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Chapter 1

General introduction

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'In all aspects of the education system, consideration of the child's best interests must be a primary consideration'

(The Convention on the Rights of the Child and education, Unesco/ Unicef, 2007, p. 118)

1.1 Positioning

This thesis reports on an interpretative research project about teachers' interpretations of their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils' best interest. The thesis comprises four closely related studies. A total of thirty-seven teachers working at elementary or secondary schools in both regular and special education participated in the research project.

The research project is connected to the research of Ponte (e.g. 2003, 2009), in which the complexity of interactions between teachers and their pupils and the social context in which these interactions take place formed one of the central lines of research. Ponte (2009, p. 13) argues that:

...education is an open process, where outcomes cannot be predicted with any certainty. For this reason I believe that research should not be directed at assessing educational relationships or pupil-teacher interactions in terms of good or bad, but at obtaining insight into their complexity.

An important aspect of this complexity, which lies at the heart of the present thesis, is the inherent moral significance that is ascribed to teacher-pupil interactions by teachers. Inherent, here, signifies that every classroom interaction, regardless of its quality or implications, conveys mores (Jackson, Boostrom, & Hansen, 1993; Buzelli & Johnston, 2002; Ax & Ponte, 2010). In other words, every classroom interaction, whether intended or unintended, can be interpreted in terms of its moral impact. More specifically for the purposes of this thesis, teachers' interpretations of their classroom interactions are connected to debates concerning the question: 'What serves the pupils' best interest and why is that the case?'

In this thesis the inherent moral significance of teacher-pupil interactions is related to (1) debates in continental European pedagogy¹ about 'what is' and 'what

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Continental European pedagogy refers not so much to a geographical demarcation as to a particular tradition of educational theorising, which originated in continental Europe. Scholars from other parts of the world like John Dewey, Paulo Freire and Max van Manen are also renowned representatives of this tradition.

ought to be', and (2) a value-based understanding of teachers' professionalism. It has been argued in the tradition of continental European pedagogy that the interactions between teachers and their pupils are of a teleological kind, i.e. always oriented towards a particular aim (Van Manen, 1994; Biesta, 2007; Ruyter & Kole, 2010). Following this line of reasoning implies that teachers should not only be concerned with the instrumental aspects of their classroom interactions, but also with the desirability of what their actions bring about. Consequently, teachers are not just considered operators but professionals that have moral ideas about the means they can use in education to try to achieve certain desirable outcomes. Biesta (2010a, p. 501) argues that: 'The means we use in education – our teaching styles, the ways in which we try to promote certain ways of doing and being – are not neutral with regard to the ends but potentially also teach something to students.' This particular outlook on teachers' professional practice is what constitutes a value-based model of teachers' professionalism.

This line of argumentation implies that, whether consciously or unconsciously, teachers will have moral ideas about what they consider educationally desirable for their pupils. These ideas may be consistent or inconsistent and well or crudely articulated. It seems plausible when teachers are being asked to interpret their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils' best interest they will draw upon educational values and ideals. This research project focused on eliciting the educational values and ideals that guide teachers' interpretations of their classroom interactions in terms of what they consider to be most desirable for their pupils.

Several studies on teachers' ideals have shown that deep-seated values inform and inspire their conduct in the classroom (e.g. Husu & Tirri, 2007; Biesta, 2009). By referring to studies by Ben-Peretz (1995), Foster (1997), Hansen (1995), and Johnson (1990), Hansen (2000, p.45) concludes: '...that many teachers have ideals and that they take them seriously as sources of moral and intellectual guidance.' Although a lot has been written about the moral qualities of teachers in general (e.g. Campbell, 2008a), the actual substance of teachers' educational ideals is for a great part left unattended (Ruyter & Kole, 2010). To put this conclusion into perspective, Ruyter & Kole argue that it is possible that authors implicitly refer to the concept of ideals, without using the word itself. Hansen (2001), for instance, lists the following concepts used by other authors, which he considers bear a family resemblance to the concept of ideals: student teachers' passionate creeds (LaBoskey, 1994), teachers' visions (Hammerness, 1999) and teacher's images (Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Clandinin, 1986; Elbaz, 1983; Joseph & Burnaford, 1994; Koerner, 1989). Apart from the question of whether one holds a rather loose or strict conception of teachers' ideals, two observations can be made on these examples from the literature. The first is that a great part of this literature has a focus that stems from sources external to the practice of teaching, such as moral philosophy and social and political ideology, instead of from teaching itself (cf. Hansen, 1998). The second observation is that a great part of literature that involves teachers' ideals is exhortatory in nature and not based on comprehensive empirical accounts of classroom practices (cf. Lingard, 2009). In other words, this literature has a strongly prescriptive character. In this regard Campbell (2008a) suggests that there should be more empirical studies devoted to exemplifying the

