstracts

EN

In this article, we reflect on cultural constructions in empirical classroom research: We focus on cultural constructions within the classroom setting, within the data collection by videography and within the process of data analysis. Based on a brief introduction to the documentary method in classroom interaction research, we illustrate exemplarily the methodical procedure, referring to two different classroom settings from Germany and Japan. With reference to the empirical data and the interpretation setting, we will discuss some potentials and challenges in conducting the documentary method in an intercultural interpretation setting, focusing in particular on the local connectedness of the researcher.

DE

In diesem Artikel reflektieren wir über kulturelle Konstruktionen in der empirischen Unterrichtsforschung: Wir fokussieren auf kulturelle Konstruktionen in der Unterrichtssituation, im videogestützten Beobachten (Datenerhebung) und im Prozess der Datenanalyse. Ausgehend von einer kurzen Einführung in die Dokumentarische Methode in der Unterrichtsforschung veranschaulichen wir exemplarisch das methodische Vorgehen anhand von zwei unterschiedlichen Unterrichtssettings aus Deutschland und Japan. Mit Bezug auf die empirischen Daten und spezifische Bedingungen der Dateninterpretation werden wir Potentiale und Herausforderungen bei der Anwendung der Dokumentarischen Methode in einem interkulturellen Auswertungssetting diskutieren. Wir fokussieren dabei insbesondere auf die Standortgebundenheit der Forschenden.

PT

Neste artigo, refletimos sobre as construções culturais na investigação empírica na sala de aula: centramo-nos nas construções culturais na situação da sala de aula, na observação baseada em vídeo (recolha de dados) e no processo de análise de dados. Com base numa breve introdução ao Método Documentário na investigação na sala de aula, ilustramos a abordagem metodológica utilizando como exemplos duas diferentes situações de sala de aula na Alemanha e no Japão. Com referência aos dados empíricos e às condições específicas de interpretação dos dados, discutiremos os potenciais e os desafios da aplicação do Método Documentário num ambiente de avaliação intercultural. Em particular, centrar-nos-emos na vinculação local dos investigadores.

JA

本稿では、経験的な授業研究における文化の再構成について省察する。そのため、授業状況、ビデオを用いた観察（データ収集）、データ分析の過程で起こる文化の再構成に焦点を当てる。授業研究に特有のドキュメンタリー法の簡潔な導入につづき、ドイツと日本でおこなわれた二つの異なる授業状況にもとづいて方法的手続きを事例的に示す。経験的なデータとデータ解釈の特殊条件に関わって、異文化間で分析をおこなう際のドキュメンタリー法の活用について、可能性と課題を議論する。その際、研究者が自分の立ち位置と結びついていることにとくに焦点を当てる。

1 Introduction

In this contribution we reflect on cultural constructions in empirical classroom research: We focus on cultural constructions within the classroom setting, within the data collection by videography, and within the process of data analysis. Cause for these reflections was our participation in the Maputo conference where we discussed potentials and challenges of theoretical and methodological approaches to school and teaching research in intercultural contexts. This contribution is based on our workshop on documentary method (Bohnsack 2010) and will present examples from classroom research in Germany and Japan.

In the following, we will briefly introduce the methodology of documentary method in the field of classroom interaction research. Thereafter, we illustrate exemplarily the methodical procedure referring to visual data from two different classroom settings from Germany and Japan. Finally, with reference to the empirical data and the interpretation setting, we will discuss potentials

and challenges to conduct the documentary method in an intercultural (i.e., German – Japanese) interpretation setting with special consideration of the researchers cultural situatedness.

2 Documentary Method in Classroom Interaction Research

2.1 Methodology and Procedure

The documentary method is mainly rooted in German, respectively Western sociology of knowledge. It is a tool of qualitative social research that aims to analyse configurations of knowledge that are at work in personal and collective practice. As a research method, it has been implemented in a broad range of scientific fields in the German academia, but it is also used internationally (e.g., Bohnsack & Weller 2006; Bohnsack, Pfaff & Weller 2010)¹. Due to the focus on knowledge, the documentary method is often used in school-related research on professional development, classroom interaction and on teaching and learning. Based on Karl Mannheim's (1952) "sociology of knowledge", Ralf Bohnsack (2010) elaborated the documentary method as a tool to analyse group discussions. Meanwhile, the method has been applied e.g., in interview, picture, and video analysis (Bohnsack 2014; Gresch & Martens 2019; Martens & Asbrand 2022; Nohl 2010; Wagner-Willi 2012).

Basically, the documentary method focusses on social interaction and provides an analytical approach to the immanent (explicit, literal) meaning of 'what is said and done' as well as the documentary (implicit, tacit) meaning of 'how something is said and done.' Accordingly, Mannheim (1952) distinguishes two types of knowledge underlying social interaction: the *communicative knowledge* subsumes the body of theoretical knowledge the individual has available in order to articulate it explicitly. In general, this knowledge includes social norms and roles. In social interaction it is used e.g., to describe the self-perception as well as to justify the own actions. In school-related research, the communicative knowledge may subsume the teacher's knowledge concerning the students' learning, content knowledge and teaching beliefs etc. Besides this, Mannheim conceptualises the *conjunctive knowledge* that describes an a-theoretical, tacit, habitualised or incorporated knowledge. This knowledge subsumes the value orientations and behavioural routines that underlie the individuals' or social groups' (everyday) practices and suggests a generic system that creates a range of typical knowledge and actions. Mannheim assumes that the conjunctive knowledge is a situated knowledge, generated implicitly in social practice in a certain social group, milieu or social field. In talks

1 For a list with international references to documentary method, see: www.dokumentarische-methode.de

and actions, both *communicative and conjunctive knowledge* are present. Thus, research with the documentary method is interested in the specific relation between these two types of knowledge. In three steps of interpretation both types of knowledge are first analytically distinguished and second systematically related to each other:

1) The *formulating interpretation*, or the first order interpretation, is conducted from the perspective of the subjects under study and reformulates what social reality is from their perspective (Bohnsack 2010). It focuses on the communicative, reflective, theoretical knowledge of the participants, their explicated perception of their social reality. In video-based classroom research this step of interpretation is to summarise *what the participants are talking about* (i.e. to work out the structure of topics, to differentiate main topics from subtopics, and to paraphrase what the participants are talking about) and to describe *what they are doing*, e.g. the positions and movements in the room and to each other, gestures, mime, and the involved things such as teaching and learning materials, personal belongings that are present in the classroom etc. (Gresch & Martens 2019; Martens & Asbrand 2022).

2) The step of *reflecting interpretation* reveals the conjunctive, tacit knowledge from what was said verbatim and done (Bohnsack 2010). In contrast to the first interpretation step, the reflecting interpretation focuses on “how this reality is produced or accomplished” (ibid.: 102) and includes a formal interpretation of the interactional order, i.e., analyses of the formal function of utterances, gestures, and actions. To reveal the underlying implicit meaning, the researcher must change his or her analytical stance. Heuristic questions often asked in video-based classroom research are, e.g., *how* the participants discuss the framing topics, *how* students and teacher take positions in the classroom, *how* they interact, *how* the things are involved. These questions serve to reconstruct the participants’ collective orientation or habitus (Bourdieu 1996) and to work out the inherent social structure or logic that underlies the socio-material configurations. The framework of orientation or the habitus of the agents is reconstructed to analyse how the agents address the topic or act. This methodical step enables researchers to identify whether the students’ and teachers’ frameworks of orientation are collectively shared, incommensurable or related in a complementary way (Gresch & Martens 2019; Martens & Asbrand 2022).

3) In the third step, the *formation of types*, implicit and explicit meaning are related systematically as the formulating and reflecting interpretations are merged and condensed for purposes of a clear presentation in a scientific article. Rather than describing each individual case, the documentary method formulates types in terms of generalised rules and frameworks of orientation

from all cases. Throughout the entire process of data interpretation, comparative analyses are necessary to reveal the structural differences and similarities between the frameworks of orientation of the certain cases (Bohnsack 2010; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Gresch & Martens 2019).

2.2 Documentary Classroom Interaction Research: Examples from a German and a Japanese Classroom

Introducing the documentary method briefly as a tool for classroom research in an intercultural, multilingual setting, we decided to exemplify the research methodology by analysing visual data from a German and a Japanese classroom setting (stills from the classroom videos), so that we reduce interculturally caused language distortions and can concentrate on bodily and spatial aspects. Focusing on how the teacher and the students are positioned in the room and to each other, how they move, and how they interact with each other and with things, the visual data provide access to the participants' collective orientation or habitus and to the inherent social structure underlying the socio-material configurations in the classroom. In the following, some results of the formulating and reflecting interpretation will be shown. Due to the data capacity, the formation of types as a third methodical step is not accomplished here.



Still 1 (left) and 2 (right): Classroom setting, German comprehensive school

Still 1 shows a fifth-grade classroom in a German comprehensive school. We can observe a room with one teacher, about 25 students and a lot of different things (tables, chairs, blackboard, pictures, books, maps, learning materials...) that are related to teaching and learning and also to the class as a social group (e.g., the personal profiles of every student at rear wall) and the individual student (e.g., personal belongings on the tables). The things that are observable in the classroom suggest that both academic and social learning are important elements of learning culture in this school. Furthermore, the presence of learning materials provides evidence for a material-based teaching and a personalised learning approach. We can observe a decentralised classroom order with grouping which suggest the importance of student-centred interaction

and cooperative learning as the main focus of pedagogy. At the same time, the blackboard is dominant in the picture, as it is associated with the teacher and serves as a teaching instrument. The socio-material order manifests various centres of attention (Still 2). The viewing directions indicate a reciprocity of teacher and (some) students and a reciprocity among students. We can observe an ambivalence between decentralisation (table groups) and centralisation (blackboard/interactional space of the teacher). The students re-order themselves in the room according to the task and the directive of the teacher.



Still 3 (left) and 4 (right): Classroom setting, Japanese high school

Still 3 shows a twelfth-grade classroom at a Japanese high school, in which a male student is giving a presentation to the class. We can observe different participants and things in the classroom arrangement: almost 30 students in school uniforms are sitting at individual desks in six rows. To the front of the student rows, we see the student who is giving the presentation (2nd person from the right), the teacher (3rd person from the right), and on the right side of the classroom, there are some adults standing alongside the partition wall who are looking towards the teacher and/or the student who is giving the presentation. Their position in the room indicates that they are not part of the actual social order in the classroom (context information: these persons are visitors in the context of Lesson Study). The classroom itself is sparsely decorated: only a portrait and a clock are visible. The rows of students' desks are facing a dominant blackboard and a notice board with some posters. The teaching platform, lectern and the blackboard constitute 'the front' of the room, the centre of attention for all students. A reciprocal relation is constituted between the student who is giving a presentation and the students sitting at their desks, indicating that the student giving the presentation has assumed the teaching position. At the same time the teacher remains in charge, supervising the presentation from the elevated position of his teaching platform. This indicates a hierarchical social order in the classroom, as well as of knowledge production. The bodily arrangement divides the classroom into front and rear (Still 4): The front is a prominent and rather exclusive sphere of teaching, reserved for the teacher and students when selected by the teacher. Besides the teaching

platform, the difference in positions keeps the hierarchical difference between the teacher and the selected students distinct. At the rear of the classroom, all students are sitting at their desks, their bodies and direction of view oriented towards the front of the classroom. This tension between individualisation and collectivisation can also be observed in materials, the school uniforms, and the individual desks.

3 Cultural Constructions in Classroom Interaction Research: A Brief Discussion

Interpreting visual materials from classroom situations based on the documentary method in an intercultural setting, faced three dimensions of research processes: how to reflect cultural construction within the data itself, with the observation process and within the analysis process.

1. Cultural construction within the classroom setting: comparing the German and the Japanese classroom setting gives us a tentative impression of how the teachers and students act within, and (re-)produce a certain culture of learning. In the German example, we find a decentralised socio-material order. The multiple centres of attention reveal the ambivalence of personalised learning and instructional orientation. In the Japanese example, we find a clearly hierarchical order of knowledge production that constitutes the teacher-student interaction. The hierarchical social order between teacher and students is characterised by a tension between individualisation and collectivisation.

2. Cultural construction within the classroom observation by videography: Comparing both cases enables us to question how the researcher constructs a certain understanding of the classroom interaction by choosing certain instruments of data collection (e.g., video cameras), by selecting certain elements of the interaction (e.g., by the placement of the camera and choice of a certain framing), and by operating in the field in a certain way. In both cases, the research setting, and the camera view were initiated by German researchers. The researchers' camera perspective creates a teacher-centred view on the classroom interaction, as it is positioned vis-à-vis the teacher and placed behind the students. The teachers' practices can be observed in particular, while the students' practices are not in the focus. In both cases, the view of the camera indicates a main centre of attention (the 'front' with the blackboard and the teacher). The camera view coproduces a hierarchical relation between the teacher and the students, even though the socio-material order, at least in the German classroom, does not suggest this perspective. Both cameras capture the classroom interaction from an elevated position and therefore from an adult perspective.

3. Cultural construction within the data analysis: Contrasting both classroom settings forces us to ask how the choice of a research method and certain research habits or routines (e.g., how to address the field, to collect and to analyse data) create a particular understanding of the data. Due to its origin, the documentary method refers to conceptions and premises of society and of knowledge as well as of epistemology and methodology that are deeply rooted in German and Western thinking. Using the documentary method in intercultural contexts demands that researchers carefully consider the societal foundations of the research to avoid academic colonialism (cf. Takayama, Sriprakash & Connell 2016). Regarding our research routines, both authors recognised a practiced familiarity with the particular classroom setting from a German and a Japanese perspective and would characterise them as quite 'typical'. At the same time, it would be inappropriate to generalise the encountered differences in the learning culture of the two classrooms in terms of cultural differences between the German and Japanese educational system: The differences within German classrooms, e.g., are probably as large as the encountered differences between the German and the Japanese classroom. To avoid the reification of cultural differences and to reach the level of cultural comparative research, the German and the Japanese educational system would have to be observed under a far more complex research design.

Collaborative interpretation of own data as well as of data from different contexts in an intercultural setting enables – and forces – us to reflect how research objects and cultures are determined from each other. The format of a research workshop, which is embedded in the interpretation process of the documentary method and qualitative research, enables us to be aware of culturalist shortcomings.

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Yuichi Miyamoto

The Role of Theoretical and Cultural Pre-Understandings – A Commentary

Abstracts

EN

In this article, the author looks back and reflects on the contributions in section 3, discussing the role of theoretical and cultural pre-understandings and presumptions. Achievements and challenges of qualitative research are discussed based on the contributions.

DE

In diesem Artikel blickt der Autor zurück und reflektiert die Beiträge in Teil 3, um die Rolle von theoretischen und kulturellen Vorverständnissen und Annahmen zu erörtern. Anhand der Beiträge werden Leistungen und Herausforderungen der qualitativen Forschung diskutiert.

PT

Neste artigo, o autor faz uma retrospectiva e reflete sobre os contribuições na seção 3, discutindo o papel das pré-entendimentos e pressupostos teóricos e culturais. Com base nas contribuições, são discutidas as possibilidades e os desafios da investigação qualitativa.

JA

本稿では第三章を振り返り、理論や文化にかかわって前提とされている見方や推測が果たしている役割を検討した。質的研究でできることとできないこと、これからの課題は何かについて、筆者がもつ文化的な前提とあわせて考察をおこなった。

Introduction

As the prime metaphor in this section – “Standortgebundenheit” (local situatedness) – illustrates, we have travelled through many places on the academic map of reconstructive methods in qualitative research: Starting from the general introduction by Karin Bräu, contributors introduced the approaches of various research methods. Before we leave this field, I would like to look back on the landscape of this field of reconstructive methods and each contribution briefly and leave comments on achievements and challenges.

1 Assumptions in reconstructive methods

The main theme in section 3 is to reflect on cultural and theoretical pre-understandings/presumptions in teaching research. This area of focus is discussed throughout the section as each contribution reflectively presents appertaining stances and perspectives.

In the first article of the section, Bräu provides a concise guide map of reconstructive research methods. The ground concept of this field is illustrated as the endeavour to *understand and explain the human action*. Our everyday understanding of the world and self is deeply rooted in multi-layered, implicit, unconscious, and even sometimes undetectable presumptions and cultural contexts, by which the action and the interpretation of the world become ‘self-evident’ and ‘normal’, and “therefore cannot be easily consciously entitled”. Due to such “site-dependency”, researchers “must take the path of methodically controlled foreign understanding”, which results in the need for the interpreted objects to be *reconstructed*. Bräu also provides a list of how data collection, analysis, and theoretical framework in reconstructive social research are to be conducted.

Mbaye and Schelle introduce a method referred to as “objective hermeneutics”. They state that the basic concept of this method “is all about tracing down general structural characteristics, [or] the structure of the case, of a particular life experience”. The basic assumption in this method is thus summarised: “The method of objective hermeneutics is oriented towards the idea that there actually are regularities which exist beyond subjective feeling and meaning and determine the actions of each individual”. This assumption effectively authorises devising a *methodically objective* interpretative process. To be well-designed, objective hermeneutics determines five principles to govern the analysis. This method was also examined by/through/in its application to the research practice of intercultural comparative teaching research in the following chapter by Schelle and Mbaye. According to the contributors, objective hermeneutics also maintains a sensitivity to differentiability that al-

lows one to relativise “the impregnation of one’s own view” and to reflect on “habits of seeing and thinking” and thus “avoid risks of ethnocentrism”.

The revisit to objective hermeneutics in the chapter ‘Comparative Reconstructions of Subject Matter and Addressing Practices in Senegalese and German Classrooms’ effectively promotes our understanding of how this method can be an effective tool to explore comparative research. Schelle and Mbaye introduce a case study from Senegal and Germany to argue “the imperative to carefully reconstruct specific aspects of the respective cultural context”. After carrying out their “detective work” in the comparison of two countries’ teaching practices, they point out methodical and theoretical challenges regarding blind spots. As observations are selective and subjective, observers must presume that there is always an aspect that they cannot see. This argument urges us to reflect on the main theme of cultural presumptions. It is also important to note that they mention the issue of language for exploring the intercultural comparative studies. It does not stay within the translation problem, but it is the crucial matter of interpretive process because, as shown in the example of the Senegalese case, the transcript written in French may not represent students’ intended meaning. Language is the prime tool to gain access to the objective regularities to be detected, but there is a need to be careful about understanding how a word (or text) is produced in connection to the previous and following sentences (or context).

We then visited the area where Leicht introduces reconstructive video-analysis. The use of video has an advantageous potential “for new insights into multimodal classroom interaction” by which “language”, “non-verbal aspects, the use of artifacts and space become[s] observable”. Nevertheless, such advantages imply a risk of empirical instability as video contains an overwhelming amount of information, which appropriately calls for the rigid limit to “observable” objects with two methodical procedures: segmentation and sequence analysis. These methods will be consistent and cogent only when researchers “reflect basic assumptions and the fundamental understanding”, but Leicht maintains that this approach must be subjected to the iterative research process where researchers must visit, revisit and adjust the interpretation every time they proceed to new segments. This method is explored further by Spendrin and Hallitzky in their article.

This section proceeds into further explorations of introduced methods. Spendrin and Hallitzky develop a double layered reflection showing their cultural and theoretical understanding with their reflection of those understandings, that is titled “observe our observation”. Thanks to this meta-levelled reflection, it becomes apparent how pre-understandings function in the process of research and analysis and interestingly, the authors also include their struggles and deliberations in interpretations. Their reflection is centred on

the grounding concepts such as “culture”, “lesson”, and “democratic education”, which help readers not only understand how their analysis and results are produced (the first layer), but also – more importantly – elucidate the effect of pre-understanding (assumption) as “from behind our backs” (the second layer) where they point out that “theoretical assumption is certainly guided our interpretation” but still “we are not ‘restricted’ to our theoretical assumptions”. The *beneficial and risky* role of pre-understanding lies in guiding and misleading the interpretations, so it must be carefully reflected.

In the next article, Martens and Kinoshita introduce the Documentary Method. The Documentary Method seeks to analyse “configurations of knowledge that are at work in personal and collective practice”. The first step to take is “formulating interpretation” (describing what they are doing), via “reflecting interpretation” to reveal implicit meaning on the material to “formulating the type” beyond an individual case. Martens and Kinoshita argue for cultural constructions in their research practice, where they relate clearly “how the researcher constructs a certain understanding of the classroom interaction by choosing certain instruments of data collection, such as the way of placing video camera”.

2 Achievements and challenges of reconstructive methods

In this section, we have looked at remarkable landmarks, the distinctiveness of each approach and the commonalities of the reconstructive research methods. I would like to leave some comments on these contributions regarding achievements and challenges.

2.1 Achievements

The role of pre-understandings/presumptions

Consistent with the title, the role of theoretical and cultural pre-understandings could be stated as following: pre-understanding/presumption in qualitative teaching research plays an unshakable role and is the most basic determinant in the story-making from one’s research including setting the focal point, data collection, analysis, and conclusion. It could even be said that the pre-understanding/presumption may determine the way of constructing a theoretical framework and research methods. This notion has already been mentioned in the contributions. It is quite interesting that every statement regarding the role of pre-understanding/presumption in each article is delivered through different contexts and approaches, whereby we could observe the typical pre-understanding or site-dependency: Schelle and Mbaye prefer to speak strictly “from Niklas Luhmann’s point of view” while Spendrin and Hallitzky provide a broader view including science philosophy by Galison and Daston. I would

rather follow/adopt the viewpoint of Gadamer's *hermeneutic tradition* regarding "Vorurteile" (prejudice) so that (from *my viewpoint*) it can connect discussions of qualitative teaching research to the broader historical-philosophical context touching the Heidegger and Kantian tradition. The hermeneutical tradition is also understood as one of the most influential frameworks in qualitative research: Brinkmann, Jakobsen & Christiansen (2015) briefly summarise the important role of prejudice with Gadamer in the context of qualitative research, stating that "[t]he idea of *reflexivity*, which is central to much qualitative research, has also been articulated within hermeneutic philosophy. Interpretation depends on certain *pre-judices*, as Gadamer famously argued, without which no understanding would be possible... There are no fundamental "givens", for all understanding depends on a larger horizon of non-thematised meanings. This horizon gives meaning to everyday life activities, it is what we must engage with as we do qualitative research" (ibid: 22; for another reference, see Denzin & Lincoln 2000). The connection between qualitative research and hermeneutical-historical-philosophical approaches may broaden the perspective on what is going on in the classroom, because it may bring, for example, phenomenological, anthropological and epistemological arguments into the discussion. I also see more potential to discuss one's *Bildung* process in the discourse of examining lessons in classrooms (though there have been so many critics against this). As such, I acknowledge a certain kind of presumption – or so to say *expectation* about what I want to see in the classroom – to discover facts differently from other points of view. Irrespective of his/her background, it seems an important agreement among all the contributors in this section that qualitative research should be reflective about the pre-understanding/presumption of one's research conducts.

The "viewpoint" or "perspective" just mentioned above, might hit the nail on the head of the essential attribution of the role of pre-understandings/presumptions. Researchers take a *standpoint* and *view* the objects where he/she must take a microscope or telescope to see the object clearly from that point, while another researcher must take another tool to see the same object from another perspective – again this metaphor also resonates with Gadamer's description of *horizon*. Geographical distribution of researchers now presents the *cultural* matter: The place where a researcher stands has its *cultural* asset and certainly influences an observer's *way* of viewing. Spendrin and Hallitzky have already shown us a clear definition that I also agree with: "culture comprises sets of practices, being patterns of understanding the world, moving in it, dealing with objects, wishing for or doing something. [...] Therefore, we also interpret research practices as a cultural phenomenon, a research culture". The way of viewing should be well considered because it is the very structure of one's conduct of research.

The necessity of reflecting pre-understandings/presumptions

All contributors concur that these pre-understandings/presumptions must be reflectively articulated. In the geographical metaphor, a climber should know his/her location on the map. As Bräu spreads the map of qualitative methods that facilitated understanding where each contributor is located, she already answers the question why they need to be reflective – to avoid reproducing what the researchers already assume. “Reconstructive research counters this risk by aiming at the patterns of interpretation of the subjects or research” by “trying to reflexively control them”. I believe we can make this more general. To identify what a reconstructive research accomplishes, researchers need to place themselves into the relations to previous researches, or academic contexts, which need to be reflective: “observation of the observation”. This reflectivity has become an imperative that James Calderhead (1996) already pointed out about researchers in qualitative studies who “have drawn attention to the possibility that researchers can extract from this data interpretations *to which they are themselves particularly disposed*” (ibid.: 712, italic added). The text to which researchers are disposed will be accomplished when researchers begin with looking at the implicit historical contexts behind their viewpoints.

2.2 Challenges

Throughout this section, the importance of being reflective on pre-understandings/presumptions has been well demonstrated, but there remain several questions on these discussions:

1. *What are the NEW findings for qualitative teaching research? If we just stay within understanding the focused case, how could the research avoid the reproduction of pre-understood/presumed ideas?*

On reading results and findings in each contribution, one may notice that their results may have similar words and concepts that are actually almost identical to the prominently established concepts. Hierarchy, authority, and the dilemma of “controlling” and “opening” sound almost homologous to Theodor Litt’s famous thesis “Führung oder Wachsenlassen”, or even John Dewey’s “The Child and The Curriculum”, so to say the dualistic perspective of teacher’s instruction and learner’s free will. Qualitative research tends to reproduce already discovered aspects. In my presumption based on the Japanese Jugyo Kenkyu tradition, the ‘case’ in qualitative research has the power to reverse the precedent understanding on concepts. Spendrin and Hallitzky state their concern corresponding to this point, asking “is this (research finding) not just something we have already been assuming before?” Their answer “Yes/No” sounds very accurate, but I would like to claim this could be a matter of the conventional and the most basic rules in qualitative research paper, “theoret-

ical framework". Therefore, beyond the achievements of contributions in this section, an inevitable challenge is now revealed in the researchers struggle with being captured within the frame and being open to the new insights on theory itself.

2. *How relevant is the finding of research to pedagogical research? In applying sociological categories to understand phenomena in school and classroom, is there a need of existence of 'educational' researcher or the faculty of education?*

The methods especially sketched by Leicht, Martens, and Kinoshita are very useful tools to address the phenomena in classroom. However, along with the first question, it struck me that all key words and phrases are retrieved from sociological (and political) categories. I assume that all contributors perceived the phenomena as an interactive character. A "lesson" is "understood as a chain of particular practices". It is acceptable, but debates occurring in the congress, chats heard in the aisle of museum, and conferences for academics are all interactions. Political, aesthetic, academic, religious, economic, ethical, and academic actions are all dealing with the very long chain of a particular form of interactive process among people and objects. No one could disagree that the phenomena happening in classrooms or during lessons are interactive, but it does not explain how it is *pedagogical* notion. To apply sociological methods into classroom phenomena is not problematic, but it is the job of sociologists. 'Authority' might illustrate but could be identical to political relation. 'Addressing' sounds very unique for teacher-student relationship, but how could this unique phenomenon be differentiated from the addressing act by artists? After experiencing the rise of empirical studies, namely 'realistic turn' (realistische Wende) in the 1970s and 'empirical turn' (empirische Wende) in the 2000s, it is said that the hegemonic disciplines in didactic and pedagogy shifted from philosophical and hermeneutic to sociological and psychological (Zierer 2018: 341). In this transition, qualitative enquires barely answered the question of *education* (Zedler 2011: 320). This tendency in educational science with qualitative approach is a remarkable matter when observing what researchers in the faculty of education are doing.

This concern may provoke the question, what then could be pedagogical? It is not my intention to rigidly determine the pedagogical but would rather suggest the need of identifying this notion in qualitative teaching research (which tends to stay silent about this). I will soon regret to simplify the contributors' deliberative texts where they reflect upon "the pedagogical point of view" (Spendrin and Hallitzky) and "education traditionelle" (Schelle and Mbaye), so I would suggest the need to keep thinking about the problem of the state of educational science. I would like not to problematise their ways of discussion as a kind of deficit of reflecting on how pedagogical their researches are.

I would rather view these contributions as problem-posing about the state of educational science as an independent science or a subjugated science under several disciplines of social sciences. When accepting all the contributors' approaches from sociological perspective(s), educational science seemingly no longer possesses an independent arena, but is characterised as an interdisciplinary place that education is dissolved into socio-political (and perhaps psychological and philosophical) terminologies and conceptual frameworks. Yet, there has been and there is still another assumption of viewing educational science as a relatively independent science that holds specific interests and concepts apart from other disciplines (see for example the discussion of "pedagogical situation" by Petersen (1953: 9-43) in the classical text, and Benner (2015) in the recent studies). Contributors have seemingly already affirmed the assumption, that educational science is based on sociological methodologies – as I come from another tradition, I felt a little bit alienated from this perception. I would like to suggest a discussion about the disciplinary character of educational research as a challenge to be reflected upon.

Readers would have noticed that these comments were the very notion that contributors have already mentioned and consciously tackled with. Moreover, contributors have already proposed several paths to respond to those challenges: to put ourselves into *intercultural* situation. So now we are stepping forward to another cultural horizon in the Lesson Study tour, where ways of how educational research could articulate pedagogical notions could be gained.

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Section 4: Changing the Field: Connecting Research and Development

Lesson Study in Japan

Abstracts

EN

This article introduces Lesson Study in Japan as a developmental qualitative research methodology on teaching. Lesson Study is a research framework in which researchers and teachers are tied closely to encourage teachers developing their teaching skills with enhanced pedagogical insights by collaborating with multiple stakeholders, such as colleagues in a school, the board of education, or researchers at a university. It seeks both professional development of teachers and scientific research on education in the first place. This article firstly describes the tradition of Lesson Study and discusses how this approach could provide a unique insight to qualitative teaching research. After introducing the general background of Lesson Study in Japan, the concept and the procedure of collaborative Lesson Study at Hiroshima University is articulated. The last part will present an example of Lesson Study. The conclusion proposes a way of mediating research and development by reflecting on the relevance of normativity.

DE

In diesem Artikel wird die Lesson Study in Japan als Methode der qualitativen Unterrichtsentwicklung vorgestellt. Lesson Study ist ein Forschungsrahmen, in dem Forscher:innen und Lehrpersonen eng zusammenarbeiten, um Lehrpersonen zu ermutigen, ihre Unterrichtskompetenzen mit verbesserten pädagogischen Erkenntnissen zu entwickeln, indem sie mit verschiedenen Interessengruppen wie Kolleg:innen in einer Schule, der Schulbehörde oder Forscher:innen an einer Universität kooperieren. Dabei geht es in erster Linie um die berufliche Entwicklung von Lehrpersonen und die wissenschaftliche Erforschung von Bildung. In diesem Artikel wird zunächst die Tradition der Lesson Study beschrieben und erörtert, wie dieser Ansatz einen einzigartigen Einblick für eine qualitative Unterrichtsforschung bieten könnte. Nach einer Einführung in den allgemeinen Hintergrund der Lesson Study in Japan werden Konzept und Ablauf der kollaborativen Lesson Study an der Universität Hiroshima erläutert. Im letzten Teil wird ein Beispiel für Lesson

Study vorgestellt. In der Schlussfolgerung wird ein Weg zur Vermittlung von Forschung und Entwicklung vorgeschlagen, indem die Bedeutung der Normativität reflektiert wird.

PT

Este artigo apresenta o Lesson Study no Japão como uma metodologia de investigação qualitativa de desenvolvimento do ensino. O Lesson Study é um quadro de investigação em que investigadores e professores estão interligados para encorajar os professores a desenvolverem as suas competências de ensino com conhecimentos pedagógicos aprofundados, colaborando com várias partes interessadas, como os colegas de uma escola, o conselho de educação ou os investigadores de uma universidade. O objetivo é, em primeiro lugar, o desenvolvimento profissional dos professores e a investigação científica no domínio da educação. Este artigo começa por descrever a tradição do Lesson Study e discute a forma como esta abordagem pode proporcionar uma perspectiva única à investigação qualitativa do ensino. Depois de apresentar o contexto geral do Lesson Study no Japão, é articulado o conceito e o procedimento do Lesson Study colaborativo na Universidade de Hiroshima. A última parte apresenta um exemplo de Lesson Study. A conclusão propõe uma forma de mediar a investigação e o desenvolvimento através da reflexão sobre a relevância da normatividade.

JA

本稿では、開発的な教育研究の方法論としての日本の授業研究を紹介する。授業研究は、研究者と教師が密接に結びつき、教師が、同僚、教育委員会、大学の研究者といった多種多様のステークホルダーと共同し、その過程の中で教育学的知見を深めることによって、教授技術や教育観を向上・深化させる研究フレームワークである。これは教師の専門職開発と科学的な教育研究を両立させようとするアプローチである。以下でははじめに授業研究の歴史を紹介し、このアプローチが質的教育研究に対してどのような特質ある知見をもたらしているかについて論じる。次に、日本の授業研究の全体的な背景を説明し、広島大学での協働的な授業研究のコンセプトと進め方を紹介する。さらに、授業研究の事例を紹介する。結論では研究と開発をどのように結び付けようかについて、規範性を省察することの重要性という観点から検討する。

1 Introduction – Lesson Study as a form of qualitative educational research in Japan

“Stay between a dictionary and a tape recorder” Every educational research school in every country, more or less, possesses certain kinds of normative key phrases that shape its research orientation. Qualitative educational research in Japan, exceptions aside, with its varied forms of research interests and orientations, is oriented towards forming a strong connection between theoretical research and practical development. From this normative expectation, it was stated that a researcher should hold a dictionary in his right hand and a tape recorder in his left hand, and that he should dedicate his theoretical work on the dictionary to practical development and vice versa. To repeat a familiar phrase, the history of qualitative research in Japan is the history of the unceasing pursuit for theory-practice relationship.

“Lesson Study” is a research framework that ties researchers and teachers closely to encourage teachers developing their teaching skills with enhanced pedagogical insights by collaborating with multiple stakeholders, such as colleagues in a school, the board of education, or researchers at a university (for a broad viewpoint, see NASEM 2011). It has played the central role in historical contexts of qualitative educational research in Japan and continues to do so. It may be argued that Lesson Study offers a place where teaching practice is subjected to sophisticated reflection by theoretical pedagogical insights; simultaneously, the theory gains theoretical nutrition for further development by practice. Currently, Lesson Study is a trend worldwide, implemented in North America, Asia, Europe, and Africa for teacher in-service training, initial teacher training, and teacher education in university comprising many different variations of application from subject-based research to psychological and sociological methodologies.

In this article, Japanese scholars from Hiroshima University will describe Lesson Studies by taking a macro glance at the upheaval and worldwide expansion of Lesson Studies and a micro glance at the position and uniqueness of Lesson Study at Hiroshima University. After introducing the general background of Lesson Study in Japan, in which teacher (pre-service and in-service) education will be the focus, the concept and the procedure of collaborative Lesson Study at Hiroshima University will be articulated. The last part will present an example of Lesson Study. The conclusion will propose a way of mediating research and development by reflecting on the relevance of normativity.

2 Lesson Study in Japan – Jugyou Kenyuu for teacher training

2.1 The History of Lesson Study: Democracy and Science

Lesson study in Japan has its roots in the Meiji era (1868-1912), the time of radical modernisation of all social systems including school education. Immediately after the establishment of the western school system in Japan, teachers were assigned to develop their skills to teach as a part of their professionalism; however, Lesson Study in the Meiji era was merely a part of the assignment and was not perceived as a significant movement like the grassroots Lesson Study in the post-war period. Although the upheaval of *Lesson Study* in the movement of new education during the Taisho era (1913-1925) could also be observed, literatures share a common understanding that the movement of Lesson Study/Studies arose in the post-World War II era (1945–1960s), the time of the thorough reflection on suppressive governmental power on school education in the pre-war period. The pursuit for liberal democracy in school and in the society was realised in the form of grassroots educational research, Lesson Study, and belief in science that should have overcome the arbitrary politics (cf. Fukazawa et al. 2020).

The nature of the centralisation in the national curriculum had not changed at all even after experiencing totalitarian militarism. Resistance against the central government and a call for the autonomy of teaching practice in school education were nurtured within the circles of grassroots educational research. In the 1950s, several prominent research groups were established, such as the Society for Achieving the Original Spirit of Social Studies, the Association of Mathematical Instruction, the History Educationalist Conference of Japan, the Association of Scientific Research for Education, and the Japanese Society for Life Guidance Studies (see NASEM 2011).

These groups shared a common aim to realise a democratic society by educating children. As reflected clearly in group names, these grassroots educational research groups contribute to a subject along with the course of study: Social Studies, Mathematics, History, Science, and so on. It implies that those grassroots level educational research groups remained in an ambivalent position because their legitimacy came from the national curriculum, even though they cherished their aim to achieve a democratic society against governmental entity; while idealistic discussions for democracy against the government could characterise a generative process of those educational research groups, in reality, school teachers had to teach subjects that were determined by government and struggled with teaching these subjects. Consequently, the need for well-structured and effective general methodologies

for subjects arose from teachers, and educational research groups responded to such calls from teachers and provided them with an arena for the deepening of insights, holding experimental lessons with discussions, and developing skills and strategies, which resulted in the birth of an arena where research on and development of lessons were simultaneously and reciprocally combined with each other (cf. Fukazawa et al. 2019).

Lesson Study did not stay merely within the teachers but was open to university researchers who also breathed the breath of democracy. Researchers stood on the threshold of Lesson Study, the collaborative educational research with schoolteachers in the early 1960s. Specifically, it is worth noting that five major research universities, Hokkaido University, the University of Tokyo, Nagoya University, Kobe University, and Hiroshima University, were summoned to hold the series of Lesson Study to discuss a lesson from multiple perspectives (cf. Kiper & Yoshida. 2016, pp.47-57).

2.2 Attributes of Lesson Study as a new way of defining educational research and teaching profession

Lesson Study is now expanding its effectiveness throughout the world. Already in the 1990s, Makoto Yoshida introduced Lesson Study to the United States (Yoshida 1999). In addition, the video survey held by Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) became the turning point that made Lesson Study well known to a much wider population. After widely spreading in Asia and North America, Lesson Study expanded to Europe and Africa. Lesson Study became a matter of academic association in 2006, established by the World Association of Lesson Studies (WALS). A glimpse into the discussion of the articles by WALS reveals the tendency of Lesson Study becoming a global phenomenon as well; Lesson Study in the international landscape is primarily the matter of teacher (in-service and pre-service) education in collaboration with the researchers' commitment. Beyond the boundary of culture, there would be valuable notions retrieved from Lesson Study which might propose new insights on qualitative educational research. Of those variously articulated notions on Lesson Study, the following three points will describe the significance.

First, Lesson Study has been proposing a new shape of educational research, that is, educational research without any trivialisation and reduction would welcome a new research stakeholder, the teacher, into its research activity. It implies that the theory of construction and practice development is understood as a single united process as a way of offering the teacher and researcher an experimental place by inviting researchers and practitioners to observe "*what's going on*" in the classroom.

Sociologically disciplined researchers are fanatically faithful to the premise that researchers must not contaminate the object to be observed because distance must be maintained from the object so that they could observe “*what’s going on*” in the respective social space. This is why current research frameworks prefer only to place a video camera at the front and rear side of classroom, with the researcher dashing out of the classroom and observing the lesson through the lens. Moreover, researchers prefer not to talk much with the teacher and exclude the practitioner from the discussions after the practice to dissect the practice. Despite some exceptional methodologies, such as participatory observation, sociologically influenced qualitative educational research somehow remains separate from the practice.

Lesson Study proposes an alternative method of conducting qualitative educational research. Qualitative research deals with the latent and apparent quality that might work in the targeted phenomenon, which does not necessarily exclude the participant in this phenomenon from analysis. On the contrary, since the teacher as the very central presence in the educational phenomenon of the classroom would possess his/her own willingness, strategies, or mental constitution that let him/her behave in a particular manner, qualitative educational research by rational choice seeks a crucial data resource about the subject’s mental movement and transformation. In other words, Lesson Study as a form of qualitative educational research would never ignore the subjective intention and strategies behind the apparent behaviour, as long as it wants to do the *research on education*. It is because education is not separate from the internal cognitive process through the interaction between teaching and learning. As explained in Hiroshima group’s assumption in the next section, an educative process arises when two different processes of teaching and learning interlock together: the teacher’s intention and approach to students may not suffice the condition of education if the students’ learning process is somehow initiated, while focus on the students’ learning process is not the sufficient condition for the educative process because teaching actions by others may be absent in the learning process. When we talk about the educative process, one cannot overlook this interaction or interlock of these two independent internal processes. The emphatic expression on “research on education” has its legitimization because many qualitative educational researches reveal not the educative insights but merely a social structure, such as power relation and social modes of interaction, which has been heard for the umpteenth time and that is truly less related to the educative process.

Qualitative educational research in Lesson Study starts from extracting the teacher’s intention and willingness of the action he/she wanted to take in the classroom. Phenomenological methodologies have, therefore, an affinity for Lesson Study. Some didactical analyses such as content analysis, critical

review on textbooks, categorisation of teaching-learning interaction, and the segmentation of the sequence of lessons are also common methodologies for Lesson Study. Psychological or sociological analysis could also be integrated. Researchers in universities invented methodologies for making transcripts, gleaming unique perspectives, and archiving lesson data. All processes of analysis based on those methodologies are associated with teachers.

Second, along with the first point, Lesson Study proposes a new shape of professionalism of the teacher as a researcher (cf. Hall 2014). To elucidate this significance, it might be worth briefly mentioning the current discussion in the realm of teacher education. “Reflective practitioner”, proposed by D. Schön, seems the dominant figure of the professionalism for teachers. It is quite accurate that a teacher as a “reflective practitioner” always ponders upon his/her own practice in the middle of practice; however, it is quite inaccurate that teachers are now placed ceaselessly into the heavily overwhelming reflection. No one denies the significance of reflection that would prevent the teaching practitioner from staying selfish and unenlightened; however, such figures lose their connection to the pedagogical and educational scientific orders. It seems quite a natural counter punch that Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) then comes to the forefront.

The figure of a teacher in the tradition of Lesson Study holds a different assumption that a teacher is by nature a researcher on education who, within his/her own field, examines a unique phenomenon in lessons and classrooms. A Lesson Study practitioner neither overestimates nor underestimates the importance of reflection, but properly positions reflection into the cycle of collaborative Lesson Study to prevent the reflective process from staying inside the personal judgement separated from other viewpoints. Overcoming the dichotomy of reflection and content, there has been a well-known analogue, which would imply that the theory construction and practice development are always combined in a single process in which both aspects of research and development reside.

In addition, it should also be mentioned that Lesson Study in Japan has not weighed the solo-independent judgement within each single teacher but emphasises so-to-say intersubjective and cooperative processes. Professionals, as strong, independent, self-judging people, have no reason to authorise themselves in Lesson Study. No one could claim that a teacher must educate children alone and must assume total responsibility. Rather, educating children is by nature a social phenomenon in which children are nurtured and cared for by various multiple characters. Norms in Lesson Study advocating that teachers should not occupy the whole world for a child but let the child be open to other personalities suggests inversely that a teacher as an inquirer of teaching should always be associated with others.

Finally, it is notable that Lesson Study is deeply connected to teacher education. Teachers in Japan are used to the custom of collegiate study from the beginning to the end of teaching practice in school. Students in a teacher's training course must take one or two lectures and seminars for didactics (both general and subject) and curriculum development. Lecturers in almost all universities present lesson videos during the courses and encourage discussions around them. Relatively larger universities, mainly national universities of each prefecture, which hold a close connection to prefectural and local administration of schools, can provide students with plenty of opportunities to go to school and be involved in Lesson Study. Teachers at schools are basically (of course not all) open to welcoming those young students because those teachers have also experienced a welcome by their schools as students themselves. Simultaneous processes of research and teacher education seem to be the reason why the culture of continuous improvement in the Lesson Study cycle lays down roots around Japanese schools.

To sum up, Lesson Study is a model unique to Japanese schools. With a foundation that combines research and development in teaching and learning in classrooms, Lesson Study seeks collaborative and qualitative research on education. Deeply rooted in the history of the Japanese schooling system, this grassroots level movement places science at its core. Teachers, as researchers, are expected to integrate research activities in their lessons and to enhance their teaching skills. Because of this, Lesson Study can possibly propose a new idea on both the professionalism of the teacher and the framework for qualitative educational research. Based on these conceptions, the next section introduces Lesson Study at Hiroshima University.

3 Lesson Study at Hiroshima University

As well as other University groups, Hiroshima also has its unique orientation with philosophical basic concepts. Here, the Hiroshima group indicates only a laboratory of educational methods in the department of education, whilst laboratories in subject didactics and the laboratory of educational sociology also intensively hold Lesson Study in distinctive ways.

Hiroshima University places *an interactive process between the teacher and students and among students* at its central focus, especially weighing on its *collective* character. By receiving East German didactics and Soviet psychology, and yet by inflecting its ideological socialistic ideal into a democratic purpose, Hiroshima captures the individual development as both the factor and result of collective-social interaction, in which individuals have potential to affect other individual developments. The classroom as a small society is the place for students to learn, practice, and reflect on how they can con-

tribute to realising a democratic society. In other words, the Hiroshima group assumes that *lesson matters both the depth of cognition on scientific insights and the strength of solidarity among students, as both stand for the reciprocal relationship*. Consequently, that the collective participation in the inquiries on the subjects in lessons promotes both intellectual development and a mutual understanding among students becomes the basic concept for Lesson Study in the Hiroshima group.

Basic concepts allow the Hiroshima group to develop its own methodology to inquire on lessons. To begin with the main perspectives, due to the importance of the depth of learning and mutual understanding through participation, four basic perspectives have been structurally developed:

1. Content analysis (already spread in English as “Kyouzaikenkyuu”),
2. Teacher questions (sometimes translated as “inquiry”: already spread in English as “Hatsumon”),
3. Rule-making for a/the learning environment (sometimes translated as learning discipline) and
4. Group formation (Collectivity and interactivity in the individual thinking process).

As it may imply, the first two categories belong to the teacher’s teaching process, while the other two categories belong to the students’ learning process. All four perspectives are combined together to discover how teaching process and learning process are interlocked to each other in a lesson. It should be noted that perspectives on lessons might flexibly change depending on how the lesson progresses and on the participants’ research interest.

As well as other Lesson Studies around Japan, the Hiroshima group also forms a collaborative Lesson Study team with schools. In most cases, schools request help in implementing Lesson Study, while some cases are initiated by Hiroshima University. In most cases, collaborative Lesson Study in Hiroshima is organised as a whole-school program, involving all teachers and even other workers, like the lunch ladies, janitors, and school nurses, while in few cases, one teacher in a school with a private connection offers Lesson Study to researchers. Lesson Study at each school is held three or four times per year so that the university researcher can observe sequential transition and transformation in the classroom atmosphere and in the quality of the lesson. When Lesson Study is successful, researchers and schoolteachers develop original curriculum designs together, some of which have received favourable recognition from the government. Some of the teachers and principals who get used to the Lesson Study cycle and the customs of the Hiroshima group feel disposed to continue this Lesson Study even after they move to another school. Hence, collaborative Lesson Study is gradually spreading to other schools.

The teacher training course is correlated into this process of collaborative Lesson Study in Hiroshima University. Undergraduate students in the 2nd and 3rd grade voluntarily take a course named "Seminar for Methodology on Educational Research". In this course, students participate in an authentic Lesson Study at several schools, experiencing the whole process from observation, video recording, protocol making, methodological analysis, and feedback formulation. At the feedback stage, teachers who offered the lesson directly hear the students' analysis results and willingly participate in discussions with students. Four aspects are taught to students, but they are not forced to apply. Rather, as a part of his research, the lecturer rejoices at, and seeks, new and unique perspectives as observed from the students' fresh eye. There are also other opportunities to experience Lesson Study in a short version offered for the first-grade students: introduction to general didactics. The case presented in the later section will present a few results of the analysis by the students in this course.

Furthermore, the master's and doctoral course, training course to be researcher, is also associated with this Lesson Study cycle. As Teaching Assistants, some master's and doctoral course students who study specific themes regarding lesson study and didactics, organise and promote the undergraduate students' Lesson Study. Master's students and doctoral students are often invited to Lesson Study by a supervisor, who expects them to give their unique insights on the lesson through their own research interests. The process of broadening and developing their research theme by reading books and refining their insights on the research theme by participating in Lesson Study is basically conceived as "stay between a dictionary and a tape recorder." Some doctoral students have published their articles based on the results of continuous Lesson Study with a school (esp. see Matsuo 2018).

Involving many actors from BA, MA, and doctorate students to school workers, the Hiroshima group implements Lesson Study with following procedure. It may sometimes skip some agenda for flexibility.

Pre-conference – Planning

The professor visits the schools with the BA, MA and DC students, or sometimes, schoolteachers come to the laboratory to hold a discussion. The researcher and teacher (school leaders, esp. principal, vice-principal, and middle leaders from research sections and curriculum coordination in schools) discuss and confirm school annual missions and difficult situations. This start-up discussion is conceived to be important because in Lesson Study, less relevant analysis for school situations should be avoided, and therefore, they should

form a basic agreement on what would be a meaningful teaching practice in the school.

Start-up discussions may determine the focused theme and methodology for Lesson Study effective only for that school. The accumulation of those discussions in recent years informs us that this focused theme ranges from performance-based curriculum to place-based curriculum design. Teachers then promote this theme in daily lessons and classroom management and offer one or two lessons to other teachers and researchers as Lesson Study.

At the pre-conference of Lesson Study, teachers and researchers come together again and discuss the lesson plan that the practitioner (teacher who conducts the lesson) made. The discussion may examine the academic performance of students, classroom atmosphere, content-based advice, comparable examples for the lesson from past lesson studies, and so on. Content analysis (Kyouzaikenkyuu) and examination of the teacher's questions (Hatsumon) may function at this step.

Lesson - Observation

The practitioner invites schoolteachers and researchers with video cameras and voice recorders into his/her classroom and conducts the lesson.

Observing participants are basically allowed to walk around and look into the students' work and notebooks. Observations styled on Lesson Study take the presence of observers into account.

Undergraduate students are expected to learn how they should behave during the Lesson Study: How they can observe and hear school students' discussion without interrupting, where they should stand or crouch, and what notes they should take. Undergraduate students are sometimes required to reflect on how they behaved during the lesson at the seminar back at the university in order to examine methodological significances of their behaviours and judgements.

Conference - Discussion

(Post-)conference takes place at school soon after the lesson. The practitioner first presents a short reflection on his/her practice, and then, the participants discuss the lesson either from the settled perspectives or from free observations. At the end of the discussion, participants formulate their feedback and comments on the lesson.

Post-conference often closes with comments by the university researcher.

Analysis

Lesson Study does not end with the post-conference; it continues with a further detailed analysis with a protocol and video. University researchers with BA, MA, and doctoral students conduct this process.

For discussions, the first impression on the lesson is welcomed. Brainstorming allows them to find several focused topics for further analysis.

Several focused analytic themes through brainstorming will be examined with the collected materials. At this examination, the researcher may ask the practitioner to provide further information on materials such as lesson plan after the observed lesson, students' worksheets, and so on. An analysis is conducted utilising all available information, and then, all the phenomena from the beginning to the end are screened.

The findings are further articulated with the evidence from pictures and protocols.

Feedback

Findings are formulated into feedback. It could be in normative or descriptive sentences.

The practitioner receives feedback and develops his/her new strategy for the lesson.

The results of the analysis are sometimes published on the school bulletin.

The feedback becomes the base for the next discussion for Lesson Study (Back to step 1).

4 Case: Lesson Study with Nisshokan high school (English Lesson 12th grade)

How does Lesson Study actually work? This section strives to facilitate understanding the Lesson Study framework by presenting an exemplary Lesson Study that the authors Yoshida and Miyamoto created in collaboration with Leipzig University in 2018.

Background information about the case

The case is retrieved from Nisshokan high school in north-east Hiroshima prefecture. On 29th November 2018, in the third-grade class with 26 students (two were absent from a total of 28), Mr. Imanaka conducted an English lesson. The Hiroshima group (Yoshida, Miyamoto and one BA, one MA, and two doctoral students), six members from Leipzig University, and some colleague teachers attended the lesson. In this lesson, students were asked to write a

review letter (Figure 1) on the essay "Rude Japanese", written by Kay Hetherly, which talks about cultural misunderstanding and the importance of mutual understanding of cultures.

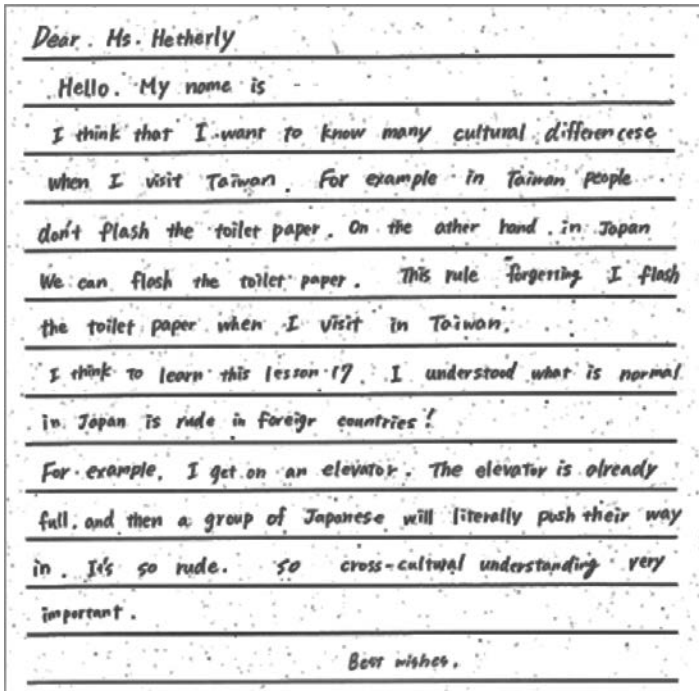


Fig. 1: Student's work, review on essay in a letter form

Only Mr. Imanaka, the teacher, planned this lesson. The observers had no advance information on content structure, text critique, and students' readiness. As for the recording materials, two video cameras at the front and the rear, two cameras, and two voice recorders were prepared. Because the video camera cannot capture the voices of all the 27 people at once, voice recorders were attached to two Hiroshima observers who stood at one place for focused observation on three-four students. The school students were accustomed to the presence of guests in the classroom, and some students had spoken frankly to the observers during the lesson.

As was done with the conventional Lesson Study in Hiroshima, data and materials were collected to the extent possible. The more data we have, the better and the more precise is the conclusion we may reach. In this case, the lesson plan made by the teacher, textbooks, worksheets, video and voice records,

photos (blackboard and posters on walls), seat map, and the school curriculum in the school pamphlet were collected and the audio was transcribed. In Hiroshima, analysing the data involved undergraduate (BA) students. The professor brought this lesson into his lecture 'Introduction to general didactics' and held a workshop-styled Lesson Study with undergraduate students. They were instructed that subjective ideas were very welcome; however, they were advised to be ready to open a unique understanding for this lesson. Based on these basic interests and concerns, the BA students formulated the inquiry theme of this lesson or the hypothesis that this lesson would probably maintain. 16 key concepts were introduced to the BA students so that their thinking process could be smoothened and well-structured. Despite the fact that most students were concerned about the academic achievement in this lesson where no clear English performance could have been observed and that those who screened all worksheets and curriculum mappings as their methodologies struggled with the analysis of the lesson beyond attaching blame and negative comments on the lesson, some of those who had been interested in the teacher's action and physical expressions in the interaction with students brought unique insights on Mr. Imanaka's pedagogical orientation. The theme navigates the construction methodology. What they wanted to know determined what data they needed and how they should process the data. Some students required the professor to do a follow-up interview with Mr. Imanaka to acquire more information about the lesson and students. They were required to conduct the creative analysis on the lesson, tried to describe the result of the analysis, and formulated notions and messages (feedback) on the lesson to the teacher.

Results of the Analyses

First, let us begin with the teacher's physical extension. One BA student wondered that Mr. Imanaka remained at the front, talked too much, and seemed less interactive with the students during the lesson. He then started to track the teacher's footsteps and sketched it on the seat map (Figure 2). Some remarkable points were established. It may possibly be because of high school; however, the teacher remained at the front almost 80-90% of the lesson. When he walked into the students' area, he walked only along the vertical path but not along the horizontal path. While walking through the students' seating area, he paid attention only to a few students, i.e. b3, g16, and g9 (highlighted with circles). Other students were just glanced at, and some students at the back had barely interacted with the teacher (represented with a square).

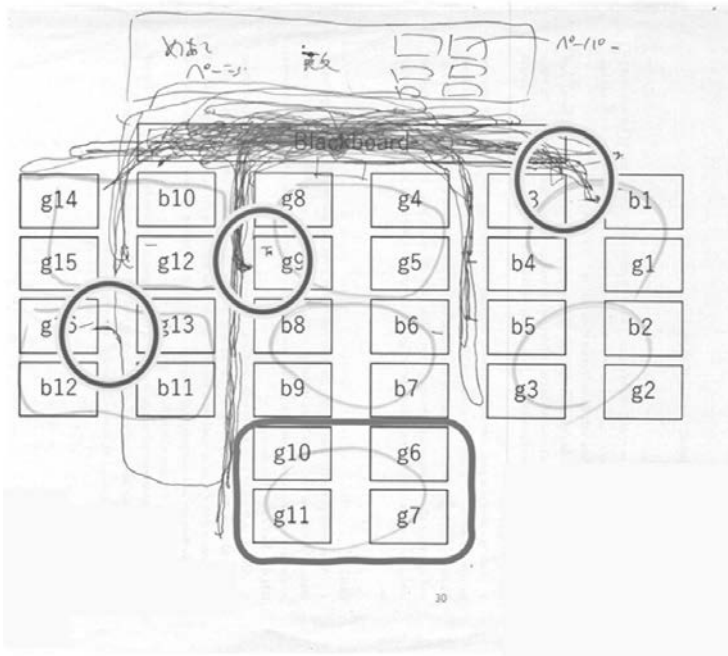
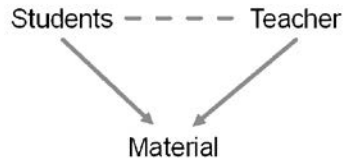


Fig. 2: Teacher walk with remarks

Focus on physicality also provided another point of view about how the teacher communicated with the students (Figure 3). The impression that the teacher was less communicative was due to the analysis. When the teacher walked by a student, it was frequently observed that the teacher looked at the materials more than observing the students, although the students often looked up at the teacher. The teacher talked through the materials. Hence, the impression "less communicative" stands amended since he was indirectly communicative, or he was interactive with the materials. His particular style of communication would suggest that the relationship construction between teaching and learning would appear by placing something between two actors.



Fig. 3: Eyes and face in Interaction through material



With regard to the mediated communication via materials between the teacher and students, the use of the blackboard also seemed to play an important role in Mr. Imanaka's practice (Figure 4). First impressions heard from the BA students and the MA and doctoral analysis group informs us that it seemed a bit unstructured, but somehow it seemed to work. Then, when we categorise the parts of the blackboard and identify how it was used, it could be categorised into three functions. A) Tasks: presenting an assignment and activity; B) Scaffolding: key vocabularies called "word map" in this lesson are not just to be memorised but facilitated the students' writing effectively and were replete with messages; C) Note: the teacher spared the room for responding to the students. When the teacher walked by seat g16 and had a short conversation with her, the teacher walked up to the blackboard and wrote a phrase and recommended its use. In addition to the textbooks, the blackboard was also the place for interaction with the students. A variety of didactical functions to promote the students' activity was packed into this plate.

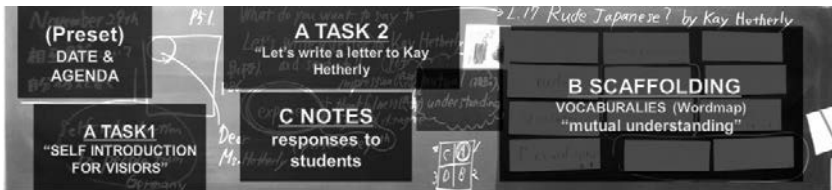


Fig. 4: Blackboard

While the physical and vocal actions performed by Mr. Imanaka indicated that didactical interaction between the teacher and students might be effectively supported by the use of media like textbooks and blackboards, listening to his own desires on curriculum design would bring about a different aspect about communication, in other words, reveal a sort of dilemma that he was experiencing. Namely, as the head of the research section in the school, he had been making all the efforts to create a highly original curriculum design in collaboration with the Professor. Though there were seemingly some problems regarding obscurity of what was “taught” or what was “learned”, a broader viewpoint showed that the school curriculum covered this aspect adequately. Glancing at the whole curriculum revealed that Nisshokan high school provided students with many opportunities to communicate with foreigners through the year. According to the annual research Bulletin by Nisshokan high school, students were assigned to guide foreign visitors through their town and to have a discussion session with college students from all over the world. The task assigned in the lesson “Let’s write a letter to send it to her (Kay Hetherly)!” was also connected to this program as a means of sending the students’ essay review letters directly to Kay Hetherly in England and receiving a response directly from her. Throughout the whole curriculum in Nisshokan high school, in and outside the English curriculum, the development of communication skills was the most prioritised matter. Because of that, in spite of arguable refutations that English lessons should be either academic training or communicative training, it is undeniably clear that Nisshokan students focused on learning English for communication in authentic situations of addressing and responding. When they wrote a guide for visitors, the visitors thanked them and advised them on improvements for better guidance. When they wrote letters to Hetherly, Hetherly responded to them. As such, as the bulletin articulated the nature of Nisshokan curriculum as “Authenticity” or “situation that compels students to speak”, this school curriculum initiated by Mr. Imanaka prioritises authentic learning under the communication of addressing and responding.

The basic concept of direct, interactive, and authentic learning now sounds incoherent to Mr. Imanaka’s presence in the lesson. It seemed as if the teacher was avoiding direct communication with the students, often placing himself behind them. These gaps – direct communication as the main concept of the curriculum and indirect communication / less presence of teacher – could be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, the teacher had a problem and struggled to maintain direct communication with students, for which some “solutions” or “advice” should be given to adhere to the main curricular concept. On the other hand, the teacher himself recognised the need to remain in this ambivalent position because he is not the one whom students should face

and ultimately interchange with but the only one who could directly provide for and facilitate further communication. This conflicting finding was reformulated into the feedback statement.

Formulation of feedback as the synthesis of results of analyses

Feedback to Mr. Imanaka was provided by combining the analyses into a synthesis. Apart from the impressions pointing to reduced communicative activity and the obscurity of the academic achievement of students, the results of the analyses could be synthesised into a finding of inconsistency between curricular design and teaching behaviour. Neither should feedback merely blame the teacher critically, nor should it disregard the practitioner's willingness to engage and question, on the contrary, feedback should encourage his/her inquiries that he or she apparently and latently had displayed in practice. In other cases, it is also possible that normative assertions like "you should do this" can be delivered only if the researcher and teachers share their norms very well in a shared context.

Given the position of Mr. Imanaka as a middle leader in school, preferable feedback seemed to first present the findings and then conclude in the form of a question about the presence and positioning of the teacher in the lesson: What roles do teachers in Nisshokan play for students and how/where should they be in the classroom during a lesson? The Hiroshima group concluded that inconsistent functions among the desired curricular concepts and the actual presence during the lesson would propose a unique didactical insight that active communicative process by students is possible when the teacher stands behind at the interactive moment to facilitate the communication. Hence, the Hiroshima group is figuring out and questioning the unique positioning of teachers in the process of authentic learning, which, according to them, would not be successful if the teachers step forward and face the students. Not only did Mr. Imanaka's practice open this inquiry, but he also proposed several effective mediating tools to promote the students' interactive process.

4 Conclusion

Lesson Study as qualitative educational research proposes an integrated research concept of research and development. Despite the traditional uniqueness rooted deep in the history of education in Japan, it now enjoys widespread expansion worldwide, as one of the most effective and practical teacher educational frameworks (Kim et al. 2021). Attributions of Lesson Study are summarised into three points that propose a new educational research approach in an orientation toward a developmental aspect, a new shaping

capacity of professionalism of the teacher as a researcher, and the applicability of educational research into teacher education. The comparison and contrast with the current paradigm in qualitative educational research would indicate significant differences that might sometimes be unacceptable for some research framework norms.

Hiroshima University inherits those attributions and especially places great emphasis on collaborative Lesson Study involving not only teachers but also BA, MA, and doctoral students under the strong assumption that Lesson Study could be a correlative place for educational research, teacher in-service education, pre-service education, and doctoral research training. With its philosophical background, it is not an exaggerated expression that educational research (didactics) in the Hiroshima group goes along with practical reflections in Lesson Study.

Methodological reflection is now increasingly the updated discussion in Lesson Study. Lesson Study at Hiroshima University in five steps has been and is prioritising four major concepts as the perspective of analysis, which has been sophisticated through the series of Lesson Study.

"Stay between a dictionary and a tape recorder." Lesson Study from Japanese traditions can contribute to the placement of qualitative educational research into the integrated arena of producing scientific inquiry and promoting teacher education.

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Maria Hallitzky, Emi Kinoshita and Karla Spendrin

Joint Object – Diverse Perspectives: (Hidden) Normativities in a Dialogue between a Teacher and Researchers

Abstracts

EN

In the German context, teaching practice and teaching research are often organised differently in terms of personnel and structure. Although they share a common interest in improving teaching, the concrete (and necessarily normative) ideas of what is ‚better‘ can differ. In the analysis – focused on a lesson – of a cooperation between a teacher and a research team, the partly explicit, partly implicit normativities that emerge in the various phases of the dialogue about observations are detailed and discussed in their relationship to each other.

DE

Unterrichtspraxis und Unterrichtsforschung werden im deutschen Kontext oft personell getrennt und strukturell unterschiedlich organisiert. Sie teilen zwar das gemeinsame Interesse an einer Verbesserung des Unterrichts, wobei allerdings die konkreten (und notwendigerweise normativen) Vorstellungen des ‚Besseren‘ differieren können. In der Analyse einer – auf eine Unterrichtsstunde fokussierten – Kooperation von einer Lehrerin mit einem Forschungsteam werden die sich in den verschiedenen Phasen des Dialogs über Beobachtungen zeigenden, teilweise expliziten, teilweise impliziten Normativitäten herausgearbeitet und in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander diskutiert.

PT

No contexto alemão, a prática pedagógica e a investigação pedagógica estão frequentemente divididas em termos de pessoal e de estrutura. Mesmo partilhando o interesse comum de melhorar o ensino, as ideias concretas (e necessariamente normativas) do que é “melhor” podem ser diferentes. Na análise de uma cooperação – focada em uma aula – entre uma

professora e uma equipa de investigação, as normatividades parcialmente explícitas e parcialmente implícitas que emergem nas várias fases do diálogo sobre as observações são analisadas e discutidas na sua inter-relação.

JA

ドイツの文脈において、授業実践と授業研究は、それをだれが担当するのかという点で分け隔てられており、異なる構造のもとで組織・運営されている。授業実践と研究の両者は、授業を改善することに対して共通した関心をもっているが、「改善」についての具体的なイメージ(と、また当然のごとく避けがたい規範)は異なっている。ある女性教師が研究者のチームと共同で実施したひとつの授業時に焦点を当てたプロジェクトでは、観察についての対話のさまざまな段階にあらわれる、ときに明白でまたときに示唆的なさまざまな規範を検討し、その関連について議論をおこなった。

1 Introduction: Normativity in professional cultures

Both teaching and classroom research work on and engage with the same phenomenon: lessons that take place in everyday school practice. However, teaching and research on teaching are quite different activities: While teaching essentially co-constitutes lessons as a phenomenon, research constitutes a certain perception of lessons from a more observational position. Although both activities can be carried out by the same person (a teacher who observes and researches his or her teaching), in our (German) context, there is a tendency of a personnel distinction between teaching and classroom research. Hereby, teaching and conducting classroom research are considered as different professions.

These two professions are not only institutionalised differently¹, but also have developed specific professional cultures regarding goals, practices and activities². These professional cultures – among other aspects – (re-)produce the objectives relevant for the particular professional activity and thus constitute a specific normativity in regard to what is important and what is to be attained. In the following, we reflect on differences, commonalities and interactions between teaching practice and research on teaching, regarding how they

1 School teachers are bound to the local school administration, which is assigned to the so-called Ministry of Education. Researchers are usually localised at universities or other research institutes which are generally assigned to the Ministry of Science.

2 According to the understanding of practice theory (e.g., Reckwitz 2003: 285f.), we regard 'cultures' as sets of practices, patterns of understanding the world and dealing with it, which are formed by groups of interacting people and form these groups at the same time (Valsiner 2003; Spendrin & Hallitzky in this volume).

deal with normative orientations concerning teaching, observing a process of dialogical teaching research and development.

As a shared object between the two professions, the further development of teaching and lessons might be important for both teachers and educational researchers, nevertheless the concrete normative measures of this ‘improvement’ can be far from identical. With this shared aim, several approaches of development-oriented research and/or research-based lesson development have emerged, which place the two professional cultures in relation to each other and are based on the specific relationships between the two groups of actors³ at the same time. In this article, we will briefly sketch some of those approaches of interprofessional collaboration in Germany (part 2). This overview will focus on the position of these approaches in regard to the different normativities suggested by the respective reference systems *science* and *school practice*. In the main part of this article, we will show in more detail how we deal with a lesson in an interprofessional dialogue: In the portrayed project, we developed a specific form of communication between the two reference systems, aimed less at interfering with each other’s practice, but rather at mutual observation at the border of different normativities and professional cultures (part 3). Assuming that (professional) cultures are neither homogeneous nor essential, we expect them to change when situations are established in which they come into interaction (Fuchs 2001: 80–83). The final considerations of this article are therefore aimed at reflecting on the question of what happens to the different normativities in the interprofessional dialogue (part 4).

2 Types of development-oriented teaching research in Germany

When describing approaches of development-oriented research and/or research-based lesson development that have emerged in Germany over the last decades, there is, as always, “no position above all positions” (Fuchs 2001: 83) from which we could give a ‘neutral’ description. Furthermore, as researchers (in our current positions), we are bound to describe these approaches from a researcher’s perspective. Therefore, we refrain from discussing the *general*

3 Besides differing normative measures in particular professional cultures, several (partly not immediately obvious) institutional differences complicate the relation between research and practice: Teachers and researchers are bound to different working conditions and frameworks that might impede the cooperation: Teachers tend to be ‘lone fighting’ in the classroom while researchers often work in teams; teachers often seek for (fast) solutions for special problems while researchers aim at generalisable findings; teachers strive for appreciative teacher-student relationship and students’ successful learning in daily ‘face-to-face’ encounters while researchers find or position themselves in a relatively distant scientific community and so on.

perspective of school practice or general normativities of every school practice. However, when introducing our own work and a specific interprofessional dialogue in part 3, we will report our observations of *concrete* normativity in specific school practice.

The constitutive characteristic of the approaches to be described here is that they relate to two reference systems – school practice on the one hand and scientific research on the other (Einsiedler 2010: 60f.). Especially in German educational studies, difficulties in connecting theory (or research, respectively) to school practice are traditionally emphasised and widely discussed (Horstkemper 2013; Stark 2004). However, behind the complaint about these difficulties stands a double demand that has been raised for scientific research in general (at least, in the German discussion): to meet certain within-science-criteria of ‘objective’ knowledge generation (Daston & Galison 2007: 34) as well as to be relevant and instructive for the development of the examined outside-science-practice (Meseth 2016: 474f.).

Pedagogical normativities have traditionally been placed in a contrast to the scientific criteria of knowledge generation, resulting in a dichotomous notion of normativity and empirical research, which assumes that normative positions exclude an empirical description, and that an empirical description must refrain from normative positions (Balzer & Bellmann 2019: 24-27). In contrast, we have shown that normativity in empirical research on teaching is inescapable (Hallitzky et al. 2014), and that pedagogical normativities have specific valences⁴ for and in empirical research, simultaneously enabling and limiting scientific observation (Hallitzky et al. 2018; Herfter et al. 2019). Furthermore, when not only referring to inner-scientific aims of generating knowledge, but also to the aim of ‘improving’ or ‘developing’ teaching, the reference to specific pedagogical normativities is already inherent in this endeavour. In approaches of development-oriented research or research-based lesson development, the tensions and contortions involved in being a ‘servant of two masters’ (Meseth 2016: 487f.) thus become clearly visible.

In the past, a one-sided directional relationship from scientific theory and empirical research to practical action has been assumed and a rationality gap between research and practice has been associated with it (Wolff 2008: 234f.). However, recent positions emphasise that social sciences do not provide a

4 We understand (research-related) valences as the implications that certain research decisions (e.g., the selection of a research question, a theory, a case, etc., in this case especially: pedagogical normativities that frame research) have for other research decisions. In qualitative research in particular, we assume that valences cannot be used to describe linear-deductive derivations, but rather continuous adjustments (Strübing et al. 2018: 86) of various necessary decisions within research processes.

principally better, but rather a different kind of knowledge compared to the already existing knowledge in society (ibid.: 236).

Systematising Lesson Study in German-speaking countries (Hallitzky et al. 2021), we used the relation of particular projects to the different reference systems (science and school practice) as an essential differentiating criterion to describe these approaches. We could find projects that direct their interest mostly to the reference system of school practice, for example Lesson Study-projects concerned with school-based development of single lessons (e.g., Isak 2016; Kullmann & Friedli 2012) or focused on the further education of the participant teachers (e.g., Gervé 2007; Gruber 2019). On the other hand, there are projects that are mostly oriented towards the reference system of science and thus focus on the description of classroom-interactions (e.g., Kuhn et al. 2011) or on examining effects of research-based lesson development (e.g., Rzejak 2019).

In the current context, however, we would like to focus on those projects that are not primarily oriented towards one reference system, but rather refer to objectives from both reference systems. These projects aim to combine instrumental (school practice oriented) and conceptual (scientific knowledge oriented) benefits. Using the categorisation introduced by Beywl et al. (2015: 141f.; see also Hahn et al. 2016), these projects could be located in between the polarities of instrumental and conceptional benefit. In such projects that try to balance objectives of both reference systems, we distinguish two ways of dealing with these demands, involving different structural arrangements of communication⁵: ‘joint lesson development’ on the one hand, and ‘observing each other’s practice in dialogue’ on the other hand.

In projects that conduct ‘joint lesson development’, both teachers and scientists are involved in the lesson planning to varying degrees. In some cases, lesson concepts are designed by scientists and only implemented by teachers. Projects of these kind refer to the concept of Lesson Study (e.g., Hofmeister et al. 2019) as well as to the approach of “didactical development research/didaktische Entwicklungsforschung” (e.g., Einsiedler 2010) which connects itself to the international discussion on Design Based Research. In these projects, the balance of influence between teachers and researchers seems very asymmetrical as both lesson development and research on these lessons are in the hands of researchers and are thus conducted in a rather exclusive mode (Beywl et al. 2015: 143f.). On the other hand, there is a long tradition of pro-

5 This distinction between arrangements of communications and/or roles can be regarded as somehow similar to the dimension “social production mode” in Beywl et al. (2015) systematic. Yet, whereas these authors are referring to the arrangement of roles and participation in the research process only, we have focused on differences in the participation in both lesson development and research.

jects in which teachers and scientists develop and plan the lessons together (e.g., Klafki et al. 1982; Svoboda 2019; Wallner 2019). In these projects, both researchers and teachers are involved in the scientific as well as in the practical field, which places high demands on the design of the cooperation processes. These demands have been reflected most extensively in the presentation of experiences of the 'Marburg Primary School Project' (Klafki et al. 1982). Concerning the role of different normativities, the specific aims of the respective lessons – e.g., knowledge about sights in London (Svoboda 2019) or students' abilities to communicate effectively in partner dialogues in a foreign language (Wallner 2019) – tend to become core constructs of scientific observation. Projects with the arrangement of 'observing each other's practice in dialogue', which include our own project, do not involve the joint development of lessons, but rather the mutual observation and the discussion about the different perspectives on situations in lessons. Thus, we aim less at creating a joint practice of lesson development and/or research than at describing the different practices (Hallitzky et al. 2021: 161f.). In insisting on different practices as delimitable areas, borders between the familiar and the unfamiliar (Cappai 2010) in professional cultures are maintained rather than dissolved (Spendrin, Mbaye & Hallitzky 2023). Following Schäffter (1997), diffusion of contexts is not what has to be attained in interculturality: In facing borders and in making them perceptible, experiences of difference can be gained and used as learning opportunities, and crossing these borders enables reflective access to the own practice in passing its internal horizon by adopting an external perspective (Schäffter 1997: 30). Thus, in our project, teaching and learning are observed from an external perspective, from the reference system of science. The teacher in turn observes this external perspective. In this dialogue, the possible difference of normativities in the respective reference systems is not easily resolved, but brought into a discussion in which researchers as well as teachers gain access to a reflective external perspective. Even though observations are communicated as observations from a particular perspective (and not for example as facts, suggestions or advice for improving teaching or research respectively), tensions stemming from established social hierarchies and/or long-established misunderstandings between scientific research and school practice (Wolff 2008: 234-237) might be implicitly powerful. Observing the practice of the interprofessional dialogue might therefore reveal, in which way different professional cultures and their inherent normativities are related to each other in the process of constructing meaning about lessons and their development.

3 Different normativities of teacher and researcher perspectives: A dialogue about a lesson

In this part, we present an example of an interprofessional dialogue from our project “Talking about Lessons” as a series of encounters of different professional normativities in the (first-order) observation of teaching in the different professional practices and (second-order) observations on these observations. Therefore, it is critical for our project to remain sensitive to, and to respect, each other’s profession-related normativities, taking an observational attitude inquisitive about what will be unveiled about the normativities of teachers and researchers. In the following, we focus on the process of a dialogue on an exemplary lesson with a female teacher (Ms. Kieres) who held the lesson. Thus, both the teacher and we as researchers are seen as protagonists of the dialogue.

The initial focus for the collaboration was a certain compatibility of the thematic interests. The teacher was interested in how to promote students’ participation and their contribution of their own perspectives in discussions on literature. This interest proved to be not identical, but compatible with our (more general) research interest in processes of individualisation and collectivisation in classroom interactions.

Starting from this point, we videotaped and transcribed some lessons of German Literature held by Ms. Kieres. Concerning a chosen lesson, we exchanged interpretations and reflections on the interpretations several times (for details see Hallitzky et al. 2022). Ms. Kieres’ first contribution to the dialogue was a systematic description of the lesson plan and its didactical concept (see below, 3.1; Kieres 2022a). After we provided her with the video records of the whole lesson and chose some sequences for further discussion, she added a reflection on how the lesson had proceeded (see below, 3.2; Kieres 2022b). We then provided a detailed scientific interpretation (see below, 3.3; Spendrin et al. 2022), on which she commented again (see below, 3.4; Kieres 2022c). As part of a (preliminary) final discussion, she contributed with a reflection on the whole process (Herfter et al. 2022).

In the centre of the teacher’s reflection, concepts of ‘successful teaching’ are repeatedly raised (Kieres 2022a: 38; Kieres 2022b: 46f.; Kieres 2022c: 89f.). In the different stages of the dialogue, she refers to her aims in the lesson and to ideals of teaching, thus pointing to specific normativities. Therefore, we trace the reflection process of both the teacher, and us as researchers, in order to analyse which understandings of a ‘successful lesson’ are shown. In this way, (potentially) different normativities in teaching and research are reconstructed.

3.1 The teacher's lesson concept and structure: "The discussion of the three characters is based on the objective..."

The teacher begins her lesson concept with the description of *institutional settings*: subject, grade, type of the course as advanced, school type, and material as predestined by the state ministry and curriculum (Kieres 2022a: 37), basing her lesson planning upon these institutional conditions and organisational norms for her practice. Further on, she refers to literary and didactical characteristics of the classical drama to be addressed in the lesson, which are also determined in the institutional setting. This is shown in her description of the lesson aims: "Using the tragedy 'Mary Stuart' [...] as an example, the students are supposed to understand the classical conception of the human being" (Kieres 2022a: 37)⁶. Until this point, she positions herself in a functionary role responsible to the institution, to which she must obey. This functionary role is also suggested by the dominance of the passive construction in the description. Additionally, she describes her analysis on the material "Mary Stuart", examining *the literary as well as didactical meaning and aims for the students* in more detail. These cultural assets frame a fundament of her lesson conception. What and how to teach follows the literary order, for example: "With the aim [...] the tragic potential also needed to be explored in connection with the drama's second main character" (Kieres 2022a: 38). Based on a literary explanation by Dahnke and Leistner (1985) she continues showing her conceptual lesson preparation including more concrete aims to be achieved by the students in each part of the lesson. She focuses on three advisors of Queen Elizabeth I. and their positions on the execution of Maria Stuart: "The examination of the three characters followed the aim of making Elisabeth's conflict imaginable" (Kieres 2022a: 38). Articulating the aims of the unit in this way, she follows classical procedures of school pedagogy (e.g., Meyer 2020) and literature didactics (Leubner, Saupe & Richter 2016). Thereby, she presents herself as a subject teacher and as an expert in the scientific field and the school subject of literature.

Thus, different normative orientations show in the lesson concept, such as institutional, subject- and literature-related, and didactical norms.

As mentioned above, the text on the lesson concept is dominantly written in the passive construction. Ms. Kieres' personality as a teacher is not revealed in it, rather she presents herself as responsible for an educational mandate specified in the curriculum of literature. Characteristics of the students or the

6 All citations from the book "Unterrichtsforschung und Unterrichtspraxis im Gespräch" (Hallitzky et al. 2022), in which some aspects of the dialogue between the teacher and our research group have been originally published, were translated by the authors.

class are still not taken into account in her planning and concept at this moment.

In the second part of the chapter, methodical decisions and settings are concretised in detail based on the objectives of the lesson: the framework of the lesson, learning and teaching materials as well as tasks along the lesson process. Ms. Kieres arranges them around her general aim “to further develop students’ competence in evaluating actions, behaviour and motives of literary characters” (Kieres 2022a: 39). To achieve this aim, she plans interactional methods along the lesson process, especially a group work for 20 minutes. Each small group consists of three to four students with different abilities concerning discussion, sum-up, and literary competence. The expected role-taking was intended to promote a result-oriented work and to provide support for pupils who struggle to engage independently with a literary text. Finally, each student should be able to present the results to the class (ibid.: 39f.). This means that every student has to achieve the common aim of the lesson by taking different ways. In this context, she leaves institutional settings, but rather orients her pedagogical concept to foster individual and joint learning processes. The normativity articulated in that part of her planning is not primarily based on institutional or literary-scientific norms, but more on her specific didactical or pedagogical goals and principles.

After the recording of the lesson, we invited Ms. Kieres to promote our inter-professional dialogue on the lesson in an intercultural context⁷. We shared some materials such as the recorded video, a rough transcript of the whole lesson process and detailed transcripts of three selected scenes⁸. Now our dialogue begins.

3.2 The teacher’s reflection on the lesson: “The anticipated path of cognition is therefore the teacher’s, not the students’ one”

In the reflection on the lesson (Kieres 2022b), the teacher traces its process, setting her focus on two main aspects: Firstly, the results of the lesson in com-

7 Cooperating with Hiroshima University, we were trying to contrast German and Japanese perspectives on the lesson and observe each other’s observations (see Hallitzky et al. 2022).

8 As an orientation to the reader, it is necessary to give a brief overview on the lesson process: The lesson was separated into eight phases in the rough transcript: (1) introduction, in which the students discussed the constellation of the characters based on an chart presented with the OHP, (2) preliminary discussion to characterisation of three advisors, writing one word for each advisor on the blackboard, (3) assignment to the group work for the characterisation of the advisors, (4) conducting the group work, (5) group presentation and discussion of group results, (6) dilemma discussion that evolved out of the characterisation of Shrewsbury, (7) concluding discussion on the characterisation of the three advisors, changing some of the words that were found in phase 2 and (8) final part of the lesson with transition to the break time (Hallitzky et al. 2022: 121f.).

parison to the aims that she had set, and secondly on the activation and participation of the students in terms of individual engagement with the literature (Kieres 2022b: 43), relating both aspects to her own didactical means, e.g., her assignments. She discusses these two main normativities – the focus on content-related aims (see part 3.1) and the students' participation – with regard to their (non-)achievement across the different phases of the lesson.

Starting from the opening discussion, the teacher expresses her dissatisfaction with low student participation (Kieres 2022b: 43). Even though she acknowledges that the participating students express complex ideas as well as individual and unexpected interpretations, she is concerned with the inactivity of many students (Kieres 2022b: 43f.) and feels responsible for the students' inactivity. She identifies the reason for the low participation in her inaccurate or missing clear task instruction and its intransparency, which consequently excluded the students "from the anticipated mental order that I had created in the planning" (Kieres 2022b: 44). The teacher recognises that the prepared tasks had not been made accessible for the students:

"On the one hand, the task did not communicate the purpose of dealing with the schematic representation of the figure constellation, and on the other hand, no criteria were negotiated according to which the validity of the given presentation could be examined. [...] The inactive group of students may have found themselves in the situation of not knowing what was required of them due to the lack of clarity of purpose or goal" (ibid.).

Concerning the normativities, both in terms of intended results and students' participation, she concludes deficits that relate to an 'unclear task'.

This pattern applies not only to her analysis concerning the introductory phase of the lesson, but also, for example, to the second phase, in which the students were asked to describe the three advisors with one word each:

"At this point, it must be noted that it is again not made transparent to the students why the classification should be carried out. The anticipated path of cognition is therefore the teacher's and not the students' one" (Kieres 2022b: 44).

Again, she expressed dissatisfaction with the actual results of this phase of the lesson (ibid.: 45) as well as with only half of the students actively participating, attributing this problem to the missing clarity of the assignment (ibid.).

In regard to the group work, she assesses the results in a mixed way: Although some students were able to come up with individual and autonomous interpretations, their contributions deviated to a great extent from the lesson objectives, by not relating the characterisation to Queen Elizabeth's decision-making, but rather to the character of Mary Stuart. Again, the lack of explanation of the aim and meaning of the task is considered as the reason for this:

“It was not made sufficiently clear that the examination of the three characters served the goal of showing which concepts in the person of the advisors influence Queen Elizabeth’s decision and on whose dependence she finds herself” (Kieres 2022b: 46).

In terms of participation and results of different students, she acknowledges that “the quality of results showed significant differences. This suggests that the quality of the work process also varied and that some of the students were not involved in analysing the text actively enough” (ibid.: 45). She attributes this not only to an insufficient supervision of the group work by the teacher (ibid.), but also to the fact that she had not made her considerations on organising the groups according to the different abilities of the individual students transparent by clearly assigning tasks (ibid.). At this point, she also articulates some alternative decisions that could have solved the identified problems.

In the conclusion of her reflection regarding the literature-related objectives, the teacher acknowledges that the students were finally able to develop a common position concerning the values and principles represented by each of the three figures – nevertheless, the connection to Queen Elizabeth and her decision-making was not established, so that the results of this lesson could not be connected to the process of exploring the piece of literature as a whole (Kieres 2022b: 46f.). In terms of participation, she recognises that

“in principle, the students were given various incentives for individual discussion [...]. However, it must be noted that for quite a number of students these incentives were not sufficient to really activate them, neither in the plenary discussions nor during the work in small groups” (ibid.: 47).

In this reflection, different norms become apparent: In some points, the (methodical) lesson plan itself is regarded as a norm, e.g., when Ms. Kieres refers to phases in the lesson that took much more time than planned. However, this argument is never justified by referring to the lesson plan in itself, which in turn is not set as an unquestioned or unquestionable orientation. Rather, references to the lesson plan are always connected to the normativities of the (didactical and subject-related) aims of the lesson. Furthermore, the norm of involving all students in the discussion process and therefore providing incentives for individual engagement with the figures to all students, is strongly and repeatedly articulated in this chapter. This norm is also connected to the subject-related goals of the lesson, e.g., when the teacher discusses the disparities in the quality of group results: In this way, she shows her normative point of view to a successful lesson, in which every student has to fulfil the common goal of the lesson despite different competencies identified already in the lesson planning.

In attributing the different problems to her assignments, the clarity of assignments advances to a (secondary) normativity, which in her perspective seems to be an indispensable condition for the quality of the lesson process seen in the normative light of subject-related aims and students' participation. This (secondary) norm of clarity, however, can be specified in more detail: Firstly, it contains the demand to relate the task to the didactic aims and objectives that it is intended to serve, explicating the intended insights to the students. This does not only refer to the single lesson, but also to the thematic context of the lesson, and might involve the need to make reasons for methodical decisions transparent. Secondly, clarity refers to providing (and advance thinking of) criteria for the intended results of a certain assignment.

In lesson planning and reflection, the teacher shows at least two different forms of role-taking as a teacher, an institutionally formal, which subjects herself to social and administrative goals, and an individual pedagogical or didactical position, which claims pedagogical responsibility for the students' participation and engagement in the learning process. In her planning and reflecting, she relates institutional, scientific and didactical general norms to her own observation of the students in the class. The latter perspective implies her pedagogical norm in a specific class situation, expressing a common aim for all students while the way to reach it could be optimised for each student. The participation of all the students in the classroom discussion can be seen both as a prerequisite and as an indication of achieving this goal and thus as a self-stitched norm to be fulfilled by the teacher.

3.3 The researchers' analysis: Uncovering a huge effort to simulate an open discussion

Our, the researchers', interpretation of the lesson focused on processes of individualisation and collectivisation⁹ as well as on the interactive constitution of the lesson content. Starting from a praxeological perspective (e.g., Reckwitz 2003, or more related to teaching: Reh, Rabenstein & Idel 2011), we aimed at reconstructing the lesson interaction and the process of sensemaking. Hence, we took a descriptive stance, which is normally connected to the (scientific) norm of avoiding (didactical, pedagogical or other lesson related) normativities. Yet, we are aware that focusing on individualisation and collectivisation sets a specific value on the question of the formation of persons and groups in lessons. In the same way, looking at the interactive construction of the lesson content valorises the (possible) object(s) of teaching and learning (in contrast to, for example, observing the interaction in terms of social order). Never-

⁹ For a further explanation on our understanding of these concepts, see Spendrin & Hallitzky in this volume.

theless, in our research we try not to be prescriptive in relation to the forms, methods or concrete aims of teaching and learning.

In relation to Mrs. Kieres' lesson, we firstly did a segmentation analysis (Dinkelaker & Herrle 2009: 54-64, see also Leicht in this volume) in order to choose some scenes to be interpreted in more detail. As the international cooperation project, in which the analysis was included, addressed 'teacher questions' as the object of research, we identified scenes in which these questions seemed specifically interesting and prevalent (see below). Using an adapted version of the method of addressation analysis (Rose & Ricken 2018), we interpreted the interaction in the selected scenes on a turn-by-turn basis, using heuristic questions that enabled us to elaborate on the interactive positioning of persons as well as on the interactive construction and framing of the lesson content (see Spendrin & Hallitzky in this volume).

The first segment we chose was a part of the preliminary characterisation of the three advisors, in which the students were asked to find one describing word for each character. Our main point in the interpretation of the segment was the balancing of the interaction between an openness of the discussion (results) and a subtle steering towards a result previously known by the teacher, as she was trying to lead the students to focusing on the value systems of the advisors (Spendrin et al. 2022: 56f.). In this balancing, the teacher was described as taking an ambivalent and therefore fragile position:

"The students should become aware of something already definite, which is why the discussion must be steered (by the teacher) – at the same time, they should come to this awareness by themselves, which is why the steering must not be obvious and a certain openness to results must be maintained in the discussion. For this reason, the teacher on the one hand positions herself within the discussion, for example through contributions framed as her individual interpretations [...]. On the other hand, by factually directing the discussion, determining the legitimate space for results and maintaining sovereignty over the results to be noted [on the blackboard], the teacher also assumes a position as a steering authority outside the discussion community" (ibid.: 58).

Regarding the second segment – a part of the discussion of the group result on the characterisation of 'Burleigh' – we further described the ambiguity and fragility of the teachers' position. In this discussion, the teacher needed to refer to (her) historical knowledge in order to explain Burleigh's ideal of political leadership, facing the problem that the students "do not come up with the solution (as if it were) by themselves" (Spendrin et al. 2022: 62). In this moment, an impulse by the teacher ends up becoming an elaborated 'lecture', a repetition or further elaboration of which is then even requested by a student (ibid.: 61f.). The established relation between openness and steering of the

discussion becomes unbalanced, making it clear that there had not been a 'real' openness of the discussion beforehand either:

"In order for a certain literature-related knowledge to be acquired, that would enable the students to expand their previous understanding, no actual 'open-ended' discussion could be held, but it was necessary to create this openness 'fictitiously'" (ibid.: 62).

Thereby, it became clear that students should not only adopt given knowledge, but also develop the ability to participate in literature-related discussions: "Only this objective explains the interactional 'effort' with which the openness of the discussion is repeatedly tried to be maintained in the necessarily orchestrated teaching arrangement" (ibid.: 64).

Finally, in the conclusion of our interpretation, we connected these considerations with theoretical concepts of education:

"The ambiguity and instability of the teaching mode thus reveals, theoretically reformulated, a specific constitution of autonomy-oriented pedagogical practice: the dialectical relationship between the structural asymmetry of knowledge and the objective of independent thinking is actualised here in a teaching and learning process *arranged* as an *independent* discussion process of the group" (Spendrin et al. 2022: 64).

In terms of normativities, we refer to the orientation to autonomy and independent thinking on the one hand. On the other hand, in trying to describe the fragility of the teaching and learning mode, we implicitly seem to refer to norms of stability, order or clarity that appear as the implicit counter-horizon, as characteristics of the interaction that appear jeopardised, but (therefore?) important. However, in relating our description to theory and (their) normativities, we focus on general or structural phenomena, not so much on the individual teaching process or practices, which are here treated as an actualisation of general dialectic relations.

After we had written down a (preliminary) version of our interpretation text, we handed it over to Mrs. Kieres, along with the question: "What do the interpretations mean to you? Do they have any relevance for you?"

3.4 Teacher: "... the uncovering of an essential role conflict of teachers"

In her reflection after reading our interpretation, Ms. Kieres begins with a preliminary remark, in which she emphasises that it was "immensely beneficial to be able to observe my own lesson virtually under the microscope and in slow motion through videography and transcription" (Kieres 2022c: 87). In

her view, this microscopic perspective differs substantially from ‘usual’ ways of reflecting teaching on a day-to-day basis, enabling her to capture unexpected processes in the lesson and their reasons, as well as to gain a lasting future perspective on her own teaching (ibid.).

Concerning our interpretation, Ms. Kieres recognises that we uncovered an inevitable role conflict of teachers, which she has especially experienced in teaching literature (Kieres 2022c: 89): The conflict between the aim of fostering individual (and therefore: different and subjective) interpretations of literature on the one hand, and needing to subject these interpretations to an objective assessment (using standardised criteria) on the other hand (ibid.). This reflection of the role conflict is interestingly attributed to teachers in general, therefore acknowledging our focus on structural relations and dilemmas in autonomy-oriented teaching. Turning to her own teaching, she recognises that it had been her aim in the analysed lesson, that the students felt taken seriously as readers and saw the teacher as one reader amongst others, enabling an “authentic engagement with literature” (ibid.). This marks a clear decision in terms of normativity, prioritising pedagogical norms (individual thinking) over institutional structures (need for assessment). However, she still positions herself (as before) inside the norms of the educational system, as she explicitly refers to a passage in the curriculum which underlines her pedagogical norm (of enabling individual interpretations) and thus supports her decision. What we observe here, is that the teacher needs to position herself in relation to different institutional normativities, which happen to become contradictory in her day-to-day practice: On the one hand, the curriculum sets the pedagogical objective of an authentic engagement with literature, which on the other hand is systematically hindered by the need for objective assessment.

Yet, in reading the interpretation, the teacher becomes aware that despite of her decision and aim to foster individual thinking and to take students seriously as readers, that “this endeavour is ‘undermined’ by myself, [...] but not primarily through actions and statements [...] that overtly postulate authority” (Kieres 2022c, 89), but rather that she subtly gives up (or is forced to give up) the desired role as a reader amongst others.

Already in the interpretation of the beginning stage of the lesson, she recognises the inner tension of her double roles and her attempts “to wriggle out of this tension and make progress by taking sneaky routes” (Kieres 2022c: 90). Comparing our interpretation to her own reflection, she recognises that not only the missing clarity of the assignment (see above) was a problem, but that “additionally, my intrapersonal meandering course attributed to the lengthiness of the discussion” (ibid.).

Concerning our interpretation of the second segment, when the relation between openness and steering gets out of balance and she positions herself

– and is positioned by a student – more as a lecturer than a fellow reader, she states that in this interpretation she is confronted with a “clear offender profile” (Kieres 2022: 91). In spite of our framing that as a structural problem of the dialectics of knowledge asymmetry and the aim of fostering independent thinking, she attributes her lecturing as “an uncontrolled moment of self-presentation” (ibid.): “Obviously, here it was more important to me to ‘solitarily’ elaborate knowledge than to maintain the discussion community” (ibid.). She articulates the need to control these impulses considering the question “how many students drop out of the process of gaining insights in such moments” (ibid.: 92). In terms of normativity, she clearly prioritises the relation between teacher and students, not as an end in itself, but as a necessary precondition for the students’ cognitive activation and their construction of knowledge. The (acknowledged) necessity and responsibility for knowledge elaboration is assigned a somewhat smaller priority (ibid.: 91f.).

Departing from that reflection and some other details of our interpretation, the teacher also discusses some alternatives for teaching, such as primarily asking the students in an open manner on their opinion to the characters instead of trying to find specific words (Kieres 2022c: 92f.).

We observe here, that the teacher’s modus of reading our interpretation differs substantially from our modus of elaborating it: While we had – in a modus which is discharged from the necessity of subsequent action – moved from the microscopic understanding of concrete teaching practices towards understanding them as specific realisations of general or structural phenomena, the teacher re-reads these interpretations in the light of her professional interest – to develop and conduct future lessons (see also Spendrin, Mbaye & Hallitzky 2023: 117).

Nevertheless, she not only relates the interpretations to her own concrete actions in this specific lesson, but also adopts a meta-perspective on the structural problem as a general condition of classroom interaction and asks herself what fundamental consequences this has for teaching. In her conclusion, she considers the above-described general dilemma again, taking up the question on what to do with the knowledge gained out of our interpretation:

“However, this soberly formulated realisation opens up the possibility of detaching oneself from the stressful feeling of a dilemma and instead recognising what has been described as a fact in order to explore the scope for action within this framework” (Kieres 2022c: 93).

Furthermore, she states some questions she would like to explore:

"What effect does this ambiguity have on students? Do they reflect on this role conflict of teachers? Is it at all useful for the learning process when the teacher tries to be part of the learning community? Doesn't this tend to confuse the students?" (ibid.),

concluding that it would be necessary to include the students' view into the systematic reflection of teaching and learning.

In reflecting our interpretations, thus, the normativities articulated by the teacher do not undergo substantive changes – still, the teacher moves amid institutional, subject specific, and student-related perspectives. However, we observe a gradual, but distinctive transformation to a greater valuation of the focus on students' learning processes and their ability to keep up with the process of constructing knowledge in the classroom. Even though (or because?) we had highlighted the – structural, fundamentally not avoidable – normatively dilemmatic character of teaching with the aim of fostering autonomous thinking, the teacher does not end up in accepting an equivalence of the normativities that constitute this dilemma. Rather, she apparently reaches a clearer decision to put (even) more force and focus on possible ways to foster what is in her view hindered by structural institutional requirements, despite being considered an official institutional aim.

4 Conclusions: Normativities on teaching and cooperation between teachers and researchers

In collaborations of researchers and school practitioners, potentially different normative orientations are brought together, both in terms of teaching itself and the form of cooperation. Reflecting the encounter and interprofessional exchange with a teacher, we identified how normative positionings were set and/or emerged in the mutual observation of each other's (more or less) unfamiliar reference systems. Eventually we noticed how these normatives were (at least slightly) reshaped in the reflexive examination of the respective other position.

The teacher's reflection on her own lesson planning and organisation reveals the complex demands of her work in between administrative, pedagogical-didactic and literary-scientific responsibilities to which she feels committed (3.1). In her critical examination of her own lesson, she focuses on the one hand on the content-related objectives and tasks, which demonstrate her orientation towards the curriculum guidelines and scientific literary concepts. On the other hand, the pedagogical norm of student participation emerges, which is also a prerequisite for the fulfilment of the content objectives (3.2). The focus on perceived deficits and the search for someone to blame for the

supposed failure (possibly herself) also points to the systematic requirement on practitioners to improve future action.

The researchers' view of the lesson (3.3), on the other hand, is not centred around the achievement of objectives or a judgement on the success of the lesson. By focusing on the teacher-student-interaction and the constitution of the subject matter, we identified a fragile balance between openness to individual interpretations and guidance to scientifically proven statements about the literary figures. Although we decidedly distance ourselves from formulating normative statements for the respective other profession (see part 2), one can question the extent to which the concept of 'fragility' contains a norm of stability that was applied here without the research team being aware of this before considering the joint dialogue. Taking into account the possibility of own subtle normative orientations, the question arises, what form of stability we implicitly refer to. Is it for example the balance of openness and guidance we are aiming at and which teaching ideals and implicit ideas of success are possibly linked to this (hidden) aim?

This also raises the question of how the teacher relates to this normativity of a balance between openness and guidance. In the teaching alternatives that she offers in the reflection of our observations (3.4), normatives become recognisable that initially seem to orientate the relationship between openness and control towards granting more openness, for example in expressing the need to control her impetus of self-expression. However, she also questions the potentially confusing effect of these open forms on the students. Reflecting this specific situation, there are also indications that she transcends the perspective of individual responsibility for the success of the lesson: she interprets the ultimately irresolvable contradiction between institutional and pedagogical norms and the associated "ambiguity and instability" (Kieres 2022, p. 93) as a structurally determined inner role conflict, thus adopting our interpretation in this point. Again, in taking over the practitioner role, she sees this 'dilemma' of teaching not as a problem to be solved, but as a fact, in order to "explore the scope for action" within the structural ambiguity of teaching (ibid. 93). In contrast to Design Based Research, where the researchers' normative ideas lead to the further development of teaching concepts (see part 2), the teacher's concrete intentions concerning the shaping of this range of action are not available to us.

Considering both the teacher's and the researchers' normative orientations, the normativities of the teacher stay independent from the ones of the researchers in the whole reflection process. Yet, they communicate at the core of the findings in so far as the teacher refers to the observations made by the researchers and in doing so, she slightly aligns to our (implicitly perceived, potentially insinuated) norms on teaching. This relative independence of per-

spectives is based on the conception of our co-operation as a work at the boundary between the professions, a boundary which we have set as not to be crossed but rather used as a point of observation. This conceptual premise of our collaboration – not to intervene normatively in the other person's field of reference and, in particular, not to formulate any suggestions for action beyond one's own field of action – implies that we see ourselves as partners in a symmetrical dialogue. Finally, the extent to which this normative of symmetry could be maintained in the encounter between the actors involved will be discussed.

For the researchers, the normative of symmetrical communication seems to be particularly evident in the fact that they try to refrain from action-guiding normatives or prescriptions and focus their description of the microstructure of teaching on general and not individual challenges. Nevertheless, the researchers' observations initially seem to give the teacher some reason for critical self-reflection. This can either be interpreted as an indication of an (unintended) reference to a traditional hierarchy between researchers and school practitioners, according to which researchers have knowledge that teachers have yet to acquire, or as a typical *habitus* of teachers who perceive the exploration of their own teaching first and foremost as an individual development task.

In any case, Ms. Kieres emphasises the benefits she has gained from the dialogue several times, underlining the extended time and the multiple perspectives on the realised lesson as a chance of professional development. Interdisciplinary collegial lesson observations do not seem to be everyday experiences. Furthermore, she appreciates the microscopic view beyond the subject-didactical horizon, confronting her with more 'fundamental characteristics' of lessons. It is not the acquisition of generalised, scientific knowledge, but the detailed examination of the microscopically observed interactions that attracts her attention. In this confrontation with micro-analytical interpretations of teaching, she sees a lasting chance for reflecting one's own teaching and an effective opportunity to further develop professional attitudes and skills (3.3). This interpretation of micro-analytical interpretations as an opportunity to examine one's own teaching, to explore areas for action and potentially to develop new perspectives corresponds to the conceptual approach of our cooperation: not to intervene in the other person's field of action, but to productively perceive mutual perspectives.

Nevertheless, the teacher's discussion of alternatives to her lesson planning reveals a cautious desire for cooperation that is more oriented towards joint planning. The continuation of our cooperative work, including cooperations with other teachers, reinforces this impression of a shift in our joint work towards a joint planning (see also Herfter et al. forthcoming). The norm of

symmetry of the dialogue that we have set is thus relativised insofar as the researchers' norm-setting is actively carried into the field of practice by transcending the descriptive perspectives of teaching. In contrast, the research remains (at least initially) related to the field of teaching and is not itself examined as a practice in the sense that the teachers reflect on the research process, its possibilities and limits of gaining knowledge or actively intervene in the field of research. This leaves a certain asymmetry at the level of cooperation, which however can be faded out in a communication of mutual respect.

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Lesson Observations as a Measure of Learner Centred Pedagogy in Meru, Laikipia and Mombasa Counties in Kenya: The Example of Girls' Education

Abstracts

EN

There are many barriers to girls' learning that revolve around socio-cultural issues, poverty and low quality of education. Increased quality of education that includes learner centred pedagogy has been shown to motivate girls to stay in school and achieve more learning.

This article summarises findings from a baseline study of the Girls' Education Challenge Transition Jielimishe Project conducted in Meru, Laikipia and Mombasa counties in Kenya in 2018. The study used a mixed methods approach. A classroom observation schedule was used to determine whether teachers were using learner centred pedagogy. This was measured by using a composite indicator that included whether teachers asked questions to learners and whether learners asked questions in return. A total of 408 lessons (from grade 7, 8 and Secondary Form 1-4) were observed. Descriptive statistics record that teachers used learner centred pedagogy in 74% of lessons observed in Laikipia, 67% of lessons observed in Meru and in 64% of all lessons observed in Mombasa.

In this article, specific possibilities and problems concerning "Lesson observation" will be discussed. Here, the focus will shift to the research findings and to recommendations on how Lesson Study can further the development of teaching.

DE

Es gibt viele Hindernisse für das Lernen von Mädchen, die sich um sozio-kulturelle Fragen, Armut und eine geringe Qualität der Bildung drehen. Es hat sich gezeigt, dass eine höhere Qualität der Bildung, die lernerzentrierte

Pädagogik beinhaltet, Mädchen dazu motiviert, in der Schule zu bleiben und bessere Lernergebnisse zu erzielen.

Dieser Artikel fasst die Ergebnisse einer Baseline-Studie des Projekts „Girls' Education Challenge Transition Jielimishe“ zusammen, die 2018 in den Bezirken Meru, Laikipia und Mombasa in Kenia durchgeführt wurde. Die Studie verwendete einen Mixed Methods-Ansatz. Anhand eines Beobachtungsschemas für den Unterricht wurde ermittelt, ob die Lehrkräfte eine lernerzentrierte Pädagogik anwenden. Dies wurde anhand eines kombinierten Indikators gemessen, der beinhaltete, ob die Lehrkräfte Fragen an die Lernenden stellten und ob die Lernenden im Gegenzug Fragen stellten. Insgesamt wurden 408 Unterrichtsstunden (aus den Klassen 7, 8 und den Klassen 1-4 der Sekundarstufe) beobachtet. Die deskriptiven Statistiken zeigen, dass die Lehrpersonen in 74 % der beobachteten Unterrichtsstunden in Laikipia, in 67 % der beobachteten Unterrichtsstunden in Meru und in 64 % aller beobachteten Unterrichtsstunden in Mombasa eine lernerzentrierte Pädagogik einsetzten.

In diesem Artikel werden spezifische Möglichkeiten und Probleme im Zusammenhang mit der „Unterrichtsbeobachtung“ erörtert. Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf den Forschungsergebnissen sowie auf Empfehlungen, wie die Unterrichtsbeobachtung die Entwicklung des Unterrichts fördern kann.

PT

Existem muitos obstáculos à aprendizagem de raparigas que se relacionam com questões socioculturais, pobreza e baixa qualidade do ensino. Foi demonstrado que uma educação de maior qualidade que incorpora uma pedagogia centrada no aluno motiva as raparigas a permanecer na escola e a obter melhores resultados de aprendizagem.

Este artigo resume os resultados de um estudo de base do projeto Girls' Education Challenge Transition Jielimishe, que foi realizado em 2018 nos distritos de Meru, Laikipia e Mombasa, no Quênia. O estudo utilizou uma abordagem de metodologia mista. Foi utilizado um dispositivo de observação de aulas para determinar se os professores estavam a utilizar uma pedagogia centrada no aluno. Esta foi medida utilizando um indicador combinado que incluía se os professores faziam perguntas aos alunos e se os alunos faziam perguntas em troca. Foi observado um total de 408 aulas (dos 7º, 8º e 1º-4º anos do ensino secundário). As estatísticas descritivas mostram que os professores usaram a pedagogia centrada no aluno em 74% das aulas observadas em Laikipia, 67% das aulas observadas em Meru e 64% de todas as aulas observadas em Mombaça.

Este artigo discute oportunidades e problemas específicos associados à “observação de aulas”. A atenção centra-se nos resultados da investigação e

nas recomendações sobre a forma como a observação da sala de aula pode melhorar o desenvolvimento do ensino.

JA

女子の学習には多くの障壁があり、社会文化的問題、貧困、教育の質の低さがつきまといている。学習者中心の教育をはじめ教育の質が向上するに伴い、学校にとどまってより多くの学習を達成するよう女子への動機づけが進んだ。

本稿では、2018年にケニアのメル、ライキピア、モンバサの各郡でおこなわれた基礎研究の知見をまとめる。この研究は、女子教育の課題と移行に関するジェリミシエ・プロジェクトとして実施され、混合研究法アプローチを用いた。教室での参与観察では、教師が学習者中心の教育をおこなっているかどうかを検討した。これは、教師が学習者に質問するかどうか、また学習者の側が逆に質問をするかどうかを含んだ複合的な指標を用いて測定された。全部で408の授業（初等学校第7・8学年、中等学校1－4年）を観察し、教師が学習者中心の教育を活用したのは、ライキピアで観察した授業の74%、メルでは67%、モンバサでは64%であった。

本稿では、「授業観察」に関してつきまとう可能性や問題を議論する。ここでは、研究の知見と、授業研究によって教授の開発をどのように進めることができるかを示唆する。

1 Background information

There are many barriers to girls' learning that revolve around gender, financial resources, parents' – especially the mothers' – education level, political, geographical aspects, including distance to schools and economic factors, e.g., the way of life, for example, pastoralism, few institutions especially at secondary and tertiary level, low quality of education and lack of intrinsic motivation to transit to higher levels of education. Increased quality of education, which includes learner centred pedagogy¹ has been shown to motivate girls to stay in school and achieve more learning. This is because poor quality education is associated with low pupils' scores, which is one of the barriers to transition and cause of dropping out of school. Learner centred pedagogy has been shown to motivate girls to stay in school and learn well. In order to improve

1 In order to equip learners with the relevant skills, knowledge and attitudes, the Kenyan Competency Based Curriculum (CBC), proposes that teachers use learner centred pedagogies. Some of the learner-centred approaches include: case studies, research, demonstration, brainstorming, simulations, questions and answers. This is captured under the Basic Education Curriculum Framework (KICD 2017).

girls' education, the Kenyan Ministry of Education has partnered with the Department for International Development (DfID) to implement several projects dubbed Girls Education Challenge Transition (GEC-T).

Particular conditions of girls' education in the selected counties

The following insights into the learning situation of girls in the selected counties focus in particular on conditions that exclude them from higher educational processes.

In *Meru County*, men and boys are held with high regard compared to women. In parts of the county, female genital mutilation and early marriage are practiced. Most parents believe that educating a girl is investing in another household, as the girl will be married and thus take the investment to her new home. The value and benefits of education among the Ameru is low due to the easy cash making with Khat plant that grows in parts of Meru. This lures boys out of school into Khat farming. Few succeed and resort to motorbike and taxi business, and with the easy disposable income, they entice young girls of local peasant farmers by provision of basic items, such as sanitary towels, fare to school, school fees and the promise of a better life. Once hooked, girls elope with the boys hence dropping out of school either due to the promise of better life or through pregnancy.

Laikipia is a semi-arid pastoral county with few secondary schools compared to a high number of primary schools (377 primary schools against 127 secondary schools). Distances to school are vast, making learners walk for over 15 km to school. Women in these areas are not given equal opportunities as men due to the nomadic nature of the communities. Female genital mutilation is widely and/or secretly practiced as a rite of passage which subjects girls to early forced marriage. Once circumcised, girls are eligible for marriage to any suitor, hence, early marriage is common. Women and girls are perceived as a means to quick wealth through dowry, hence, education for girls has low value. Beading is also widely practiced, booking young girls for early marriage. Once beaded, the girl is considered betrothed, and the man can actually have sexual intercourse with the girl who may end up pregnant and/or married off. This is a serious child rights violation in the name of culture. The same girls are also tasked with herding roles at the expense of school.

Mombasa County, on the other hand, is a cosmopolitan county bringing with itself the city challenges. In addition, it is a coastal town with a big port. Young people in Mombasa face the risks of being hooked to drug abuse, sex tourism, and the parents of some of the beneficiary girls are addicted to drugs. The county has been largely influenced by the Swahili culture. Once girls attain the adolescent ages, they are counselled and under the tutelage of grandmothers

and aunties. During these times, girls are often socialised and, hence, conditioned to be dependent on men with chastity and marriage talking being the focus. The value and benefits of education are never taught to girls, hence, the school dropout rates among girls are high. The culture (Swahili) upholds honour and respect to family so much that young mothers are relocated to distant relatives or married off, hence, never given second chance to re-enter school.

The project's aims

Jielimishe GEC-T Project is a five-year project funded by the DfID and implemented by the consortium of 'I Choose Life Africa' and 'SoS Children's Villages' in 59 selected schools (both primary and secondary) in the counties of Mombasa, Meru and Laikipia. Jielimishe GEC-T Project is working to improve the life chances of 10123 (2390 in primary school; aged 12 – 16 years and 7733 in secondary school; aged 14 – 22 years) marginalised² girls. One way of achieving this is by ensuring that girls remain in school and learn well. The assumption is that if the quality of teaching is improved, then curriculum delivery will be enhanced, and girls' learning outcomes will improve (for further information see UK Aid – Girls' Education Challenge 2022).

Subsequently, one of the project's key components is teacher professional development through in-service training. Teachers' pedagogical skills are enhanced through a system of training and coaching. The following areas are covered:

1. Lesson preparation and planning,
2. Teaching methods for mathematics,
3. Teaching methods for English,
4. Integrating Information Communication and Technology (ICT) in teaching and learning,
5. Gender responsive/sensitive pedagogy. This is the practice of equipping teachers with knowledge, skills and attitudes to empower them to respond

2 Under Article 260, the Constitution states that a "marginalised community" is (a) A community that, because of its relatively small population or for any other reason, has been unable to fully participate in the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole; (b) A traditional community that, out of a need or desire to preserve its unique culture and identity from assimilation, has remained outside the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole; (c) An indigenous community that has retained and maintained a traditional lifestyle and livelihood based on a hunter or gatherer economy; or (d) Pastoral persons and communities, whether they are— (i) Nomadic; or (ii) a settled community that, because of its relative geographic isolation, has experienced only marginal participation in the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole. Laikipia, Mombasa and Meru have sections that are regarded as marginalised due to retrogressive socio-cultural practices.

adequately to the learning needs of girls and boys through using gender-aware classroom processes and practices (FAWE 2018).

6. Classroom management.

Lesson or classroom observation is one of the ways of assessing whether teachers are demonstrating learner centred pedagogy that have been deemed as critical for improved learning outcomes.

2 Methodology

The study was carried out mostly through survey research design because of its ability to capture the complexities of the issues under study using only a small sample of the population. A mixed method approach was applied where both quantitative (numerical data) and qualitative data (non-numerical data) was collected. To capture interactions between the teachers and the learners during the lesson, a semi-structured observation schedule was used.

Sampling

The Jielimishe GEC-T project is being implemented in 59 treatment schools (19 in Mombasa, 20 in Meru and 20 in Laikipia) and 21 control schools, 7 in each county. Lesson observations³ were done in Grade 7 at primary level and in Secondary Form 2 and 3. English and mathematics lessons were observed. A total of 408 lessons (from grade 7, 8 and Secondary Form 1-4) were observed.

Data collection tool

The aim of the classroom observation was to determine whether or not pedagogy was learner centred. This was measured by using a composite indicator that included whether teachers asked questions to learners and whether learners asked questions in return. The tool for classroom observation was piloted and revisions were made based on the findings. Thereafter, it was scripted into KoboCollect Tool, a tool that is based on the open source ODK Collect app and is used for primary data collection in humanitarian emergencies and other challenging fields. This electronic data collection was preferred due to its easy accessibility and its ability to minimise errors during data collection.

³ Lesson observation is a mandatory requirement in the new Teacher Professional Appraisal and Development system by the Teachers Service Commission. All teachers must undergo lesson observation while delivering in class. It involves carrying out a formal scrutiny of teaching/learning while it is taking place in a classroom or other learning environment.

Although the tool had a section for enumerators to note things that were not captured in the tool, the tool mainly collected quantitative data.

The main themes in the classroom observation tool included:

1. Lesson preparation and planning. Among other things, attention was paid to whether the teacher was able to link the (observed) lesson with the previous lesson, and whether they explicitly stated the lesson objectives and how.

2. Learner centred pedagogy. In order to assess whether the teacher was using learner centred pedagogy, the following interactions between teachers and learners were expected to take place:

2.1 Observations of the teacher

- Teacher picks out inactive students and engages them to participate.
- Teacher asks questions to the learners.
- Teacher calls learners by name.
- Teacher checks on the learners' work.
- Teacher spends less than 20% of the lesson time delivering content.

2.2 Observation of the learner

- Students use 80% of the lesson time exploring/discussing the content.
- Learners participate in small group discussions.
- Learners read aloud.
- Learners give examples.
- Learners ask the teacher questions.
- Learners respond to the teacher's questions.
- Learners write on the chalkboard.
- Learners read silently.
- Learners make specific demonstrations.
- Learners are involved in lesson-specific projects.

3. Integrating ICT in teaching and learning

- Teacher uses ICT kits (interactive white board, laptop/computer or projector) while teaching.
- Learners use ICT in the classroom.

4. Gender responsive/sensitive pedagogy

- Teacher uses both female and male examples while teaching.
- Teacher encourages class participation of both boys and girls (e.g., picking out both genders while answering questions).

- Teacher picks out on both boys and girls to answer questions on the blackboard (mostly with mathematics classes, e.g., solving sums).
- Teacher encourages sharing of learning materials, e.g., books, pencils, rubber etc. between boys and girls.
- Teacher using examples of gender blind, abusive, biased language directed at either gender.
- Only boys answer questions in class, e.g., by raising their hands or solving sums on the blackboard.
- Only girls answer questions in class, e.g., by raising their hands or solving sums on the blackboard.
- Both boys and girls actively participate in class by answering questions in class, e.g., by raising their hands or solving sums on the blackboard.
- Boys share learning materials, e.g., books, pencils, rubber etc., with boys only.
- Girls share learning materials, e.g., books, pencils, rubber etc., with girls only.
- Both boys and girls share learning materials amongst themselves.

Training of data collectors

County Coordinators were trained in Nairobi by ziziAfrique for 2 days. Data collectors were also trained centrally at County level by the County Coordinators. A lot of role play was used to ensure that data collectors were equipped for data collection.

Protocols followed when collecting the data to ensure ethical and child protection standards

ziziAfrique programmes encompass working with children especially from all backgrounds. Children from all races and cultures are subject to abuse and neglect, but research shows that children from mainly marginalised communities and more specifically those from minority ethnic backgrounds are disproportionately represented in the child protection system. Concern for the safety and well-being of children is an important part of ziziAfrique, and as part of this concern, it is essential that everyone recognises that all children have a right to protection from abuse, violence and exploitation.

All the enumerators were taken through the ziziAfrique Child Protection Policy that clearly outlines conduct towards children in school and also outside the work context. Emphasis was placed on the reporting mechanism and response to children who may be in danger of abuse or have suffered abuse,

or where any member of the research team may be suspected of any form of abuse. Enumerators were also meant to adhere to the following:

1. Not to interview children before getting the consent of the head teacher/or their caregiver (verbal).
2. Ensure that they explain the exercise to the child or household and ask for consent before commencing. The children had a right to refuse even after an adult had agreed.
3. Not to take any photographs of the school or children without written consent from the caregiver.
4. Respect the children's right to refuse to answer any question and not to be coerced or threatened into answering all questions.
5. Respect the confidentiality of the respondents at all the times (before, during and after) the exercise.
6. In case of any abuse by any member of the research team, report immediately

All the enumerators coming into contact with children signed a statement of commitment to the standards and guidelines outlined in the Child Protection Policy.

3 Research findings

Gender Responsive Pedagogy

Section 2 above has listed project indicators for measuring gender responsive pedagogy. However, since the surveys have been designed to collect data at various points of the project, it becomes impossible to try and identify these indicators during one lesson of 40 minutes. It is with this regard that the project agreed to use the following two indicators to measure gender responsive pedagogy.

A total of 69% of teachers observed were using gender responsive pedagogy, which was determined by observing teachers demonstrating any two of the following skills: Teacher uses examples of both male and female personalities while teaching; teacher encourages class participation of both boys and girls (e.g., picking out both genders while answering questions) and teacher picks out on both boys and girls to answer questions on the blackboard (mostly with mathematics classes, e.g., solving sums).

Learner Centred Pedagogy

In Laikipia County, 74% of the teachers used learner centred pedagogy, while in Meru it was 67% of the teachers. Mombasa had the least number of teachers at 64.3% who were using learner centred pedagogy. However, it is worth noting that while teachers gave learners opportunities to answer questions, the learners seldom asked/answered questions.

4 Advantages and limitations of using lesson observation to measure use of learner centred pedagogy by teachers

The main advantage of lesson observation is its ability to facilitate valuable discussions on lesson delivery. If done well, teachers become more reflective of their practice, and this allows them to continuously improve. However, there are some challenges in lesson observation, the main one being the fact that a teacher cannot demonstrate all their skills within one lesson of about 30 or 40 minutes. The following are the advantages and disadvantages based on this longitudinal study:

Advantages

1. If well designed, a lesson observation tool is easy to use. Data collectors do not require very intense training.
2. The methodology allows the researcher to observe what is going on in the classroom and make their own judgements and reach conclusions. More importantly, researchers are able to observe the teachers' and learners' body language. The importance of body language lies in the fact that the researcher is able to acquire an in-depth understanding of how interactions between the teachers and learners are supporting learner centred pedagogy.
3. It can be argued that the researcher is more likely to be open-minded than the teacher may be, as they're an outsider looking in. This reduces bias.
4. Lesson observation is a useful tool in supporting teachers' acquisition of desired skills. Both the teacher and the researcher/trainer can use the filled in lesson observation tool to reflect on the lesson and design strategies for improvement.

Limitations

1. A lesson observation tool oversimplifies the very complex processes of teaching and learning. Use of learner centred pedagogy is the best approach to ensure that children learn well. However, this may not always be achieved. A teacher may need to use different methodologies to ensure that all children learn.
2. If lesson observation is done overtly, ethical issues concerning the observation of teachers do not arise, as the teachers are aware that they are being observed. However, when teachers are aware that they will be observed, they prepare their classes and warn students to be on their best behaviour. The setting may, therefore, not be natural and may not be a true reflection of what usually takes place in the class when the teacher is not being observed. This brings about the issue of Hawthorne effect.
3. The "Hawthorne effect" is often mentioned as a possible explanation for positive results in intervention studies. It is used to cover many phenomena, not only unwitting confounding of variables under study by the study itself, but also behavioural change due to an awareness of being observed, active compliance with the supposed wishes of researchers because of special attention received, or positive response to the stimulus being introduced (Wickstrom and Bendix, 2000).
4. Classroom interactions between teachers and students are dependent on many things, for example, topic and learning activities. It is, therefore, not mandatory that each lesson must have questions and answers or that a particular phenomenon must be observed. This greatly challenges the idea that a few indicators can be selected to determine whether a teacher used learner centred pedagogy or not.
5. Accuracy – Most lesson observations do not provide a full and clear picture of a teacher's practice and classroom dynamics, and yet accuracy is key for providing relevant and actionable feedback. Teachers often pick topics they are familiar with or those that students have already mastered.
6. Data collectors may not have the skills to accurately assess and interpret the interactions in a class despite the fact that the lesson observation tool is easy to use. The best placed people to carry out lesson observation would be teachers even though there is the risk of bias, as teachers would observe the lesson through their own prejudices on what learner centred pedagogy is.
7. Lesson observations for projects as a measure of improved classroom observation may do more harm than good, as teachers are often not given feedback.

8. As a methodology, lesson observation is time-consuming, as the researchers must stay and observe the entire lesson. This also makes it costly.
9. If the lesson observation tool becomes too structured, it can be reduced to a checklist. Inclusion of additional notes is, therefore, desirable.
10. There exists tension between carrying out research purely for the sake of generating knowledge and research for improving pedagogy. If lesson observation is done purely for generating knowledge, it may do more harm than good. Feedback must, therefore, be a component of lesson observation as a research methodology. The following questions can be used to facilitate feedback sessions:
 - a What went well?
 - b What did not go well?
 - c Why did you choose those strategies?
 - d Do you think these strategies were effective in ensuring there was learning?
 - e What could you have done differently?
11. Jielimishe project has adopted a longitudinal study approach to measure progression of learning over time. This means that teachers and learners are tracked over time. While learners are assessed in literacy and numeracy, teachers are observed in teaching over time. Jielimishe is implemented in marginalised communities where tracking girls is difficult, as some of them drop out before transition to secondary or tertiary levels. Due to the level of social and economic hardships found in the project areas, many teachers transfer to move to more comfortable areas. In addition, the government is implementing the 'Delocalisation Policy', where the government is enforcing mass transfers of headteachers.

The above issues raise the question of whether using lesson observation in a longitudinal study is reliable because it is expected that some respondents, in this case both teachers and students, will drop off the survey at some point. Even though the teachers observed during the lesson observation have all been trained on the same things, classroom dynamics vary as the learners and teachers in a class may change over time.

5 Conclusions and recommendations

Lesson observation is a tool that can be used to measure teachers' continuing professional growth in a quest to improve classroom performance at primary and secondary schools. However, for it to be effective, teachers must be ob-

served over a long period of time, as it is not possible to use many strategies or approaches that can be referred to as learner centred. For this to happen, the practice of using lesson observation as a tool for teachers' continuing professional development should be institutionalised. Involvement of headteachers is, therefore, critical.

The teaching and learning process is a very complex process, which makes lesson observation a challenge. With regards to learner centred pedagogy, there are many strategies and approaches that teachers can use. For a study like this one, the selection of activities that are deemed to constitute learner centred pedagogy is a challenge. In addition, the ones selected may not contribute the most to improved learning outcomes.

Once indicators that measure learner centred pedagogy are selected, there is the risk that the so-called best practices may be overprescribed and used to control teachers. If this was to happen, teachers' individuality and creativity would be negatively affected. In addition, learners would not be given room to say how they wish to learn and what works for them.

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Mamadou Mbaye

The Impact of Normative Assumptions on Research and Development: A Commentary

Abstracts

EN

This commentary article reflects on the various research projects and approaches presented in Section 4 of this book. It adopts a contrastive and analytical lens to examine the diverse perspectives embraced by the researchers, highlighting the challenges and advantages of the methods employed in researching and developing the lessons. Particular attention is given to the impact of normative assumptions on both research and development processes.

DE

Dieser Kommentarartikel reflektiert die verschiedenen Forschungsprojekte und Ansätze, die in Teil 4 des Buches vorgestellt werden. Er verwendet eine kontrastierende analytische Sichtweise, um die verschiedenen von den Forscher:innen eingenommenen Perspektiven zu untersuchen, und hebt die Herausforderungen und die Vorteile der bei der Erforschung und Entwicklung des Unterrichts eingesetzten Methoden hervor. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird den Auswirkungen normativer Annahmen auf die Forschungs- und Entwicklungsprozesse gewidmet.

PT

Este artigo de comentário reflecte sobre os vários projectos de investigação e abordagens apresentados na Secção 4 deste livro. Adota uma lente contrastiva e analítica para examinar as diversas perspectivas adoptadas pelos investigadores, destacando os desafios e as vantagens dos métodos utilizados na investigação e desenvolvimento das aulas. É dada especial atenção ao impacto dos pressupostos normativos nos processos de investigação e desenvolvimento.

JA

本コメント論文では、第4部で検討された研究プロジェクトとアプローチを省察する。その際、各論文がどのような視角のもとに議論しているのか、比較対照しながら分析し、授業の研究と開発に用いられるそれぞれの方法の課題と強みを浮きあげる。研究そして開発のプロセスに対する規範的な前提の影響にとくに留意する。

1 Synergies and boundaries between research and development of educational practices: Dialogues, interprofessional collaboration and pedagogical innovations

Chapter 4 of this book brings together three articles that share a common focus on the development of practice through research. As Einsiedler (2010: 60f.) points out, these approaches pertain to two distinct reference systems: school practice and scientific research (see also Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin in this volume). Meseth captures this position by stating that within developmental research, one is effectively a “servant of two masters” (Meseth 2016: 487f.). In the dialogue between theory and practice, or between researchers and practitioners, various assumptions, representations, and expectations emerge regarding what is considered desirable or acceptable in both research and practice. In the context of educational development, normative representations or judgments about what constitutes effective or successful teaching can shape the process of educational research and development. These preferences, beliefs, or value-laden perspectives may influence decisions made by teachers, researchers, or educational institutions, thus affecting lesson design, the selection of teaching methods, the setting of objectives, and even the evaluation of teaching and learning processes. In (qualitative) research on teaching, such normative assumptions may also shape the interpretation of pedagogical practices and influence how future teaching and learning approaches are developed.

The three articles explore different aspects of educational research and practice through case studies and interprofessional collaborations. In the first article, Yoshida and Miyamoto examine Lesson Study, a Japanese approach to qualitative research in education. This method is grounded in collaboration between teachers and researchers, aiming to improve both teaching practices and scientific research. The authors trace the history of this method, focusing on its development at Hiroshima University and illustrating its application through a concrete example. The second article, by Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin, describes an interprofessional dialogue between a teacher and re-

searchers centred on classroom practice. This collaborative process enables the teacher to reflect critically on her practices by engaging with the researchers' analyses, leading to an examination of the implicit norms guiding teaching. The exchange takes place through the analysis of videos and transcripts, providing a foundation for improving teaching practice. Finally, in the third article, Kinyanjui analyses the impact of learner centred pedagogy in Kenya as part of the *Girls' Education Challenge Transition (GEC-T)* project. This pedagogy is viewed as a tool for improving girls' education in a context shaped by cultural norms and socio-economic challenges. The study shows that the application of this approach varies across regions but has a positive impact on girls' enrolment, despite obstacles such as early marriage and poverty.

These texts highlight the importance of collaboration, critical reflection, and adapting teaching methods to cultural and social contexts. They demonstrate how interprofessional exchanges and interactions can enrich both research and teaching by bringing diverse perspectives into dialogue and fostering continuous development. I will now deepen this reflection by examining the expectations and normative orientations underlying the described approaches, as well as their impact on the research and development process.

2 Normative assumptions in research and development: Insights from the three approaches

The expectations and normative orientations of the various methods of developmental research on teaching explored in Section 4 reveal diverse perspectives on the relationship between theory and practice, power dynamics, and the roles of the actors involved. They also raise questions about the significance of professionalisation, reflection, and reflexivity in the contexts of developmental research.

2.1 Navigating between theory and practice: Bridging subjective intentions and analytical methods

In a study conducted by Hallitzky et al. (2021), the authors systematised "Lesson Study" projects in German-speaking countries and examined how these projects relate to the two above-mentioned reference systems. They classified the projects based on their primary focus: some aimed directly at improving lessons and teacher training, while others concentrated on studying classroom interactions or the effects of research-based teaching methods. While Kinyanjui's text can be classified in the first category, the approaches of Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin, as well as that of Yoshida and Miyamoto, do not favour one reference system over the other, but seek

to combine the advantages of both. According to Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin, in projects that aim to balance these two objectives, two approaches can be distinguished: (a) joint lesson development, where teachers and researchers collaborate directly on lesson planning, and (b) the mutual observation of practice within a dialogue, where interactions are analysed. While the approach described by Yoshida and Miyamoto falls within the tradition of joint lesson development, the approach of Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin aligns with the second research posture.

In their article, Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin explore the complexity of developmental approaches aimed at establishing a link between school practices and scientific research. It emphasises the value of collaboration in which the contributions of teachers and researchers are interconnected, allowing for a deeper understanding of teaching practices. The methodological approach adopted by the authors shows how a collaborative approach can lead to more comprehensive insights, combining practical observations with rigorous scientific analysis. It fosters joint reflection that enriches both teaching practice and academic research, creating a dynamic dialogue between theory and practice. However, the absence of joint planning and analysis – as is typical in the Lesson Study approach in Japan – could be seen as a limitation if the goal is to develop teaching practices collaboratively. The authors acknowledge the need to change this approach in response to teachers' desire to work more closely with researchers during the planning phase. It is, however, necessary to critically reflect on whether, by becoming involved in the planning process, the 'research' dimension and in-depth analysis, which require considerable time, might be neglected. Alternatively, these could be reserved for a separate development cycle or for other research projects that the authors could pursue in a different framework, independent of the lesson development cycles. This is reflected in the current projects undertaken by the Leipzig team, which aim to collaboratively plan and analyse lessons with teachers (see Schweder & Herfter forthcoming).

Yoshida and Miyamoto describe their Lesson Study approach as a method specific to Japanese schools, where theory and practice are mutually enriching. The metaphor "*Stay between a dictionary and a tape recorder*" illustrates this approach, with theory represented by the "*dictionary*" and practice by the "*tape recorder*". Unlike other qualitative research methods, which maintain a distance between the researcher and the practitioner by limiting themselves to passive observation, Lesson Study actively involves the teacher in the research process. This approach establishes a space for experimentation where researchers and practitioners can collaborate to plan, observe, analyse, and jointly develop classroom practices. Given the active participation of researchers and practitioners throughout the development cycle, and in con-

trast to the forms of dialogue adopted by Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin, a methodological question arises: How do the different actors manage the dichotomy between normative expectations and the empirical analysis of observed practices?

The authors argue that qualitative research should investigate both the manifest and latent aspects of a phenomenon, while also involving participants in data analysis. They emphasise that, in Lesson Study, the research considers the subjective intentions and strategies that shape the behaviours being observed. This is based on the understanding that education is intrinsically linked to internal cognitive processes, which emerge from the interaction between teaching and learning. Their critique of *"sociologically disciplined researchers"* who are *"fanatically faithful to the premise that researchers must not contaminate the object to be observed"* (see Yoshida and Miyamoto in this book) highlights a key normative orientation within Lesson Study. At the university level, this method allows students in teacher training to analyse videotaped lessons in collaboration with schools. At Hiroshima University, it serves as a focal point for research, as well as initial and in-service training. However, on examining the results described by the authors, a contradiction emerges between the normative assumptions outlined and the way in which the observed teacher's actions are analysed. As described by the authors, students often analysed the teacher's actions based on their own expectations and presuppositions, focusing more on what the teacher did not do, rather than what they actually achieved. The authors also point out that, some students sought a deeper understanding of the pedagogical approach by requesting follow-up interviews, indicating that the analysis was not limited to actions but was particularly interested in understanding the teacher's intentions in order to better grasp the situation. In contrast, Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin's approach reveals a distinct separation between the precise scientific observation and analysis of teaching practices and the teacher's pedagogical intentions. However, as the authors emphasise, it is only through dialogue that a connection between these perspectives emerges. In the analysis, the teacher makes a point of explaining her pedagogical aims and the objectives she had set for herself.

The criticisms raised by Yoshida and Miyamoto highlight an underlying tension in the normative assumptions of the Lesson Study practiced at Hiroshima University. On the one hand, this method emphasises analysing teachers' subjective intentions. On the other hand, it seeks to incorporate the analytical approaches of qualitative reconstructive methods, which aim to examine the actions that are concretely carried out in order to uncover their deeper meaning, independently of the verbalised and verbalisable intentions. For example, objective hermeneutics explores *"latent structures of meaning"* (see Mbaye & Schelle in this volume; Wernet 2021), while the documentary method distin-

guishes between “*communicative and conjunctive knowledge*” (see Martens & Kinoshita in this volume). Although it is possible to gather teachers’ subjective intentions and strategies using techniques such as stimulated recall (e.g., by watching videos or analysing transcripts), establishing a direct link between teachers’ in-the-moment cognitive reflection and their subsequent interpretation remains challenging. Additionally, their involvement in teaching and a tendency toward socially desirable responses for self-protection (cf. Begrich et al. 2017) must be considered. Moreover, it is questionable whether teachers’ intentions alone are sufficient to capture the complexity of classroom interactions. Such a perspective risks an excessive focus on the teacher’s will, neglecting essential aspects such as openness, contingency, tensions, antagonisms, as well as the complexity and multimodality of pedagogical interactions. An overly intention-focused analysis might reduce the study to an exploration of the teacher’s selective subjectivity, excluding learners’ perspectives. Thus, rather than focusing solely on the teacher’s intentions, a deeper analysis of the complexity of classroom interactions within the Lesson Study framework would provide a more comprehensive understanding of teaching and learning.

In contrast to these two approaches, in the Kenyan project, there is a greater separation between theory and practice. These two dimensions are not brought into direct contact but are instead linked through an “semi-structured observation schedule”, with the data analysed using a tool. The primary aim of the project described by Kinyanjui is the professional development of teachers through structured in-service training with clearly defined normative expectations. The project addresses several key areas: lesson preparation and planning, teaching methods for Mathematics and English, integration of information and communication technologies (ICT), gender responsive/sensitive pedagogy, and classroom management. The project’s normative expectations shape the content and methods of teacher training, defining precise objectives based on the theoretical, didactic, and pedagogical understandings of the actors who designed the observation grid. This structured framework ensures a degree of uniformity in training, but can also limit the flexibility needed to adapt teaching practices to the individual needs of learners and the diverse contexts of educational institutions. In terms of research, the normative orientations influence the methods associated with the project, particularly through the observation and evaluation grid, which focuses on specific aspects of teaching. Although this grid establishes clear standards and guidelines, it may pose challenges related to rigid compliance, favouring measurable indicators at the expense of a deeper understanding of teaching practices. The methodological approach described by the author, while useful for guiding public and educational policy (see, for example, Minnamaier et

al. 2023)), does not always capture the complexity of school interactions or the depth of pedagogical practices. For instance, a high rate of use of learner centred pedagogy does not necessarily guarantee effectiveness or a positive impact on learners' engagement (see Kinyanjui in this book). To address these limitations, it is essential – as the author herself states – to incorporate more nuanced theoretical and contextual analyses and to maintain methodological flexibility to ensure a more comprehensive and relevant analysis of pedagogical practices and their effects on learners.

2.2 Power Relationships in context of research and development

In their article, Yoshida and Miyamoto argue that much qualitative research in education does not reveal genuine '*educational ideas*' but instead highlights social structures such as power relations and patterns of social interaction. According to the authors, these aspects are being "*heard for the umpteenth time*" and are "*less related to the educative process*" itself. However, it is questionable whether it is possible to separate the educational process from the way teachers manage power relations and modes of social interaction. In fact, education and teaching always take place in a social context which constitutes an essential and determining framework for the negotiation of social relations and the object of teaching and learning. Social interactions between the teacher, individual learners, and the class are central to the teaching and education process (Petillon 1980). It is within this 'social triangle' that the mediation processes between institutional requirements and personal needs take place. As expectations, norms, structures, and the social climate (see Petillon 1980) continually vary from one teaching and learning situation to another, excluding relationships and modes of interaction from the analysis would oversimplify the observed pedagogical and educational activities.

It is also important to note that other levels of power relations can be observed in the three articles. Rather than focusing solely on power relations within the teaching process (those between the teacher and students), all three texts highlight different power structures that come into play in the approaches described by the authors. While the texts by Yoshida and Miyamoto, as well as the one by Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin, reveal interdisciplinary, interprofessional, and methodological power relations, Kinyanjui's article sheds light on more complex and global power relations, touching on pedagogical and social dimensions. Although these relationships can also be detected in the other texts, a broader analysis is required for a comprehensive understanding.

In the research project described by Hallitzky, Kinoshita and Spendrin, teaching and learning are observed from an external perspective, based on scien-

tific standards, while the teacher adopts this external perspective to reflect on their own practice. This approach underscores the potential tensions between the normativities of the two reference systems. Even when observations are presented as particular points of view rather than as facts or recommendations, established social hierarchies and historical misunderstandings between scientific research and school practice can shape perceptions and interactions (see also Hallitzky et al. 2022). The text of Hallitzky, Kinoshita and Spendrin reveals implicit power dynamics between the researchers and the teacher. On the one hand, the researchers position themselves as scientific or empirical observers, allowing them to define the terms of the analysis and determine which aspects of the lesson are relevant for examination. However, this stance of doing scientific research can also be perceived as a form of power, as it grants the researchers control over the interpretation of teaching practices. The researchers' analysis highlights aspects of teaching that the teacher may not have fully recognised. By pointing out tensions and dilemmas, the researchers impose an interpretative framework that can be perceived as a form of scientific authority. Although the teacher acknowledges the value of this analysis, she feels pressured to address aspects of her teaching that she might have previously overlooked. This situation illustrates how the researchers' authority influences the teacher's perception of her practice and the adjustments she might make. In response to the researchers' analysis, the teacher maintains a degree of autonomy by reinterpreting the conclusions in light of her own teaching context and professional goals. She uses the researchers' insights to deepen her reflection and consider changes in her practice, demonstrating a subtle resistance to their authority and an active control over how their conclusions impact her teaching. Finally, the question posed to the teacher – *"What do the interpretations mean to you? Do they have any relevance for you?"* – shows an attempt to re-establish a dialogue with her and recognise her expertise. However, this approach may also be seen as a means of validating the researchers' analysis by seeking the teacher's approval, thereby reinforcing the power dynamics between the researchers and the teacher (see Spendrin, Mbaye & Hallitzky 2023). The text by Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin illustrates how, despite their efforts to minimise normative influence, the researchers exercise power by defining the framework of the analysis and inviting the teacher to respond to their interpretations. This dynamic highlights the complex power relationships and challenges involved in reconciling academic research with teaching practice.

Given the complexity of power relations in the joint development and analysis of lessons between researchers and practitioners and considering Yoshida and Miyamoto's questioning of the need to analyse power relations, one might question whether, in the educational situations analysed by Yoshida and

Miyamoto in Lesson Study, power relations and forms of social interaction are so formalised and standardised that they do not require in-depth analysis. However, an examination of the authors' analysis of the teacher's communication style reveals a contradiction between the description of the normative hypotheses in Lesson Study (see "*attributes of Lesson Study*" in the text of Yoshida and Miyamoto) and the process of analysing the observed lesson. Although the authors criticise methods that focus on forms of communication and power relations, their analysis¹ shows that considering forms of communication is essential in analysing school interactions. Therefore, integrating both the professional and social dimensions of teaching is crucial for a nuanced understanding of teaching and learning situations, even when the primary emphasis is on analysing the lesson content.

While the first two approaches examine power relations among learners, teachers, and researchers, Kinyanjui's article uncovers the various power dynamics influencing education in Kenya. Contributions from the *Department for International Development (DfID)* and partner organisations such as *I Choose Life Africa* and *SOS Children's Villages* illustrate how external power shapes local education policies across several African countries. International recommendations, centred on pedagogies and so-called 'quality' standards (see also Tabulawa 2013), impose norms that can be viewed as a form of neo-colonialism, where global educational practices overshadow local contexts. However, traditional cultural structures retain significant power, making it difficult to change established cultural norms despite reform efforts. There are also power relations between practitioners and education authorities. Learner-centred pedagogical prescriptions, along with teacher training, exemplify a top-down process where educational authorities exert influence to reshape classroom practices. This shift aims to promote more participatory and inclusive methods, thereby altering how teachers exercise their authority in the classroom. Such changes can create tensions between traditional methods and new practices imposed from above. Another crucial power relationship is the distribution of resources. Geographic and economic inequalities reveal how disparities in economic power and resources impact access to education. Additionally, there is a power dynamic among practitioners, coordinators, and data collec-

1 Yoshida and Miyamoto's analysis highlights several forms of teacher communication, with a particular focus on physical presence, verbal interaction, and indirect communication via materials. The authors note that the teacher's tendency to remain at the front and lead the conversation created an impression of limited interactivity. Additionally, the teacher's physical orientation and focus on materials rather than on learners reinforced the perception of being "less communicative." However, on closer inspection, the teacher demonstrates indirect communication by engaging with materials, thereby creating an interactional style where teaching aids act as intermediaries between the teacher and learners (see Yoshida and Miyamoto in this volume).

tors. The training and protocols followed by coordinators and data collectors reflect a power structure that directs data collection and analysis. Their roles in evaluating the effectiveness of interventions and implementing prescribed standards grant them significant control over these processes.

From the perspective of power theory, the three articles demonstrate how different forms of power interact in observing, analysing, and developing education within the contexts described. Educational interventions must navigate these complex dynamics to understand and enhance pedagogical practices and research approaches within specific settings. This requires reflection on one's own role and the development of a critical and reflective attitude.

2.3 Reflection, reflexivity and professionalisation in context of research and development

Developing and enhancing reflective competencies is a core objective in observing, analysing, and discussing lessons, both with prospective teachers in teacher education and with in-service teachers in professional development programmes. In examining the debates surrounding professionalism and professionalisation in Germany, several theoretical approaches² emerge (see Helsper 2021). In contrast to rigid normative approaches, structuralist theories of professionalisation, for example, perceive teaching as a complex and ambiguous event. As a result, the practitioner is expected not to blindly follow a prescriptive recipe, but to adapt his or her action to the specific requirements of each situation. This difference between professional practice and the application of scientific knowledge is well explained by Helsper (2016: 107), who argues that the scientific knowledge of professionals differs from the technical knowledge applied by engineers, for example. Whereas engineers can apply scientific knowledge in a direct and standardised way, professional action is more complex. The professional, particularly in teaching, interacts with human beings who have their own will and capacity for interpretation, which makes it impossible to apply knowledge mechanically (Helsper 2016). Teachers are therefore called upon not to apply recipes, but to reflect on their actions. This perspective is widely represented in debates on professionalisation from the structuralist point of view. Ulrich Oevermann (2002), a central figure in this approach, argues that certain professions, such as teaching, cannot be regulated by bureaucracy and from outside. According to Helsper, any attempt

2 Among these are, for example, the "structuro-functionalist approach", the "perspective of power theory", the "sociological approach to knowledge", the "personality approach", the "expert competence model", the "systems theory perspective", the "symbolic interactionist approach", the "structural theory of the profession", and the "biographical professional perspective" (see Helsper 2021).

of administrative, organisational or economic control could compromise the logic, flexibility and adaptability specific to professional action (see Helsper 2021: 103). Based on the technological deficit theory (see Luhmann & Schorr 1982), there can be no technology sufficiently advanced to prepare teachers for every situation they might face in the classroom. Teachers are therefore expected to think more carefully about their own actions, to understand individual cases, to be attentive to learners' needs, to be able to interpret what they perceive and to develop a "pedagogical tact" (for the theory of the "*pädagogischer Takt*", see Herbart 1802).

In Yoshida and Miyamoto's text, the programmatic presentation of their approach can be interpreted as a counter-position to the professionalisation approaches described above. From the perspective of teacher professionalisation, the Lesson Study proposes, according to Yoshida and Miyamoto, a new approach to professionalism as opposed to the notion of the 'reflective practitioner'. While the authors acknowledge the value of reflective practice, as articulated by Donald Schön (2017), they critique the prevalent expectation for teachers to engage in constant and intensive reflection. They argue that such excessive reflection can lead to a detachment from the 'pedagogical and scientific orders of education'. Instead, the authors advocate for an integrated, collaborative model of reflection within the Lesson Study cycle. In this context, the teacher's role shifts towards aligning their teaching with predefined pedagogical, educational, and scientific guidelines, or with a group consensus, rather than engaging in continuous reflection throughout the teaching process. The authors assert that this normative orientation ensures reflection which is not limited to individual judgement but is enriched by collective insights. Consequently, the teacher is viewed as a practitioner who implements pedagogical decisions collaboratively developed within the Lesson Study cycle, adhering strictly to the established framework. As the authors note: "*Professionals as strong independent self-judging people have no reason to authorise themselves in Lesson Study*". Thus, individual autonomy is subordinated to the collective decisions and recommendations of the group. In contrast to Yoshida and Miyamoto's normative description of Lesson Study, the example used to illustrate their approach shows that the teacher prepared his lesson individually and autonomously. While group reflection is prioritised in the Lesson Study cycle over continuous individual reflection, it is important to note that teaching and learning are both active, individual actions and co-constructive processes (see for example Fauser 2009). However, it remains challenging to distinguish between reflective processes and collective actions from individual actions, whether in Lesson Study cycles or in the teaching and learning process. There is also a noticeable lack of a description of researchers' roles in the reflection process, along with an examination of their positions and actions within the

Lesson Study cycle. This aspect is crucial within the context of developmental research. By revisiting and recontextualising Reichertz's (2014) insights, it can be argued that analysing teaching and learning situations is inherently a social practice that requires positioning oneself within the relevant field. A case analysis is not simply a means of acquiring knowledge; it also represents a social action within a specific area of activity, revealing who we are, who we aspire to be, and what matters to us and to others (Reichertz 2014: 25).

In contrast to the normative orientations in the text of Yoshida and Miyamoto, the approach described by Hallitzky, Kinoshita and Spendrin puts forward the reflection of normativity and a reflective attitude on the part of the various players in teaching practice and research. Reflection and reflexivity are presented in the text by Hallitzky, Kinoshita, and Spendrin as individual actions rooted in a dialogue between the researchers and the teacher. In this context, it can be viewed that the detailed and methodological analysis based on the verbatim from lessons, constitutes an attempt by the authors to engage in reflection at various stages of the deferred (textual) dialogue between researchers and the practitioner. Regarding the teacher's reflexive attitude, the authors noted that she navigates her practices between strict adherence to institutional norms and a more personalised approach focused on the needs of the learners. This process highlights the complexity of normative orientations and their impact on teaching practice. In their descriptive analysis of the lesson, the researchers highlight the tension between the openness of classroom discussion and the subtle direction that the teacher attempts to impose in order to achieve expected learning outcomes. They avoid prescribing methods, focusing instead on how the interaction between teacher and students develops. Although the researchers avoid explicit normative judgments, their analysis highlights underlying values such as student autonomy and independent thinking. The teacher recognises the value of this detailed analysis in understanding the dynamics of her practice. She reflects on how the tensions between her roles of authority and her pedagogical goals influence learner participation and learning. By incorporating the feedback from the researchers, she is seeking to adjust her methods to achieve a better balance between openness and guidance (see Hallitzky et al. 2022).

In Kinyanjui's article, learner-centred pedagogy is described as a universal educational norm, aligned with international standards. However, the absence of feedback to the teachers noted raises the challenge of reflexivity. This lack of feedback calls into question the effectiveness of the form of observation described in the text as a tool for professional development. The development of teaching skills depends on teachers' ability to reflect on their practice and adjust their approach. For lesson observation to be really beneficial for teach-

ers, it must be followed by a constructive discussion offering suggestions for improvement (see the approach of Yoshida and Miyamoto) and/or allow the teacher to reflexively analyse his or her own practice in cooperation with researchers (see the approach of Hallitzky, Kinoshita and Spendrin). Assessment without feedback or support can turn into mere monitoring or inspection. This approach can be perceived as a verification of protocols rather than support for the development of practices. This can lead to mistrust and resistance among teachers, and even to effects such as what the author calls the 'Hawthorne effect'. This represents one of the limitations and challenges associated with this method, which the author has reflexively noted in her text. One can observe her reflexive attitude, recognising the need to improve the approach described. However, unlike the authors of the first two texts, this is not necessarily the approach chosen by her. In fact, it is integrated into a broader pedagogical project with complex power relations (as noted above), where she cannot freely fulfil her role as a researcher.

3 Synthesis: potentials and challenges in the three contexts

The three projects described in Section 4 demonstrate that the development of teaching and lessons is a shared objective among teachers, educational researchers, and other educational and political stakeholders. However, the concrete modalities and normative assumptions of this "development" vary. In the Leipzig project, the research focuses on reciprocal observation between two reference systems while avoiding direct intervention in each other's practice. This dialogue, at the intersection of different professional cultures, allows for cross-reflection without attempting to integrate the two 'fields of practice' (see Spendrin, Mbaye & Hallitzky 2023). In the study presented by Hallitzky, Kinoshita and Spendrin, interaction between researchers and practitioners was shown to be effective in terms of gaining a better understanding of teaching practices. The teacher adjusts her practices based on critical reflection from the researchers' observations, while maintaining a degree of pedagogical autonomy. Researchers, in turn, enrich their understanding through the practical perspectives of teachers, creating a mutually beneficial exchange. It is nonetheless crucial to emphasise that this process does not take place outside, but rather within the power dynamics and social structures. In contrast, the approach adopted by the Hiroshima team transcends these boundaries by considering research and practice as a unified process. Their approach creates a shared space where teachers and researchers observe and analyse classroom practices together, fostering closer collaboration. In the Kenyan context, a major challenge lies in the lack of constructive feedback following classroom observations.

Similar to the reflexive attitude of the researcher, who conducts a form of "commissioned research" in this context and thereby highlights the limitations of the approach she describes, it can be asserted that collaboration among teachers, researchers, education practitioners, and funders must be better coordinated to ensure the achievement of educational objectives while effectively supporting the professionalisation of teachers. Additionally, a more detailed analysis of local contexts and power dynamics is necessary to tailor interventions to cultural and social realities. Similarly, the two other approaches described have both advantages and challenges. In the Leipzig approach, maintaining the boundaries between the two systems may limit the impact on pedagogical practices. In Hiroshima, the close integration of research and pedagogical practices requires more flexible adjustments to account for the normative aspects of different stakeholders, power relations, and the promotion of self-reflexivity (in action and on action).

Considering the overlapping perspectives of the three approaches, it is crucial, within the framework of developmental research, to remain mindful of the necessity to view the teaching and learning process in all its complexity, alongside the absence of technology in educational contexts. A more nuanced approach, paired with an inclusive and reflective research attitude that leverages the strengths of diverse methods and approaches, could lead to a deeper understanding of classroom interactions within the context of developmental approaches. Unlike past dynamics, marked by ideological divides and mutual devaluation between different research approaches, educational research today is undergoing a phase of transition. It acknowledges the legitimacy and usefulness of various approaches, each bringing its own value. This gives mixed-methods approaches particular appeal at present (see Minnamaier et al. 2023). In light of the three approaches presented in this chapter, an integrated approach, combining flexibility and methodological complementarity, seems to be the most promising path for enriching both educational research and pedagogical practices.

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Section 5:

Power Relations of Educational Research in a Globalised Context

Wilson Profirio Nicaquela and Adelino Inácio Assane

The Everyday Life of School: Narratives as Epistemology and Educational Research Method

Abstracts

EN

This study is a proposal for a theoretically and practically based argument, developed in the context of deepening the understanding of everyday school life as a line and way of developing research in the Popular Education and Everyday School Life Research Group. The aim is to problematise everyday school life as an alternative for developing research in education. This study applies the qualitative approach, comprising secondary data (literature review) and primary data (fieldwork). In this sense, the guiding problem of this study was: How do narratives constitute an epistemology or method for research in schools? In the fieldwork phase we had the participation of eight teachers from the districts of Monapo and Ilha de Moçambique. Data collection was based on pedagogical letters produced by the teachers (study participants), in which they shared their experiences of educational practice. Our discussion throughout the study centred on three axes: the place of the researcher in everyday school life, narrative as a research methodology and the experiences and challenges of research with and in everyday school life through narratives. The consulted authors, some testimonies from teachers (participants in the study) and our experiences as teacher-researchers have allowed us to conclude that educational activity challenges its practitioners to become continuous researchers of their activities. The subordination of other ways of producing and organising knowledge, such as narratives, encourages the silencing of various experiences in schools. In fact, this article shows that teacher-researchers could adopt other options that allow them to collect, systematise and share the phenomena of school life without necessarily being guided by the fixed ways of collecting data used in more usual research, such as the interview or questionnaire.

DE

Bei dieser Studie handelt es sich um einen theoretisch-praktischen Diskussionsvorschlag, der im Zusammenhang mit der Vertiefung des Verständnisses des Schulalltags als Ansatz und Weg zur Entwicklung der Forschung in der Forschungsgruppe „Volksbildung und Schulalltag“ entwickelt wurde. Ziel ist es, den Schulalltag als Alternative für die Entwicklung der Forschung im Bildungsbereich zu beleuchten. Es handelt sich um eine Studie mit einem qualitativen Ansatz, die sowohl Sekundärdaten (Literaturübersicht) als auch Primärdaten (Feldforschung) umfasst. In diesem Sinne lautete die Leitfrage dieser Studie: Inwiefern konstituieren Erzählungen eine Erkenntnistheorie oder Methode der Forschung in Schulen? Acht Lehrer:innen aus den Bezirken Monapo und Ilha de Moçambique nahmen an der Feldforschungsphase teil. Die Datenerhebung basierte auf Briefen, die von den Lehrer:innen (Studienteilnehmer:innen) verfasst wurden und in denen sie über ihre Erfahrungen in der pädagogischen Praxis berichteten. Unsere Diskussion während der gesamten Studie konzentrierte sich auf drei Aspekte: den Platz des Forschenden im Schulalltag, die Erzählung als Forschungsmethode und die Erfahrungen und Herausforderungen der Forschung mit und im Schulalltag durch Erzählungen. Die konsultierten Autor:innen, einige Aussagen von Lehrer:innen (Teilnehmer:innen an der Studie) und unsere Erfahrungen als Lehrer-Forscher ließen uns zu dem Schluss kommen, dass die pädagogische Tätigkeit ihre Praktiker:innen dazu herausfordert, kontinuierlich zu Erforscher:innen ihrer Aktivitäten zu werden. Die Unterordnung anderer Formen der Wissensproduktion und -organisation, wie z. B. Erzählungen, begünstigt das Schweigen über verschiedene Erfahrungen in den Schulen. Tatsächlich zeigt dieser Text, dass Lehrer-Forscher andere Optionen anwenden könnten, die es ihnen ermöglichen, die Phänomene des Schullebens zu sammeln, zu systematisieren und mit anderen zu teilen, ohne sich zwangsläufig von den festgelegten Methoden der Datenerfassung leiten zu lassen, die in der üblichen Forschung verwendet werden, wie z. B. das Interview oder der Fragebogen.

PT

Este estudo é uma proposta argumentativa teórico-prática, desenvolvido no contexto do aprofundamento do quotidiano escolar, enquanto uma linha e maneira de desenvolver pesquisas no Grupo de Pesquisas em Educação Popular e Cotidiano Escolar. O objetivo é problematizar o dia-a-dia da escola como alternativa para o desenvolvimento de pesquisas em educação. Trata-se de uma estudo com abordagem qualitativa, que comporta dados secundários (revisão de literatura) e dados primários (trabalho de campo). Nesse

sentido, o problema orientador deste estudo foi: Como é que as narrativas constituem uma epistemologia ou um método de pesquisa na escola? Na fase do trabalho de campo contamos com a participação de oito professores dos distritos de Monapo e Ilha de Moçambique. A recolha dos dados foi baseada nas cartas pedagógicas produzidas pelos professores (participantes do estudo), nas quais partilhavam as suas experiências sobre a prática educativa. A nossa discussão ao longo do estudo ficou centrada em três eixos: o lugar do pesquisador no cotidiano escolar, a narrativa como metodologia de pesquisa e as experiências e desafios da pesquisa com e no cotidiano escolar por meio de narrativas. Os autores consultados, alguns depoimentos de professores (participantes do estudo) e as nossas experiências, enquanto professores-pesquisadores permitiram-nos concluir que a atividade educativa desafia os seus praticantes a se tornarem contínuos pesquisadores das suas atividades. A subalternização das outras formas de produzir e organizar conhecimento, como o caso das narrativas, incentiva o silenciamento de várias experiências nas escolas. Com efeito, este texto mostra que, professores-pesquisadores podiam adoptar outras opções que lhes permitam recolher, sistematizar e partilhar os fenómenos da vida escolar sem, necessariamente, guiarem-se pelas formas fixas de recolher dados usadas nas pesquisas mais habituais, como o caso da entrevista ou questionário.

JA

本稿では、理論と実践に立脚した議論をおこなう。ここでの議論は、日常の学校生活を探究する文脈で展開したものであり、大衆教育と日常の学校生活について研究グループでプロジェクトをすすめるにあたっての方針と方法でもある。本稿の目的は、教育の現場で研究をすすめるための選択肢として、日常の学校生活という主題を問題提起することにある。研究グループでは、質的研究を採用しており、二次的データ（文献レビュー）や一時的データ（フィールドワーク）を検討している。これに照らし、本稿は次の中心的な課題を検討する：ナラティブはどのようにして認識論や学校での研究方法を構成するのか？フィールドワークには、モナポとイルハ・ド・モザンビークの2地区で8人の教師が参加しており、教師（研究参加者）が作成した教育にかかわる文書にもとづいてデータを収集している。この文書では、教師が教育実践に関する自身の経験を共有しあっている。この研究を通して、日常の学校生活で教師がおかれている立場、研究方法論としてのナラティブ、そしてナラティブを通じた日常の学校生活との、またそのなかでの研究に関する経験と課題、という3つの軸について議論する。先行研究、教師（研究参加者）の作成した文書そして「教師－研究者」としてのわたしたちの経験により、教育活動のただなかで実践家がその活動を継続的に研究してゆくことには困難が付きまとうことを述べる。こういった「教師－研究者」がナラ

ティブのような知識を生み出し、組織してゆくほかの方法では、学校でのさまざまな経験が沈黙させられてしまう。これに対して本稿では「教師—研究者」が、インタビューや質問紙調査といった従来のデータの固定的な収集方法によって誘導されることなく、学校生活の諸現象を収集し、体系化し、共有することのできるほかの方途の可能性を示している。

Introduction

In this article, we discuss the contours of research in the school context, understanding that the school has become an object of continuous scientific exploration, which requires recourse to various possibilities for this purpose. Teachers' diaries, the narrative texts produced during school practices, can be a relevant way of producing knowledge within the schools of the various subsystems, which we consider to be everyday school life.

We are in a *space-time*¹ of re-edition of epistemic adversities, where the unique and hegemonic model of producing knowledge is again facing chains of questions about its legitimacy in establishing limits and norms to control the world (Alves 2008). This is a time when other theoretical-methodological approaches emerge, given the constant social dynamics.

The methodological uniformity², which was imposed by modern thinking, has created conditions for an environment of discomfort, and consequently for the emergence of other ways of researching in the area of Social Sciences and Humanities, especially in the educational field. The transition and emergence of other forms of research was not abrupt, as there were several factors that accompanied evolution and social dynamics. According to Bogdan and Binklein (1994), the characteristics of everyday social life contributed substantially to the emergence of concepts related to qualitative research, although the literature considers the 19th century to be the landmark of this paradigm. According to Santos (2011), modernity seems to have excessively fulfilled its promises on the one hand, and on the other hand it reveals itself incapable of continuing to make a contribution in the ongoing social dynamics. Therefore, although the modes of social production continue to be dominated by

1 The concept of space-time refers to a place and a moment that are configured simultaneously and where there are continuously occurring understandable phenomena. This way of writing is not about joining or associating words, nor inventing them. It is an exercise in distinction and not exclusion. From two common words we create a third to reveal a simultaneous action, which modern science divides into two distinct parts (Ferreira 2008).

2 In the emergence of modern thought, the positivist paradigm exclusively predominated. Research was solely a process of testing and validating or refuting hypotheses.

capitalism, other, non-capitalist forms of production challenge this pseudo-hegemony³, in order to be recognised with their respective specificities, such as ethnography, narratives, conversations, biographies and, above all, diaries and pedagogical letters⁴. Education has shown itself to be a field of multiple actions and performances. That is, education attracts anthropologists, philosophers, historians, sociologists, pedagogues, psychologists, and others, who research with and the culture of everyday life at school; this confirms the complex character of education and its *space-time*.

Research in and with school is not concerned with quantifications, does not exclude or generalise. Researches on everyday school life qualify, contemplate, and specify in a holistic way. Therefore, research on everyday school life makes it possible to consider aspects that are often overlooked, such as the social life of students and teachers. Researching in and as an everyday practice, is a circuitous exercise; it requires taking up positions and facing challenges. Our position seeks to be associated with qualitative research of a bio- and autobiographical nature. As can be seen in our article published in the *Práxis Educativa* magazine (Nicaquela & Assane 2021a), we adopt the same methodology in which we do not strictly separate ourselves from the study participants, that is, we collect the data with the participants as subjects of our research.

In this text, we present reflections on the place of researchers from our experience with narratives as an epistemology and research method in school. We understand the school as a field where narratives emerge both in oral form as well as in the form of written field texts (Nicaquela & Assane 2021a).

The position of the researcher in everyday school life

The first challenge we have faced as *teacher-researchers*, individuals who teach while researching their own practices, is not being able to establish an exclusive place that separates us from those who participate in our research. That is, research in and as everyday practice prevents us from adopting the classical ways of being mere observers, according to which paradigm there should be a total detachment from the object of study (Sampaio 2003).

3 The modern paradigm seemed to be the most perfect, the ideal, the irreversible one that established the definition of what should actually be considered scientific knowledge and what should be produced with rigorous and anchored criteria, what Boaventura de Sousa Santos calls the “establishment of the abyssal line” (Santos 2011). This way of doing science was hegemonic. However, time has shown that it is not linear, that science can be done using other techniques without being limited to fixed criteria, revealing the falsity of this assumption.

4 Pedagogical letters are texts produced by teachers describing their own professional life or educational practice (Freire 1999).

The choice for the model of research/ing with the researched, learning with the research/ing of our own journal⁵, as teachers through narratives has provided us with a double perception: On the one hand, we understand that voices emerge, taken by the formalism of thought (the one that recognises fixed forms of producing knowledge), separating and excluding everything else that is not of the 'normal science' paradigm. In this regard, Mia Couto argues that some thinkers stubbornly present themselves as supervisory authorities about what is scientific with reference to the Western model, imposed by the rules of positivist methods (Couto 2009). On the other hand, as researchers who seek to share our results, we realise that in the everyday life of school there are no linear boundaries, where absolute separation is made between the subject and the object of study. Therefore, in the school context it is not possible to state with precision that a teacher assumes at different times positions such as that of educator only, or that of simple observer (Alves 2008; Sampaio 2003). Hence, the concept of *teacher-researcher* comes to mind, since the teaching person researches and while researching teaches, all simultaneously.

Those who live school life, working in it, face problematic situations that the educational reality places in the focus and that require solutions in a continuous and rational manner. Thereby, the researching teacher is inevitably asked to identify the kind of problem, which procedures to use for the possible answer, and from where or with whom to get the necessary answer to the problem. There is no way to research and write about everyday school life other than to research and write about one's own practice and life. Writing and researching one's own life requires the construction of long narratives.

According to Clandinin and Connelly (2015: 74), "narrative research characteristically begins with the researcher's autobiographically oriented narrative, associated with the puzzle (riddle) of the research, called, by some, as research problem or research question [...]"⁶. The narrative variant in educational research is an undertaking involving a high complexity (Morin 2013). The complexity proposed by Edgar Morin is an approach that strives to (re)know the other without isolating oneself from it, a different way to revolutionise scientific thinking, without denying the value of formalism, but seeking to reveal what makes it different.

Therefore, as *teacher-researchers* in the everyday life of the school we become part of the object of our study, as Carlos Ferraço says, we become *hunters* (Ferraço 2003), in the sense that we go from simple researchers to be part of

5 The classroom and teaching practice is marked by events and day-to-day practices, thus each event that we consider to be salient in the exercise of the profession becomes a content to be analysed and discussed.

6 All direct citations from texts which were originally in Portuguese (see references) were translated to English for this text.

what we seek not from others, but with others and from ourselves. There, at school we research our own practices, our mistakes, our uncertainties, our understandings, etc. According to Ferraço (2003: 160) researching everyday school life is a *space-time* that is different from the classical way of conducting social studies. In researching with and in the everyday life of the school

“[...] instead of asking how is the meaning of this attitude? What does that poster mean? What does that text mean? What is the meaning of that speech? We should ask what reading do I make of that attitude, poster, speech?” (Ferraço 2003: 160).

That is, in these enquiries we seek to understand ourselves and give up enquiring about others.

We are not postulating automatism in the transformation from teacher to school life researcher. This is a gradual process. Indeed, Franco (2011) calls attention on this, for when he mentions the collective construction of knowledge in schools, he incorporates the problem of poor use of school space for the development of research by teachers:

“[...] not all university professors [for example], who work and engage in research, manage to transform the teaching space, the classroom, into a collective research space. Just as it is not enough to know the contents of a discipline to automatically become a good teacher. [...] Likewise, it is not enough to be a researcher to automatically know how to transform the classroom into a research space” (Franco 2011: 177).

If we want to present other variants of knowledge production that go beyond the known traditional forms, we need to presume that we are able to produce them in a different way, that is, in a way that differs from the usual model. As Larrosa (2016) writes to clarify the need not to exclude the essay as a scientific genre, it is necessary to respect these genres as means and ways of producing knowledge, because for giving an account of different dimensions of scientific discoveries there is no other way than writing differently. In fact, our experiences in school are a complexity and need to be represented from various perspectives, using all sources, narrating our own professional, socio-economic and cultural realities and making science and research a literary field that is written and thought without uniformity or using diversity (Alves 2008).

In this movement of qualitative research, there are no sources that are marginal, it only depends on how they are explored and fitted together. There is an attempt to weaken other ways of doing science or producing scientific knowledge that is not of the modern matrix. As Larrosa (2016) says, in order

for something to be science, it is important to write as God commands⁷, to think in a uniform way, and to externalise knowledge and understanding as God commanded. However, in research or for those who research the life of and in school, there are no recipes (Garcia 2003).

The research findings can be presented in the format of music, poem, prose, biography, image, or illustrations, after all, everything in science and especially in this endeavour of qualification all is narratives, although the approach may be different, this is not restrictive. On the contrary, the various meanings of a concept broaden understandings accordingly (Bogdan & Binklein 1994). As they were the driving force behind the formalist modern model of knowledge production, the new methods and new theories lead to the emergence of crises that Boaventura de Sousa Santos mentions when he questions the continuity of modern thinking, according to which, the higher education institutions were the only space granted by the state and society with the authority and ability of cultivating the most congenial and lucid ideas (Santos 1997).

The narrative as a research methodology

At this point, we want to explain the procedures that we use, and have used, in the research model that we have developed. It is a way of producing knowledge from wisdom, and of narrating experiences we have lived or heard, in a perspective that is not revolting as Cláudia Mortari and Luísa Wittman call it, but it is still a methodology that seeks to distance itself from the model imposed by the colonial-capitalist mentality⁸ (Mortari and Wittman 2020).

The editors of the book *"Insurgent Narratives"* in their presentation insist that researching in narrative form is not a mere "denunciation, which is enclosed in itself, but one of overflowing pre-existence in the construction and viability of plural knowledge and equity projects. That is, it is strength in the midst of chaos" (Mortari and Wittman 2020: 20). Therefore, it is certain that its mentors will encounter resistance from advocates of the traditional patron-colonial model of knowledge. Indeed, we rely on Larrosa (2016) who, recognising this resistance, aims to speak up, while encouraging those who align themselves with the new approaches to prepare themselves to hear that their text is very good, presents coherence, speaks of real facts, but with all that, it may be more of a novel or an essay, and not research or scientific knowledge.

7 Metaphorically Jorge de Larrosa in his essay on academic writing considers the formalist model as if it were a religious dogma that cannot be questioned and must be followed linearly.

8 The authors refer to exclusionist theories, which consider ways beyond the usual matrix of knowledge production as secondary methods or techniques. This way of thinking was predominant in the expansion of colonialism, a regime that substantially subjugated other indigenous knowledges of the dominated communities.

The stories of everyday school life that we share can be understood as a form of epistemological disobedience, for not respecting fixed structures of the Western model of conducting research. Data were collected through conversations and field texts produced from letters written by the participants. This is in agreement with Carlos Ferraço, who considers research with and in everyday life

“[as] a space/time of productions/interlacing of knowledge, imaginations, tactics, creations, memories, projects, tricks, representations, and meanings. A space/time of actions, diverse in which we, researchers, establish a network of relationships with those who are there. Whether we like it or not, we are part of the researched quotidian and no matter how alien or neutral we wish to be, we always end up changing it” (Ferraço 2008: 103).

Therefore, the data were collected in a complex and not linear or definite way. The letters (field texts) were received without them being first or last in relation to the conversations, but rather simultaneous. The theoretical-methodological aspects to which we are grounded, as we have been necessarily repeating since the beginning of this text, fit into the movement of rethinking other epistemological possibilities. According to Mello (2003):

“Building the science of the complex, the fluid, the unrepeatable, the uncertain, the different, has been a challenge for all who believe that, historically, and based on the parameters of modern science, the ways we learn to think, are excluding. In education, being the place of construction of man- and womanhood for many, it is no longer acceptable to refer to normality [...] the task and the challenge is to seek another way of thinking which considers the multiple and the difference as constructive elements of human processes and can understand them in their own logical and epistemological bases” (Mello 2003: 83).

Experiences and challenges of research with and in everyday school life through narratives

Here we present some empirical examples resulting from our research with teachers in two ‘Zonas de Influência Pedagógicas’ (ZIPs)⁹ in the districts of Monapo and Ilha de Moçambique, Nampula province, in the northern region of the country. In the following, we present some excerpts revealing experiences we gained, learning from narratives on one of the journeys back to the elementary school to meet with the teachers:

9 A ZIP (literally: Zone of pedagogical influence) is an organisation made up of a minimum of 2 elementary schools and the school with the best conditions (infrastructure and human resources), is considered the headquarters.

Some teachers have been or are a real barrier to the execution of curricular plans, and consequently make it violently impossible for children to learn. There are colleagues nowadays, who arrive at their duty station, if they don't find the school principal or the pedagogical assistant principal, they don't even enter the room. **Many teachers stay all their lives fixed to their cell phones, taking and posting pictures on social networks. Therefore, other ways for the teacher to be absent while present have emerged. Many teachers miss work while they are present in the school space.**" (Teacher 2)¹⁰

This narrative that we gathered from a teacher in the context of the research conducted in mid-2020 on 'pedagogical supervision, myths and perceptions' takes us back to a reflection of the cross-side of information and communication technologies (ICT). They are associated with the new model of absenteeism or a determining factor of this new variant of teacher absenteeism at school.

This situation allows us to agree in part with the criticism imposed on the technological theories that considered information and communication technologies as a salvation in the educational process. That is, ICT was seen as an important contribution to the improvement of the teaching and learning process, but it turned out to be a mere utopia (Bertrand 2001). This utopianism gains momentum in countries where ICT emerges abruptly, without a prior technological alphabetisation, making its use imperfect.

The study conducted by the Ministry of Education and Human Development regarding the condition of teachers in Mozambique (MINEDH 2017) defines teacher absenteeism as the justified and unjustified absence of the student or teacher from school. However, Pereira (2016) considered the waste of time during class, answering a phone call, or attending a colleague's visit during class, as other forms of absenteeism. Therefore, this is partial absenteeism.

This record about the implications of ICT was not the basis of the research, this narrative, as we mentioned, emerged in the middle of deepening the supervision of pedagogical practices in school. We have tried to go back to our beginnings, our research always goes back to that beginning (Primary Education)¹¹. This return is the basis of the enrichment of our experiences with school life, through the contacts that we establish as hunters of experiences and stories

10 In the main research for Wilson Profirio Nicaquela's PhD thesis, from which these excerpts are taken, the teacher narrators were coded with the expression Prof. [Portuguese abbreviation for 'Teacher'], followed by a natural number to maintain anonymity. The narratives were originally reported in Portuguese and translated to English for this text.

11 As we said in the introduction, we published two articles in the same line, the training of elementary school teachers and experiences and narratives with teachers (Nicaquela and Assane 2021a, 2021b).

in this diffuse journey, which makes us eternal *student-teachers*¹², as Ferraço (2003) calls those who, even after sailing other tides of learning and teaching work, return to learn in basic schools with teachers and remember life as students and/or teachers in this educational subsystem.

Our compassion and closeness to the life of the elementary school do not mean an unquestioned consistency, without mismatches or diversities. Our research together and/or individually seeks to listen to male and female teachers and pupils¹³ in or from school.

Our concern is not confined exclusively to the school, we have tried to get involved and learn equally with the communities that make up the schools in their various dimensions, and with them we seek to understand the complex dimension of social life (Morin 2008). In this search, we are ultimately trying to *drink from all the sources*: teachers, students, parents and/or guardians, the community, and others who, without hierarchising their understandings and feelings, are sources of *doing-thinking* in everyday life (Alves 2008).

This drinking from all sources enables us to understand the ecological character of school as a *space-time* of multiple knowledges. That is, in the interaction with the school actors we need to be prepared to learn contents from ethics, mathematics, geography, history, crafts, design, and many other areas. It was in this return to the school in the *hunt for our past*, that we were surprised by a critique on the concept of humility in the middle of a narrative that was about teachers' professional knowledge in continuing education. Below we transcribe this narrative, which we consider *complex*, extracted from a conversation with a teacher from the ZIP of Jembesse, in the district of Ilha de Mocambique:

There is something strange about this supervision process, technicians with no experience are appointed to come here and supervise a teacher who has been in activities for more than 20 or 30 years. These technicians have just been hired, they think they know much more and when they interact with the teachers they don't respect, they don't speak with humility, **although they always say in their interventions in my humble opinion. This humility of theirs is false. They use it like those politicians who, when they rise to power, when they characterise themselves, instead of saying they come from a poor family, they misleadingly euphemise, and say: they come from a simple family. Poverty is not synonymous with humility, nor does political or economic power make an individual humble.** So, it's not the

12 The subject who, by sharing his own experiences, knowledge and wisdom, sees it as an appropriate space-time to learn.

13 With the rise of gender theories, it has not been consensual to treat men and women collectively in a uniform way, i.e., the determinant "all" is masculine, hence we name the subjects by profession or occupation differently (male and female teachers, male and female students).

fact that the supervision technician copiously says the word humble that makes you humble. These young people need to learn how supervision is done.” (Teacher 2)

Analysing the narrative transcribed here, in fact, reveals this complexity, for the narrating teacher ended up diving into many sources and specific areas of knowledge, from pedagogical supervision itself, which was the focus of the research as a method of continuing teacher education, to professional ethics and deontology, sociology topics (poverty for example), politics and the like, in a short speech. So, the school is a true milieu where various complexities cohabit.

Returning to the notion of complexity that we now present, it does not mean “[...] only to think the one and the multiple together, it is also to think together the certain and the uncertain, the logical and the contradictory, and it is the inclusion of the observer in the observation” (Morin 2013: 206). To make our action coherent and more interventive in 2016, we constituted the Group of Studies and Research in Popular Education and School Daily Life (Grupo de Estudos e Pesquisas em Educação Popular e Cotidiano Escolar, GEPECE), at Rovuma University, a *space-time* for discussion, debate of ideas and establishment of identity for the field of research in education.

This group emerged as an effort to strengthen our ideas and way of networking. For today more than ever there is a need to strengthen the notion of groups at the expense of building a singular scientific authority. Therefore, when we analyse the core of GEPECE for us, borrowing a thought from Morin (2013: 205), it does not emerge as a space to search for scientific certainties, but a *space-time* of study, research and construction of dialogues, where “it invites criticism of established knowledge, which imposes itself as certain. It encourages self-examination and the attempt of self-criticism [...] the work with uncertainty is an incentive to rationality; a universe that was only order would not be a rational universe, but rationalised [...]”.

School has been constituted for us, beyond teaching, or beyond learning. When we research, we recognise the value of storytelling and the narratives embodied in it by its actors. Researching narratives in school is a *space-time* to learn and gain other experiences, we remember the experiences we have had as students, others as teachers, and above all, the experiences linked to research, which allow us to establish this distinction between the usual way of researching and this possibility of contrasting through narratives. In conversations with teachers from the schools where we have collected data for the elaboration of papers or articles, we have come across remarkable stories that reflect the real professional experience, as we read in the narration of another teacher with whom we interacted, who explained and presented evidence of his experiences:

When I speak of the need for a pedagogical supervisor to have experience, I do not speak by chance, although I cannot assume myself as the example, I have lived through some situations that many supervisors have never experienced and this makes a huge difference. In 2006-2007 I worked in a school in the province of Manica, in the centre of Mozambique, teaching 4th and 5th grade. It was in an area where many students had no access to pencils or A4 paper. In that place we would stay for a month without seeing a car or a motorcycle. The people in the area had already memorised the sound of the engine of a vehicle that came there to load wood occasionally. When it arrived, all the students would abandon their classes to go watch or chase the tractor vehicle. The question of A4 and pencils has to do with Visual Education class, one day I talked about a pencil case, and the students were amazed, because they had never heard of this name before. At that school I became creative, in math classes I used bricks that I produced with the students as teaching material (geometric figures). In history classes, for lack of books in the classes about empires I organised the students in groups and they represented armies of kingdoms fighting to conquer territories. I was a teacher with no psycho-pedagogical training; when I went to graduate school and took the General Didactics course, I was happy to realise that I was doing necessary things, but innocently enough. Once I asked the children why they didn't wear shoes or slippers if on June 1st we all came to school well stuffed? One of them answered me: "Teacher, we wear shoes to go to church because it is once a week. Or on June 1st, because it is one time a year, so the shoes take time to wear out." A teacher, a supervisor must live these realities, because being a teacher and teaching is a reality and not a place to apply wills." (Teacher 4)

John Dewey holds the view that experience is a concept of multiple meanings and cannot be considered a complete achievement. That is, Dewey (1979) states that:

"The term experience can be interpreted either as a reference to the empirical attitude or to the experimental attitude. Experience is not something rigid and closed; it is alive and, therefore, it grows. When dominated by the past, by custom, by routine, it often opposes what is reasonable and what is thought. Experience, however, also includes reflection, which frees us from the growing influence of the senses, from the appetites of tradition. Thus, it becomes capable of welcoming and assimilating everything that the most accurate and penetrating thought discovers. In fact, the task of education could be defined as the emancipation and enlargement of experience" (Dewey 1979: 199).

However, not every experience should be considered as valid for the educational process, for that there are some assumptions that contribute in the analysis and definition of certain conditions for the effect. Dewey (1958) states that:

"[...] experience, to be educational, must open up an expansive world of study subjects, consisting of facts or information, and of ideas. This condition is satisfied only

when the educator considers teaching and learning as a continuous process of re-construction of experience" (Dewey 1958: 118).

Jorge de Larrosa discusses substantially the notion of experience and in his approach, it seems to be aligned with the narrative we transcribed above about the teacher who taught children who had neither paper nor pencils in a school in Manica province. Larrosa (2014) states that:

"Experience is what passes us by, what happens to us, what touches us. Not what passes, not what happens, or what touches. Each day many things happen, yet at the same time almost nothing happens to us. One would say that everything that happens is organised so that nothing happens to us. Walter Benjamin, in a famous text [the storyteller], already observed the poverty of experience that characterises our world. Never have so many things happened, but experience is increasingly rare" (Larrosa 2014: 21).

Our research methodology arouses curiosity in us as *teacher-researchers* at the same time that it creates discomfort for the formalist researchers of the classical model. In our research, whose results have been published in journals, book chapters, proceedings of events and/or in theses, in addition to those awaiting publication, we have sought to reveal the multiplicity of methods (Assane 2017; Nicaquela & Assane 2021a; Nicaquela 2018). According to Alves (2008) research with school and other common everyday life starts from the sociological methodology perspective and other perspectives emerge, such as those of historical, anthropological, psychological, ethnographic origin, etc. Therefore, instead of looking at the school from the surface, we need to dive into it, the similarity that a community of residents needs to be understood from its *daily practice*, to live its feelings and emotions. As Adelino Inácio Assane writes in his doctoral thesis, in researching everyday life we need to *get the mud of the farmers*. He explains further: "getting the mud from the farmers implies stripping off all preconceptions and not considering them as objects of research but as subjects who are in the whole process [...]" (Assane 2017: 57).

Conclusion

Research on the everyday life is a struggle for identity, a constant search for the space of interposition within the scientific class to which we seek to belong or build. The complexity of the *teacher-researcher* career emerges in the fact that teaching is an act of research at the same time that we need to teach while researching. As we mentioned at the beginning of this text, the approach which is now under discussion, by distancing ourselves from uniformity and hegemony, may generate misconceptions about the effort of glo-

balisation, systematisation, inclusion, or who knows what else understandings emerge around the research of narratives of experiences in the school context, as it seems to be the most suitable.

We anticipate these disturbances, because we do not construct the thesis of perfection of the research developed in the complex approach, that is, it is impossible to unify knowledge – it is one more discovery or result and not exclusive; complex knowledge is unfinished – it requires constant updating; it creates uncertainty – demanding constant reflection and research to make decisions about the phenomenon; it demonstrates unresolvedness and dynamism – the phenomena studied present *metamorphoses*¹⁴ that need constant monitoring.

Our research is not a thematic unit, at the same time that it is not a set of themes or subjects associated in a single approach. Our focus in this study was, and has been, to recall professional experiences of teaching in the most complex way possible, to live the teaching knowledge, to reconstruct practice, to recover didactics, to find dialogues or interpersonal and labour relations among educational actors.

Our study proves that it is possible to do research and share knowledge in other ways, without necessarily discrediting different ways. What makes scientific knowledge scientific is not rigidity, inflexibility, or repetition of pre-established forms, but the rationality and analytical depth with which it seeks to explain its results using a multitude of data collection techniques.

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14 Morin (2008) considers that a social reality is capable of going through two processes (disappearing or entering a deep transformation to reappear-the process of metamorphosis).

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Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research: Applicability and Challenges in the Socio-Cultural and Post-Colonial Context of Research

Abstracts

EN

The validity of the data collected in qualitative research is one of the important but complex affordances in determining the quality of research. A good data collection instrument enables the researcher to interpret and generalise the findings of his research in an appropriate way. While in quantitative research the micro-terms and criteria that relate to validity are strictly defined, in qualitative research these concepts relate to explanation and description, that is, whether the explanation corresponds with the description. This article intends, in the light of validity criteria – whether it's the use of multiple methods or the multi-treatment of research data (triangulation criterion), the selection of a representative sample in order to maximise the variety of representations of the phenomenon by the subject (research corpus construction criterion), or the performance of an objective analysis of the facts through rich and detailed description (clear and rich description criterion), among others – to discuss their applicability in qualitative research, taking into account the post-colonial perspective of scientific research and the factors that may affect their use, such as social, cultural and others.

DE

Die Validität der in der qualitativen Forschung gesammelten Daten ist einer der wichtigen, aber komplexen Faktoren, die die Qualität der Forschung bestimmen. Ein gutes Datenerhebungsinstrument ermöglicht es dem:der Forscher:in, die Schlussfolgerungen seiner:ihrer Forschung in angemessener Weise zu interpretieren und zu verallgemeinern. Während in der quantitativen Forschung die Begriffe und Kriterien, die sich auf die Validität beziehen, genau definiert sind, beziehen sich diese Konzepte in der qua-

litativen Forschung auf die Erklärung und Beschreibung, d. h. darauf, ob die Erklärung für die Beschreibung angemessen ist. Das Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, im Lichte der Validitätskriterien – sei es die Verwendung mehrerer Methoden oder die mehrstufige Behandlung der Forschungsdaten (Triangulationskriterium), die Auswahl einer repräsentativen Stichprobe, um die Vielfalt der vom Subjekt gegebenen Darstellungen des Phänomens zu maximieren (Kriterium der Korpuskonstruktion) oder die Durchführung einer objektiven Analyse des Sachverhalts durch eine reichhaltige und detaillierte Beschreibung (Kriterium der klaren Beschreibung, reichhaltige und detaillierte Beschreibung), unter anderem – deren Anwendbarkeit in der qualitativen Forschung zu diskutieren, unter Berücksichtigung der postkolonialen Perspektive der wissenschaftlichen Forschung und der sozialen, kulturellen und anderen Faktoren, die ihre Anwendung beeinflussen können.

PT

A validade dos dados colhidos em pesquisas qualitativas é uma das etapas importantes mas complexas na determinação da qualidade da investigação. Um bom instrumento de colecta de dados permite ao pesquisador interpretar e generalizar as conclusões da sua pesquisa de uma forma apropriada. Enquanto na pesquisa quantitativa os micro-termos e critérios que se relacionam com a validade estão rigorosamente definidos, na pesquisa qualitativa estes conceitos relacionam-se com a explicação e descrição, ou seja, se a explicação se encaixa na descrição. Este artigo, pretende à luz de critérios de validade – quer no uso de múltiplos métodos bem como multitratamento dos dados da pesquisa (critério de triangulação), pela selecção da amostra representativa com o intuito de maximizar a variedade de representações do fenómeno pelo sujeito (critério de construção do corpus de pesquisa) ou pela realização de uma análise objectiva dos factos através da descrição rica e detalhada (critério de descrição clara, rica e detalhada) entre outros – a discutir a sua aplicabilidade na pesquisa qualitativa tomando em consideração a perspectiva pós-colonial da pesquisa científica e dos factores que possam afectar o seu uso, tais como, os sociais, culturais entre outros.

JA

質的研究で収集されたデータの妥当性は、研究の質を決定する際の重要だが複雑な要素のひとつである。よいデータ収集の道具を用いれば、研究者は適切な方法で研究の知見を解釈し、一般化することができる。量的研究において妥当性に関するミクロな関係項と指標が厳格に定義されているのに対し、質的研究ではこれらの概念は説明と叙述に関連したものとなっている。すなわち、関係項や指標は、説明が叙述に

対応しているかどうかに関連する。本稿では、妥当性の概念に照らし、複合的な方法の活用、研究データの多元的検討（トライアングレーションという基準）、行為主体がかかわる現象の代表性の多様さを最大化するための代表サンプルの選定（研究コーパス構成という基準）、豊かで詳細な記述を通じた事実に対する客観的分析の提出（明確で詳細な記述という基準）などの有無を検討する。これらにもとづき、質的研究での活用可能性について議論する。その際、学術研究に備わったポストコロニアルな視点と、社会的・文化的要因やその他の要因など、質的研究の活用に影響を与えうる要因をあわせて検討する。

Introduction

One of the biggest problems with using validity concepts in qualitative research is that the techniques used in this approach are diverse. In qualitative research, the researcher often combines a variety of techniques ranging from interviews, observation, and surveys, in order to gain a deeper insight into the phenomenon he or she intends to study. Focusing on this deep insight is premised on the understanding that people interpret facts and phenomena in the process of symbolic interaction and culture (Jardim & Pereira 2009; Serpe & Stryker 2011; Carter & Fuller 2015), which makes the issue of validity in qualitative research very complex.

This article intends, in the light of validity criteria, to discuss their applicability in qualitative research, especially in the process of data collection, taking into consideration the post-colonial perspective of scientific research and the factors that may affect validity, such as social and cultural factors, among others. Since qualitative research is essentially interpretive in nature, the question of validity should be discussed by looking at the criteria that confer quality on this type of research. Júnior, Leão & Mello (2011) describe six criteria for validity and reliability in qualitative research, namely triangulation, construction of the research corpus, clear, rich and detailed description, surprisingness and feedback from informants. We will only refer to some of these criteria since the aim of this article is not to focus on research validity criteria as a whole.

The triangulation criterion in qualitative research concerns the use of various techniques during the research, since through this method the researcher reaches convergence by combining sources, researchers and theories (Júnior, Leão & Mello 2011). It is therefore a criterion that combines different methods for collecting data, the use of different samples and theoretical perspectives and the use of different moments in time in order to consolidate the conclusions regarding the phenomenon under study (Zappellini & Feuerschütte 2015). The research corpus construction criterion refers to the fact that the

researcher is able to determine which representative sample can maximise the variety of unknown representations. Júnior, Leão & Mello (2011) argue that the sample criterion, however, ceases to be important when evidence of data saturation is reached, as in this sense it is recommended to finalise data collection by saturating the interview responses. The criterion of a clear, rich and detailed description, according to the same authors, concerns the objective analysis of the facts, i.e., clarity in the procedures used with regard to good documentation, transparency and detail in the search for and analysis of the results.

While validity represents the core (not only) of qualitative research, it still poses a challenge for junior researchers, particularly those who are finishing their masters and doctoral degrees in universities, especially in Mozambique. These researchers still have difficulties in describing and applying the process that ensures the validity not only of the instruments used in data collection, but also of the data itself. This is presented in the first part of the chapter.

In the second part, requirements and challenges for validity are discussed, focusing especially on research in post-colonial research contexts. Despite the differentiation between qualitative and quantitative research in terms of methodological approaches, the issue of validity seems to cut across both, since the assurance of research quality is closely linked to these aspects. The assumption of transversality in the two approaches, allows for a holistic look at the essential aspects concerning quality in both approaches. The discussion will raise some considerations about the theoretical aspects related to qualitative research.

Validity of qualitative data and socio-cultural contexts: Problematisation, using the example of doctoral research

In the scientific literature, terms such as Credibility, Neutrality or Confirmability, Consistency or Dependability and Applicability or Transferability (Lincoln & Guba 1985 cited by Golafshani 2003; Noble & Smith 2015) are common when discussing the issue of research validity in the qualitative approach. Despite the fact that these terms are considered to be those that best describe the issue of validity and reliability in qualitative research, it can be noted that there is still a lack of agreement among researchers about what terms could really describe the quality of qualitative research in a clear way.

This difficulty in defining terms is also reflected in the students' investigative work at the university level. The lack of mastery of appropriate terms related to the validation process in qualitative research leads to students omitting the use of these terms and bypassing the process itself. This aspect is very

noticeable in the research work of students in the Faculty of Education at the Pedagogical University in Maputo, Mozambique.

In many dissertations and thesis research projects that we have witnessed over time, we observed difficulties with validity in qualitative research. These difficulties start with the construction of the instrument itself, that is, the selection and content of the instruments to be used in the research. Often, student researchers adopt instruments for their research that have already been used by other authors without worrying about the instrument's validation in the actual context of the qualitative research to be conducted.

The validation process of a research instrument, be it a questionnaire, interview script or observation, regardless of whether it has been adapted or constructed by the researcher, requires careful evaluation by experts in the field in order to propose improvements to both the content and the form.

Most students who engage in qualitative research seem to presume that an instrument that has already been applied in another research study does not require a careful analysis of the validation process. Therefore, during the process of writing dissertations and theses, few students describe how the validation process was conducted and how this process can lead to obtain valid data for the research in question. In many dissertations and theses, a lack of what Noble & Smith (2015) call consistency or neutrality, referring to the clear and transparent description of the research process, is observed.

With regard to methodological choice in dissertations and theses, students mostly address only the technique of data analysis. The technique that is most common in dissertation and thesis research is content analysis. However, the naming of the technique does not explain the process as such, but the general purpose of the research. Therefore, students do not clarify the procedure that precedes data collection such as what steps were used to construct the instrument, a process that leads to its validation. Listing the technique used for data collection and the instrument used to obtain the data does not in itself explain the issue of the validity of the instrument in question and the data collected.

The discussion of aspects related to the validation of instruments in research aims to reduce biases that can be caused by different factors, one of which is the researcher themselves, and to ensure research quality.

The other notable aspect is that several masters and doctoral programs at the University do not emphasise in their syllabus the issue of instrument validation, limiting themselves only to a more general approach to research methodology.

For example, in both the doctoral course in education and the master's course in educational assessment it is not clear to what extent the issue of validity is addressed or even if it even gets addressed at all.

Tab. 1: Syllabus of the “Educational Research” module in the doctoral course in education.

Module	Syllabus
Educational Research	Experimental research (notion, phases and stages, data collection and analysis). Qualitative research (Phenomenological, Dialectical and Hermeneutic approaches; research plan, fieldwork, data collection and analysis). Research strategies (ethnography, active research (action research, intervention research, and participant research); life history, content analysis, narrative analysis, opinion survey, poll, case study). Research planning (design, sources of information, literature review, selection and procedures for data collection and analysis)

Tab. 2: Syllabus of the “Research Methodology in Education” module in the Master's course in Educational Assessment.

Module	Syllabus
Research Methodology in Education	1. Methods, techniques and research instruments 2. Quantitative and qualitative research 3. Ethics in research 4. Analysis of research projects 5. The research report

Validity criteria of qualitative data collection: Socio-cultural contextualisation and post-colonial relations

First of all, it is necessary to understand what the guiding principles of validity are, and which factors may affect it. That is, one must know the paradigmatic assumptions of qualitative research in order to use them for research quality (Moreira 2018). This mitigates potential bias and subjectivity in interpretations of data by the researcher (Brink 1993).

From Noble & Smith's (2015) perspective, validity in qualitative research would be what they call truth value, that is, whether the researcher recognises the existence of multiple realities, outlines personal experiences and view-

points that may have resulted in methodological bias, or whether he or she clearly and accurately presents the participants' views.

The discussion about validity and reliability in qualitative research, is not only exhausted in the description of the methodological steps (population, sample, instruments, etc.) of the actual research or the use of terms validity or reliability without however describing the exact process as such. It relates to the point of how the researcher describes the process of obtaining the data, whether the description of the data corresponds with the explanation, and whether or not the explanation is plausible (Moreira 2018), as perceived by other researchers. This requires that students, first of all, understand what the principles that guide validity and reliability are, and what factors can affect it. That is, one must know the paradigmatic assumptions of qualitative research in order to use them for research quality (Moreira 2018).

On the other hand, validity in qualitative research must also be accounted for in terms of the social context in which it takes place. Therefore, many dissertations and theses written by college students are limited to subjects living in urban areas or their suburbs, and most of these subjects are best able to express themselves in Portuguese, which allows the interviewer and interviewee to converse in their common language, thus enabling a straightforward gathering of information.

The tendency to conduct research on Portuguese-speaking subjects may be due to the characteristics and nature of educational research since its main subjects are teachers, students or other educational agents who express themselves in the language of instruction. However, it should be noted that in a broader context, many educational research subjects, especially in rural areas, do not express themselves in the Portuguese language and it is therefore in these contexts that the use of mother tongues is important.

Brink (1993) claims that one of the major problems that affects the validity or credibility of qualitative data is related to the social and cultural context where the data is collected. The same author argues that the validity and reliability of the data can be affected by factors such as group or individual participation in the interviews. For example, in the individuals' stories and experiences, (loaded) aspects that relate to the individuals' memories, reminiscence, gender, ethnicity and realities as well as proper sociocultural aspects, may be embedded. This means that in studying the individual we must consider his or her subjectivity and the socio-historical and sociocultural background of that subjectivity. This view is embedded in symbolic social interactionism in which the individual interacts with others through symbols and these symbols carry values, meanings of his own for him (Carter & Fuller 2015; Segalman 1978).

In narrative studies which require interaction with the individual, the study of sociocultural aspects is important (Adama, Sandin & Bayes 2016) since

the individual story is embedded in a certain social and cultural context. The validity and reliability of the study can be affected by a lack of understanding of the sociocultural aspects when trying to interpret the data (Phillimore & Goodson 2004). The interpretation of phenomena, as Phillimore and Goodson state, can also come from the researcher – that is, whether the researcher belongs to a certain ethnicity, gender, sex, or race. This, in general, will affect the opinions of the respondents. For example, in contexts of a patrilineal culture, a female researcher might find it difficult to collect information if the survey or interview is directed at males, since certain types of information would not be available to females and vice versa. Topics such as affectivity, sexuality, cross-sexual relationships, or body functioning, create ambivalent responses when presented to male or female individuals because they are considered taboo in some cultures.

Power relations in some societies can also affect the validity and reliability of data since certain information can only be given by certain family members, for example, elders or ancestors whose power is already established within the clan. This means that the researcher will have to find the appropriate subjects to collect the relevant information for his or her research. In traditional societies such as African societies, this relationship exerts a strong influence on the behaviour of individuals and manifests itself through discipline, a fact that is different in Western societies where individualism is cultivated. The guarantee of data quality lies fundamentally in the observance of these conditions, that is, the researcher must address these aspects in his methodology.

Validity and trustworthiness in qualitative research can also be affected by how the researcher presents him or herself in the cultural environment. Therefore, it is important for the researcher to know the cultural specificities in order to obtain valid, meaningful, diverse, and in-depth data (Pelzang & Hutchinson 2018).

The importance of taking sociocultural factors into account has been reported in the scientific literature, because scientific rigor in qualitative studies cannot be achieved without knowledge of the sociocultural dimensions without the risk of the researcher imposing his or her beliefs, values, and behavioural patterns. This may limit the subjects' willingness to participate and even make the information gathered less credible. A research methodology must be employed that is sensitive to the cultural specificities of the context in which the research will take place.

However, today, both quantitative and qualitative research uses Western scientific models. The major theoretical developments have been based on research with individuals from these societies. The great advances in the sciences, especially in philosophy, arts, and the scientific methods that we know now, came from Europe and the United States of America, at least in

the format that we are currently familiar with. With the advent of colonisation these methods expanded ubiquitously, and the theories, developed mainly in the human sciences, were considered universal, since man has the same characteristics, but failed to take the socio-cultural specificities of each region and people into account. Scientific research, having been born in these contexts, has encountered few obstacles in the process of asserting itself and developing an implicit philosophy that is specifically connected to the context in which it is being developed.

In countries with a great linguistic and cultural diversity, especially in under-developed countries where research is not even a tradition yet (see Mulhanga in this volume), the credibility or validity of the information depends very much on the mastery of the socio-cultural and linguistic framework as well as the habits, values, beliefs, attitudes and opinions of each social group. The language issue, for example, is one of the barriers to building research validity, as the researcher may not master the language spoken by the research subject. In multilingual contexts, translations from one language to another for example, can distort the meaning of the information that is intended, moreover, some words and terms are not translatable (Pelzang & Hutchinson 2018), or a translation is not literal and perceptible. The study could not in this sense show what actually exists in the phenomenon outside of influences from other extraneous factors (internal validity), or whether or not these results could be generalised or applicable to other groups (external validity).

Although African countries have adopted most of the colonisers' languages for instruction and communication, the majority of the population does not master these languages, which can be a great challenge when conducting research and validating the information obtained if the researcher does not master the language of the research subjects. In the case of Mozambique, most of the people who speak Portuguese as their first language are based in large cities and have virtually no command of other languages spoken in the country. A researcher who speaks only Portuguese would find it difficult to communicate with non-Portuguese speakers, which would make it somewhat difficult to verify the information.

In this sense it would be desirable for the researcher to have proficiency of the language that is spoken by the respondents so that credible information about the investigated phenomenon can be obtained. The issue of language proficiency is just one of multiple factors that can affect validity and reliability in qualitative research.

Conclusion

Addressing the issue of data validity in qualitative research in contexts of cultural multiplicity seems to us a challenging task as the interpretation of phenomena by individuals needs to take into account the cultural and social context in which these phenomena occur. In the case of Mozambique, where the scientific tradition is still in its infancy, in-depth knowledge about the interpretation of phenomena is still not very deep-rooted. However, this does not mean that the issue of validity cannot be discussed. Quite the contrary. Because it is a crucial and most interesting issue for the researcher, it must receive the best attention in order to enhance the quality of the research itself. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the current models used to discuss the issue of validity in qualitative research need to be rethought, especially when they only try to transpose concepts from a quantitative model, with its already developed methodology, to a new model still in development. This way of looking at things can mislead us, especially when we want to make sure that the information gathered throughout our research corresponds to what the researcher is investigating in order to ensure the validity or quality of the research.

Qualitative research can nevertheless make use of the advances made in quantitative research to consolidate and enhance itself, as happens in many areas of knowledge, but the blind transposition of models and concepts can give the erroneous perception that all things work in the same way and thus jeopardise the validity of the data. On the other hand, it is of utmost importance to look at the context in which the research is conducted and understand the reality of that very environment.

Observing sociological as well as cultural factors of everyday life would be a very important step towards the development of adequate and contextualised theories that allow us to increase the quality of understanding the phenomenon in a holistic way. The paradigm shift in research cannot depend only on research oriented towards more developed societies. Rather, it must encompass all aspects of human life because at its core, it is man in his fullest and most differentiated context that research tries to understand. Culture and the social environment play an important factor in the construction of experiences and behaviours and must be considered as driving factors in these behaviours. The researcher, in order to ensure the validity and reliability of his results, must consider the subjective factors of culture and society in order to have an objective and unbiased view. This means that the issue is not only in the process but mainly in the need to use appropriate strategies/criteria that allow for the effective search for the truth about the events, by looking at the symbolic and cultural perspective of those involved in the research.

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Emi Kinoshita

Reflecting an International Exchange about Qualitative Educational Research in Relation to the Globalisation of Qualitative Research – A Commentary

Abstracts

EN

While there is an increasing 'globalisation of qualitative research', there is frequently referred to an asymmetrical relationship between 'core' and 'periphery' in qualitative research discourses. Moreover, there is not always a common ground of argumentation and theory between different discourses. Under these circumstances, what and how much can be discussed about specific qualitative research methods to explore education and classrooms at international exchange occasions such as conferences? This paper addresses this question by tracing a virtual trialogue among the authors of the two papers in Section 5 and me as the author of this commentary, inspired by the methods of autoethnography. Through the study, I will point out that the elaboration and development of specific qualitative research methods and theories as instruments is only possible to a limited extent due to the lack of common theoretical foundations and discourses in international discussions. However, a potential for the differentiation of the structural-critical perspective inherent in qualitative research and the possibility of reflecting on normativities in educational and teaching theories becomes apparent.

DE

Während sich die 'Globalisierung der qualitativen Forschung' entwickelt, wird auch auf das asymmetrische Verhältnis zwischen dem 'Kern' und der 'Peripherie' der Diskussionen über qualitative Forschung hingewiesen. Außerdem teilen verschiedene Diskurse nicht immer eine gemeinsame Basis der Theorien und Argumentationen. Was bzw. wie viel kann unter diesen Umständen auf internationalen Konferenzen und anderen Foren des di-

rekten Austausches über spezifische qualitative Forschungsmethoden und -praktiken in Bildung und Lehre gesagt werden? Der vorliegende Beitrag geht dieser Frage nach, indem er einen virtuellen Dialog zwischen den beiden Beiträgen in Teil 5 und meinen eigenen Erfahrungen als Autorin dieses Kommentars nachzeichnet, der sich an den Methoden der Autoethnographie orientiert. Durch die Untersuchung habe ich aufgezeigt, dass die Ausarbeitung und Entwicklung spezifischer qualitativer Forschungsmethoden und -theorien als Instrumente aufgrund des Fehlens gemeinsamer theoretischer Grundlagen und diskursiver Trends in internationalen Debatten nur begrenzt möglich ist. Zugleich zeigt sich ein Potenzial für die Ausdifferenzierung der der qualitativen Forschung innewohnenden strukturkritischen Perspektive und die Möglichkeit zur Reflexion über Normativitäten in Bildungs- und Unterrichtstheorien.

PT

À medida que a 'globalização da investigação qualitativa' se desenvolve, é também assinalada a relação assimétrica entre o 'centro' e a 'periferia' dos debates sobre investigação qualitativa. Além disso, os diferentes discursos nem sempre partilham uma base comum de teorias e argumentos. Nestas circunstâncias, o que ou quanto se pode dizer em conferências internacionais e noutros fóruns de intercâmbio direto sobre métodos e práticas específicas de investigação qualitativa na educação e no ensino? Este artigo explora esta questão, traçando um trílogo virtual entre os dois artigos da Secção 5 e as minhas próprias experiências como autora deste comentário, informadas pelos métodos da autoetnografia. Através da investigação, mostra-se que a elaboração e o desenvolvimento de métodos e teorias específicos de investigação qualitativa como ferramentas são limitados devido à falta de fundamentos teóricos comuns e de tendências discursivas nos debates internacionais. Ao mesmo tempo, torna-se evidente um potencial para a diferenciação da perspectiva estrutural-crítica inerente à investigação qualitativa e a possibilidade de refletir sobre as normatividades nas teorias da educação e do ensino.

JA

「質的研究のグローバル化」の一方、質的研究の言説には「中心」と「周辺」という非対称な関係が認められる。くわえて、異なる言説空間のあいだには共通の議論・理論の基盤があるわけでもない。このような状況のなか、国際会議など直接の交流の場において、教育や授業を対象とした具体的な質的研究方法とその実践について、いったいなにをどのくらい語ることができるのか。本稿では、この問いに対し、第5部に所収さ

れた二つの論文とこのコメント論文の著者であるわたしの経験を仮想的な対話として構成しながら、オートエスノグラフィの方法に着想を得て考察をすすめる。検討を経て、国際的な議論の場では共通の理論的基盤・言説動向を欠くために、ツールとして個別具体的な質的研究方法とその理論を精緻に検討したり、開発することに限界があることを指摘する。しかしそれ以上に、質的研究にそなわった構造批判的な視角の洗練や、規範的な研究論・教育論・授業論を省察する機会を持てる可能性が広がっているという意義を指摘し、本稿をしめくくる。

1 Introduction: (im-)possibility of commenting in an international research setting

This anthology is based on results gained from an international conference on qualitative research methods in educational and classroom research in Maputo, Mozambique. I partook as a researcher from a German institution who has an academic background in Japan. I was asked to offer a wrap-up reflection on qualitative educational research in the international setting. During the conference, participants came to realise that despite common interests and similar terminology, we did not necessarily share the same concepts as we were familiar with different discourses. This applied both at the level of discussion about classroom activities, and the level of methodological and theoretical concepts.

In regards to research objects, there is no doubt that structures and situations around (institutionalised) education differ from one to another (see also Section 1 of this anthology), even though there have been tendencies to standardise (formal) education throughout the globe since the modernisation. This fact led us to work carefully on local-specific notions, concepts and perspectives on education. But what about research methods? Insofar can we talk about research methods as universal tools to explore local educational and classroom situations to present results to a 'foreign' audience? Do we share a common language that conveys the same derived meaning in discussions about specific qualitative methods in educational research? In other words, questions about the (im-)possibility of an exchange regarding qualitative research methods in an international setting arose.

These questions gained more pertinence after I started to read the two articles in this Section (Nicaquela and Assane in this volume; Alipio in this volume): I realised that the authors and I share few literatures in the reference lists, especially regarding qualitative research methods. When commenting, this can lead to the risk of doing so from an irrelevant viewpoint. This reminded me of a similar (and painful) experience in a former international conference:

Although I had shared certain topics with other participants, I was not listened to, because I could not present them in the terminology of the discourses shared among most participants, as the terms were unknown to me. Furthermore, my contribution was labelled as almost underdeveloped or outdated. It frustrated me that my work and input at the conference was 'judged' according to this criterion alone.

To avoid emulating that kind of commenting, I have crafted this comment article as a virtual trialogue among Nicaquela and Assane, Alipio and me. I assume the role of an explorer into the discussion by the authors, and at the same time the role of the protagonist of my article. Thus, the method of interpretive autoethnography (Denzin 2014)¹ is effectuated. I convey my standpoint and experiences whilst reading and 'talking' with the other authors.

Reading the articles by Nicaquela and Assane as well as Alipio, these articles address the aforementioned questions concerning the (im-)possibility of an exchange on qualitative educational and classroom research in times of globalisation of education and its research. To begin with the trialogue, I'll outline the scientific relevance of my questions by leaning on global discourses about qualitative and educational researches. On this basis, I will identify aspects to be compared, on which the articles are set into a relationship. The conclusion will suggest potentials and challenges of international discourses on qualitative educational research.

2 Qualitative research methods and educational research in times of globalisation

Qualitative research has spread out internationally and we observe the "globalization [sic] of qualitative research" (Hsiung 2012). This 'globalisation' is characterised by an asymmetric structure between the "core", where theories and methodologies are developed, and the "periphery", where the theories are received (ibid.). The "periphery" of qualitative research can be discovered as such only through the awareness and critical reflection of the aforementioned asymmetry. Overcoming of the asymmetry takes place asymmetrically as well, e.g., because the "periphery" works to share its discourse to the "core" (ibid.) and local and localised methodology in the "periphery" may contribute to widen the theory in the "core" (an example of the Grounded Theory Approach, see Charmaz 2014; Flick 2014).

1 Interpretive autoethnography has a connection to autobiography (Denzin 2014). In leading international journals and conferences of comparative education, there have been autobiographical reflections to different research practices in the globalisation of educational research (e.g., see Kim 2020; Takayama 2020; Phung 2020). These articles successfully contributed to reflect and consider hegemonic and colonial structures of research activities..

Hsiung (2012) also characterises “core” and “periphery” of qualitative research as typically related to language: the “core” belongs to the Anglo-American, i.e., English-speaking discourse, while the vast “periphery” consists of a variety of discourses in languages from other parts of the globe. Yet, this language-bound relation can be varied, in cases where a specific method has its roots in a discourse held in another language (see some examples in this anthology: the Documentary Method from Germany (Martens and Kinoshita in this anthology) and Lesson Study from Japan (Yoshida and Miyamoto in this anthology)). Therefore, the singular focus on language-related cracks between English and other languages can veil the view on diverse discourse relations.

In this volume, we actually do not find the very “core” of qualitative research in the sense of Hsiung. However, it is obvious that the empirical methods referred to in the articles stem from the ‘West’ or ‘North’ of the earth.² Yet, I observe some characteristic citations on which the authors lean: Going through the reference lists in the articles by Nicaquela and Assane as well as Alipio, I noticed that they discuss qualitative research methods based on different combinations of literature from the English and Portuguese discourses – in contrast, my reference list consists of Japanese-, German-, and English-speaking literature. This kind of multi-language reference list is not common, e.g., German-speaking literature on qualitative methods construct their methodology mostly on the basis of their own language, sometimes additionally using English literature. The common reliance on English references highlights the ‘core-periphery’ asymmetry of qualitative researches. The authors in this section, me included, are floating between the poles, but in relation to different ‘peripheral’ areas. We are inevitably bound to rely on the ‘core’ methodology, both to explore local educational phenomena in the ‘periphery’, as well as to communicate in between us.

This is ironical for educational research in an international setting: Comparative and intercultural education research has paid great attention to possible inequalities and ethnocentrisms in education and research practice (e.g., Le Than Koi 1980) and still tries to overcome them (e.g., Takayama, Sriprakash & Connell 2016). Such perspectives on possible inequalities between the West and the rest of the globe let us rewrite research questions, goals, objectives as well as understandings of specific notions, which stem from a Western research and discourse context – ironically often by using a methodical tool which is invented and developed in some powerful, internationally more recognised ‘cores’ or with certain ignorance of the ‘peripheries’. In this context,

2 In the case of Lesson Study, also referred to in this book, the ‘core’ or home is located in Japan, which is not automatically categorised into the ‘West’. However, the international reception takes place through an introduction by English-speaking authors (see also the article by Yoshida and Miyamoto in this anthology).

research methods uniquely developed in each explored field are omitted. The research method and its academic hegemony in education have not been examined yet and stay as a blind spot of the critical reflection.

These structural challenges are fatal to educational research in two ways.

Firstly, their central notions always carry specific normative concepts of education, framing how and to which goal human development should be oriented. At the same time, these normative concepts are never free from specific global and local hegemonies (e.g., about a Japanese discourse see Seki (2012); about descriptive and normative dimensions of the German notion of *Bildung* see Zirfas (2011)). This normative character of educational research directs qualitative studies and limits the possible research questions (Herfter et al. 2019). Therefore, especially in an international exchange, it is inevitable to reflect which norms certain concepts entail and how research methods are chosen to meet the concepts and research questions. It is also necessary to consider how far an internationally developed research method fits to a specific, local research question on education and which reasons play a role in the choice of the method.

Secondly, although global (common) trends in education have been repeatedly observed, such as the new education movement in the 1920s and reforms driven by the PISA of the OECD in the 21st century, educational research has followed specific research interests, bringing forth specific discourses. Comparative research clearly illustrates different structures and traditions of educational research (e.g., Biesta 2020; Keiner & Schriewer 1990). These specific traditions guide the ways of questioning and researching so that the international audience must consciously pay attention to different relevance settings in research.

Hence, qualitative educational research faces two challenges in an international discussion setting: It needs to explain not only specific 'local' norms and traditions of the own education context, but also specific research method(ology) to an international audience. In turn, readiness to deal with specific concepts and methods is required of the international audience.

In the following, I'll explore research practices from Mozambique in a virtual dialogue by using autoethnography. First, I'll take a closer look into the (institutional) research setting of each article to illustrate the frameworks in which the authors and I conduct qualitative research (Aspect 1). Subsequently, the question regarding which qualitative methods are chosen to which purposes will be discussed (Aspect 2). Through these considerations, norms of each research practice will appear and different attitudes are reflexively presented (Aspect 3). In conclusion, (im-)possibilities of qualitative educational research will be outlined, based on the three aspects to show different manners of confrontation to the 'core' of qualitative research.

3 A trialogue about qualitative educational research

Aspect 1: Challenges in using and around reasoning to use qualitative methods

Alipio, Nicaquela and Assane and I conduct research in different institutional, and thematic settings. In this aspect, I read the articles from the viewpoint concerning which challenges we see in using qualitative research methods and how we argue for the application of qualitative research methods.

Alipio's article clearly describes institutional challenges as to the quality of qualitative research projects, especially concerning the validity of data analysis in final theses in teacher colleges and master courses. These challenges stem from "a lack of agreement among researchers about what terms could really describe the quality of qualitative research in a clear way" (Alipio in this volume: 317). This still unsolved core problem directly causes "a challenge for junior researchers" (ibid.) in Mozambique. Alipio observes difficulties with validity "in many dissertations and thesis research projects" (ibid.: 318) as to "the construction of the [research] instrument itself" (ibid.), as well as to the lack of examining of the validity in adapting instruments from former research. Thus, "few students describe how the validation process was conducted and how this process can lead to obtain valid data for the research in question", while "students mostly address only the technique of data analysis" (ibid.). Alipio sees such research procedures as unsatisfying or poor, because the mere naming of certain techniques is not a description of the research process itself. Novice researchers would therefore fail to provide validity.

I observe that Alipio assumes the validity as fundamental for qualitative research to make projects scientifically meaningful by "reduc[ing] biases [...] and [...] ensur[ing] research quality" (ibid.). Hereby it seems that Alipio embraces a firm idea or even a norm of how the science should look like. For him, the challenges among young researchers are connected to an institutional framework of academic training. Reading syllabuses of some modules or courses at the college and university, it remains unclear for him "to what extent the issue of validity is addressed or even if it even gets addressed at all" (ibid.: 319). I would like to summarise that Alipio emphasises the meaning of method training at universities, promoting that the topic of validity has to be addressed, despite of the unsolved discussions on the validity concept. This suggests to me, that Alipio regards it as a mission to train young researchers into an expected standard research practice. This norm is given consideration in Aspect 3.

Alipio criticises the lack of the validity in data analysis and training thereof in tertiary teacher education in Mozambique. Hereby, the characteristics of (locally driven) educational research projects play only a small role and the

(unsolved) international standard of validity is set as a norm of researching. In contrast, Nicaquela and Assane are deeply involved in the local field of institutionalised schools and illustrate challenges from their practice.

The article by Nicaquela and Assane describes their research practice and includes some examples. They are researching in “everyday school life” (Nicaquela and Assane in this volume: 300), in which they are “teacher-researchers, individuals who teach while researching their own practices” (ibid.: 301). The authors, therefore, do not possess “an exclusive place that separates [them] from those who participate in [their] research” (ibid.). They acknowledge their challenges relating to a specific double or simultaneous position in their research field, i.e., everyday school life. This position is termed as “teacher-researcher” (ibid.), which stands apart from the “normal science”, “imposed by the rules of positivist methods” (ibid.: 302, in leaning on Couto 2009), a position in which “no linear boundaries” (ibid.) exist between the subject and the object of research. This simultaneous position leads the authors to research and write their own narrative on their explorations of everyday school life, therefore making themselves a “part of the object of [their own] research” (ibid.). It is solely through their own involvement as teacher-researchers in the field that the authors come to question the fundamental norm of “Western model” (ibid.). Their insight into the different positions of researchers in relation to the field leads them to argue for widening the variation of sources to be researched as well as of presentation forms (ibid.). In the centre of their research, they actively use narratives of practitioners and researchers as a method besides other sources. This critically requires questioning of the fundamental epistemology of the modern, ‘normal’ or ‘Western’ science (see Aspect 3 in this article).

Here I observe two contrasting institutional settings of research practices which are also related to their understanding of the norms of modern science: Alipio critically points out the lack of training concerning the validity of qualitative research as a quality criterium of the modern science at higher education in Mozambique. In contrast, Nicaquela and Assane are aware of their double, simultaneous position as teacher-researcher in the field and declare an offensive confrontation to the modern science. Alipio recognises research practice in general as to be standardised along the international discourse and therefore as trainable. In turn, Nicaquela and Assane see such a rational position of an educational researcher as impossible, especially for their work in the field. Hence, they adopt a new inseparable role in the centre of their epistemology. It is conceivable that these contrasting positions reflect the authors’ different perspectives of responsibility at higher education or teacher education: priority on the international standard or the local field of education.

These contrastive positions remind me of the re-building of my research framework during my doctoral studies. In Japan in the 2000s, research ethics and personal encounters in the field were one of the central methodological issues in qualitative research, especially in life history research. These topics were also discussed in educational research. Data collection and analysis were conducted and explained in a highly integrated process – similarly to how it is shown by Nicaquela and Assane. During my research stay in Germany, it surprised me that ethical questions in the field were hardly dealt with at all, as if there would not be such interpersonal and ethical challenges. Instead, data collection and analysis were discussed separately, referring to almost standardised methodical procedures, extensively elaborating on their theoretical and philosophical reasoning. My standpoint in using qualitative methods learned in Japan was not compatible with discussion. Different from Alipio's argument, the validity or criteria of research quality were (and still are), in the German discourse, specified to qualitative research itself. Thereby, I experienced more standardisation and the notion of trainability of qualitative research methods than I had experienced in Japan. To tackle this experience of incommensurable discourses and practices in qualitative research, I introduced a concrete research method (narrative interview and narration analysis following Schütze 1983) in a 'German' way (e.g., connecting the reasoning for using the procedures to the research question) into the framework of qualitative educational research developed in Japan (e.g., Nakauchi 1992). In doing so, I wanted to contribute to identifying suitable methods for the Japanese approach on educational research, as well as to developing appropriate ways of methodological discussion in Japanese discourse. The German interview method was 'just' a tool to achieve that goal. I'll go further into this process in the next aspect.

Aspect 2: Potentials of narratives as qualitative method

It is a nice coincidence that all of us – Alipio, Nicaquela and Assane, and I – conduct(ed) qualitative research with narratives, which is focused in the following. I'd like to start my second aspect by delving deeper into my experiences on narrative methods and their foundational methodology (cf. Otani 2019) between familiar and (still) unfamiliar discourses.

Originally, I started my dissertation project with the methodical concept of life history, based on the discussion in Japan. The leading work at that time was by Nakano and Sakurai (1995). However, the discourse also often referred to Anglo-American literature. Life history focuses on micro history and enabled me to approach the historical story telling of so-called ordinary people and their educational thoughts. Its interview method was presented as holistic and

simultaneous in data collection and analysis (see Sakurai 2002). Therefore, one of the central German interview methods surprised me with its rigid separation of procedures of data collection and analysis in small steps, which is firmly tied to a theory of biography (see Schütze 1983).

The German epistemological-methodological discourse unfettered me from certain reasoning in dialogues with researchers in Japan, and from having to defend why I use a qualitative, narrative method instead of quantitative method. In the Japanese discourse at that time, the method of life history was often solely treated as an alternative, and use thereof had to be legitimated using the logic of positivistic reasoning. However, I noticed that I began to miss a core meaning of qualitative research or Japanese discourse: A (sometimes ethical) emphasis on listening to the ‘forgotten’ minorities, rewriting historical descriptions from their perspective or reflecting on the role as a researcher in an interview is rarely seen in the German discourse, although Schütze’s methodical concept of narrative interview seems to meet these requirements. After all, my dissertation has a unique framework and reasoning: The whole methodology is based on Japanese and Anglo-American discourse of educational life history (e.g., Goodson 2001; Nakano & Sakurai 1995; Nakauchi 1992), while the concrete methodical procedure is taken from the German discourse (see also Kinoshita 2020; 2022; 2023).

My experience shows that specific concepts and methods of narrative research were differently discussed and realised in the respective research communities and therefore cannot be transferred into another discourse without adaptation. A research method is never neutral or universal.

In Alipio’s article, he does not deal with a specific method, but he considers narrative studies or interviews as a central way to collect data in qualitative research (Alipio in this volume, 319-322). He discusses the validity and credibility especially concerning narratives collected in field work. Alipio illustrates narratives as problematic data because of “potential bias and subjectivity” (ibid.: 319) in achieving a so-called “truth value” (ibid.). He underlines that validity can be methodologically controlled. Explaining “the process of obtaining the data” (ibid.: 320) is one of the possible ways of ensuring validity, in addition to “methodological steps (population, sample, instruments, etc.)” (ibid.), which are often described. This explanation is, for Alipio, necessary because the researchers’ position in the researched field is not independent from their sociocultural characteristics.

Alipio points out sociocultural influences in collecting and analysing narrative data – this separation between data collection and analysis is reminding me of a ‘German’ discourse. He stresses language- and region-related challenges within Mozambique, especially pointing out that novice researchers from urban areas express themselves in Portuguese which is not always spoken in

the researched field. This gap seems to result from the social structures such as instruction and academic language at the higher and school education as well as from academic norms of language. In this gap, Alipio sees validity at risk: "The validity and reliability of the study can be affected by a lack of *understanding* of the sociocultural aspects" (ibid., stressed by E.K.). Besides the understanding, the subjectivity of the researchers plays a critical role hereby. "Therefore, it is important for the researcher to *know* the cultural specificities in order to obtain valid, meaningful, diverse and in-depth data" (ibid.: 321, in leaning on Pelzang & Hutchinson 2018, stressed by E.K.).

At this point, I contemplate what 'understanding' and 'knowing' mean. Isn't 'understanding' rather a goal than a condition as Alipio opines, because we conduct narrative research to grasp the life world of the researched? Alipio argues as if there would be completely valid and objective data and researchers would be responsible to obtain it. As I am familiar with German and Japanese qualitative research, where knowledge is thought to be constructed and not free from perspectives, to me, Alipio seems to follow the classical positivistic logic of the science. In reading his article, I have to recognise that I belong to the recent 'Western' discourse of qualitative research on one hand, and the Japanese focus on the primacy of the field and minorities on the other hand: Biases can be dealt with in the research process and have their own meaning. But for Alipio, "understanding" is a required condition to enter the field, because it includes a sensibility "to the cultural specificities of the context in which the research will take place" (ibid.). The lack of understanding or knowledge about the field is, for him, a structural, colonial problem in conducting qualitative, narrative research. To show the problem, he argues within the framework of the positivistic logic, which is questioned by 'Western', as well as Japanese qualitative research. In this context, Alipio also takes the global scientific structure into account, which I'll discuss in the third aspect.

As outlined above, Nicaquela and Assane work with narratives due to their double position as teacher-researcher in the field, and narratives allow them to research and write from their position. In their introduction, they position themselves as deviants, and challenging the research norms from the 'West'. The notion of narrative is not explicitly defined but stands for oral expressions with stories in a broad sense. For the authors, the narrative is very central, as an epistemology on the one hand, and as a research method on the other hand.

Nicaquela and Assane collect narratives in the field to seek "solutions in a continuous and rational manner" (Nicaquela and Assane in this volume: 302). For the authors, "there is no way to research and write about everyday school life other than to research and write about one's own practice and life" (ibid.)

- This refers not only to collecting teachers' narratives but also to researchers'

autobiographically oriented narrative (ibid.: 301-304), which is tied to the research question. This stance is welcome to me in two ways.

Firstly, it reminds me of a way of reasoning for using a teacher's life history which was often cited in Japan and is therefore familiar to me (e.g., Goodson 2001). The British educational researcher Ivor Goodson works with life histories to explore teachers' challenges in educational reform in a holistic way (ibid.). This is a critical perspective on school and educational research, which sees everyday school life exclusively in functional terms of the institutional dimension: Teachers should also be considered as a whole person.

Secondly, the idea to widen the application of narratives by researcher's "autobiographically oriented narrative" gives me the opportunity to write my own personal perspective in this anthology. Nicaquela and Assane proactively drive this research style forward, leaning on Mortari and Wittman: "researching in narrative form is not a mere 'denunciation, which is enclosed in itself, but one of overflowing pre-existence in the construction and viability of plural knowledge and equity projects. That is, it is strength in the midst of chaos'" (Nicaquela and Assane in this volume: 304). This leads Nicaquela and Assane to criticise the existing structure of science, which will be discussed in the third aspect.

In regards to methodical processes, Nicaquela and Assane emphasise that data collection of narrative research takes place "in a complex and not linear or definite way" (ibid.: 305) because of their simultaneous "teacher-researcher" position in classroom research. In their fourth chapter (ibid.: 305-310), they do not show how concrete narratives are collected or interviewed. Due to my research stay in Germany, the omission of concrete presentation and description of the process of data collection and analysis is to me noteworthy. However, had I studied life history research only in Japan, I would have accepted their presentation of different narratives: In this discourse as well as in Nicaquela's and Assane's text, the focus is on why an alternative methodical approach is used – often in fundamental critique of the usual 'Western' approach, in contrast to the German discourse, where it is expected to focus on the description of the methodical procedure, relating it to its methodological reasoning. Therefore, I can only understand their presentation style and consider that this is for now the possible way to allocate the core critique and explain their position.

Aspect 3: Positions to the 'Western modern' science

The previous two aspects revealed that all three articles refer in different ways to a critical attitude to the 'Western' or 'modern' science. Especially Nicaquela and Assane, as well as Alipio, term this as colonial. Going beyond mapping

localised variations of qualitative methods (e.g., Charmaz 2014), they (Alipio, Nicaquela and Assane) or we (including myself) emphasise power balances among the different research frameworks.

Alipio critically points out the lack of knowledge about the research field in "African countries" (Alipio in this volume: 322). He attributes this shortcoming to a colonial structure of research in Mozambique. Although Alipio accepts the validity discourse developed in a specific 'Western' community and sees it as a standard to be followed by young researchers, he points out problematic practices in collecting qualitative data in the local field. As observed in the second aspect, the lack of knowledge about local languages and the sociocultural structure of informants (see also Mulhanga in this volume for an example) is critically seen as a problem of post-colonial structures. As to the validity in data collection, Alipio argues as if he would be a positivist, different from a qualitative researcher: There is objective reality to be discovered, following the standards of validity. However, in the context of 'African countries', he seems to deplore a kind of ignorance of the pre-knowledge on the field: Narrative research can start with data collection and analysis, only after researchers are imbued with local knowledge.

This rouses ethical questions and concerns on the responsibility of qualitative research for social/societal problems. Nicaquela and Assane also mention this point in a different way.

Nicaquela and Assane show a cautious, but at the same time, offensive stance in conducting qualitative researches. For them, it's central to see narratives of the researched teachers and researchers themselves not only as a method(ology), but also as an epistemology. Narratives allow informants as well as researchers themselves to express their own viewpoints and actively produce knowledge. This is, for both authors, a fight against the "colonial-capitalist" science (Nicaquela and Assane in this volume: 304-305). Contrary to Alipio, they don't emphasise this as an 'African' issue, but focus on the field contact. In intense field contact, they see an emancipation or "resistance" (ibid.: 304) of "indigenous knowledge" (ibid.). This suggests that both authors see the risk of colonial influence, if they do not accept their simultaneous role in the field. Their critical epistemology of narrative therefore takes distanced stance from "formalist research [...] (ibid.: 310). In doing so, data collection is not "clean" and structured (like a German narrative method), but much more indiscriminate, "drinking from all the sources" (ibid.: 307).

Nicaquela and Assane as well as Alipio see the potentials of qualitative, narrative research in education as critique of colonial structures. To achieve this, they seem to need radical argumentations. As aforementioned, since my academic migration from Japan to Germany, legitimating the use of qualitative methods has become easier. However, on reading recent Japanese discourses, I still

repeatedly experienced some positivistic questioning on qualitative methods (for one of the latest discussions, see Igashira 2023³).

We, as the authors in this part, are all still struggling in conducting qualitative research in the complex power imbalances of the global scientific discourses, yet, in different ways: Alipio seems to try to train students, so that they can act as well-informed qualitative researchers in the academic field which still seems positivistic, thus helping them to adapt to 'Western' standards in a culturally informed way. In contrast, Nicaquela and Assane enforce their critical epistemology of narratives in school everyday practice, thus trying to demonstrate a (radical) alternative to 'Western science'. In my own research, I use some eclecticism to question existing frameworks. We all experience difficulties in positioning our own work in research structures determined by the 'core', yet reflect and practice our critiques in different ways. The confrontation with 'Western science' leaves little space to show the concrete procedures of data collection with narrative methods. Instead, it leads us to show how we understand narrative data in the specific research structures. In the whole framework, I rarely remark on education: It is considered as local and specific in both concept and practice.

4 Conclusion

Reflecting on two contributions in this part, and conducting a virtual dialogue with the authors, this essay autoethnographically considered (im-)possibilities of discussing qualitative methods in international research settings where there are few common concrete discourses despite of the "globalization of qualitative researches" and where there is an unequal power relation between only a few "core(s)" and vast "peripheries" concerning specific methods (see again Hsiung (2012)). Nicaquela and Assane, Alipio, as well as I, adopt different, but equally uncomfortable positions in relation to dominant or 'Western' science when conducting qualitative research.

These positions are characterised by different motives: Nicaquela and Assane showed a limitation of 'methodical uniformity' to 'Western' science as epistemology and methodology; Alipio pointed out trained researchers' ignorance

3 In an anthology edited by Igashira (2023) in Japan, the so-called KKV debates (King et al. 1994) about criteria of qualitative researches, which are yet framed by quantitative epistemological reasoning, are critically examined by diverse authors who practice qualitative or comparable methods in different disciplines. The editor Igashira aligns to the requirement by KKV regarding the qualitative methods and lets the participating qualitative researchers explain, which meaning the KKV has to their research practices. Interestingly, many of the authors answer by consciously avoiding a direct answer to critiques by KKV because of its classical orientation to the quantitative or positivistic research norm (especially Komiya 2023).

about socio-cultural aspects concerning the fields of data collection besides the lacking validity of data analysis; I experienced methodologies and methods in narrative research which are totally differently developed and rationalised in Germany and Japan, struggling to find my position between them. In this part, it was quite difficult to exchange ideas and opinions about a specific method and its concrete procedures (besides, the contributions in this part are not planned to be focussed on these procedures). In the era of the globalisation of qualitative research, researchers share some experiences around diverse qualitative research concepts, but it still remains challenging to discuss and exchange views and perspectives concerning specific methods in between different discourses. Especially single methodical techniques and procedures were not even touched upon – instead, this part reveals the need for more fundamental considerations on motives to use qualitative methods, as well as on educational theories and phenomena in scientific communities. This means that although a shared understanding of particular methods cannot be assumed, especially in an international setting, it is possible to reflect on these methods in relation to their wider methodological and global-societal context. This led us to examine norms of the ‘modern’ or ‘Western’ science and to question power relations between the researchers and the researched as well as among scientific communities between the ‘core(s)’ and ‘peripheries’ in a plurality of ways. Ironically, the structural problem in qualitative research is again highlighted by the side of the ‘periphery’. However, the ‘periphery’ does not wait to be discovered anymore, as an international discussion setting such as conferences and workshops is a stage to promote voices from different sides.

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This volume examines methodological challenges of qualitative and development-oriented classroom research from the perspective of researchers from various African countries as well as from Japan and Germany. In presenting research projects from different regions of the world, researchers explore the topics of the researchers' position(ing) in the field, the role of theoretical and cultural assumptions in interpretations, and the inevitable normative positioning of classroom research. Discussion papers compare the different approaches of dealing with (and being entangled in) the above-mentioned challenges as well as post-colonial conditions.

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