moral and ethical realities of teaching. The present research project sets out to give a comprehensive empirical account of teachers' educational values and ideals when interpreting their pupil's best interest.

The following subsections will further elaborate the theoretical underpinnings of the present study, i.e. debates in continental European pedagogy about 'what is' and 'what ought to be', and a value-based understanding of teachers' professionalism. The methodological implications of these underpinnings will also be taken into account.

1.2 A perspective from continental European pedagogy

Continental European pedagogy is the science that studies the child's upbringing in different domains, such as education, social work, child welfare and law (e.g. van Manen, 1991; Biesta, 2011a; Ponte & Ax, 2009). The focus of this thesis is on the education domain. The meaning of the word 'pedagogy' in continental European literature is different from its meaning in Anglo-American literature, in which the word 'pedagogy' merely refers to teaching strategies or methods of instruction. The word 'pedagogy' comes from the Greek words 'paidos', which means 'child', and 'ago', which means 'lead'; it literally means 'to lead the child'. Ponte & Ax (2009, p. 253) describe the research object of continental European pedagogy as follows: 'This science seeks answers to questions about what kind of human beings children are and should become and how they can be raised toward becoming such human beings, taking into account the social context in which this process of upbringing takes place'. In continental Europe, pedagogy is a separate discipline from, for example, philosophy, psychology and sociology, often located in separate departments in university faculties. This discipline is concerned with all aspects of bringing up children, specifically their emotional, intellectual, physical and moral growth.

For the present thesis it is significant that the specific relationship between the adult (e.g. the teacher) and the child (e.g. the pupil), and the social context in which this relationship takes place forms the very essence of continental European pedagogy. This relationship is characterised by a duality: teachers will always care for their pupils as they are and, at the same time, care for pupils for what they may become (Nohl, 1982; Van Manen, 1994). In other words, teacher-pupil interactions are principally concerned with the relation between the empirical question 'what is the case' and the moral question 'what ought to be the case' (Ponte, 2009). In line with a longstanding tradition in educational philosophy and theory (e.g. Carr, 1995; Mahony, 2009), several scholars within continental European pedagogy have claimed that 'what ought to be the case' cannot logically be derived from 'what is' (e.g. van Manen, 1977; Biesta, 2010b; Ponte, 2012). If, for example, teachers were to decide that it would be in their pupils' best interest to invite parents to talk about their profession in the classroom, this cannot be logically derived from the empirically established absence of these kind of parent talks. What is educationally desirable can only be established through critical deliberation (Gilbert, 2005; Ponte, 2012). In continental European pedagogy debates about what 'is' and what

'ought to be' have for the most part been played out at the level of 'grand theories' (such as the positivist, phenomenological and critical theories), which are firmly grounded in educational philosophy (cf. Miedema, 1997a).

The object of research in continental European pedagogy was just described in general terms. However, one cannot speak of continental European pedagogy as if it were one coherent meta-theory. It consists of a diversity of theoretical positions. There is no consensus about the relationship between aims, methods and justification of the upbringing process, nor is there consensus about the scientific aims and the research strategy to reach those aims (Miedema, 1997b; Ponte & Ax, 2009). Continental European pedagogy is commonly perceived as the 'land of three strands': the *geisteswissenschaftliche*, the empirical-analytical and the critical strands.

In the *geisteswissenschaftliche* strand, which originated in the nineteenth century, the child is seen as a distinct form of human existence (Langeveld, 1969) and is no longer considered to be a little adult (c.f. Langeveld, 1969; Van Manen, 1994; Imelman, 1995). Consequently, the methods of upbringing should connect to the way children experience this distinct stage of life and protect them from adult life (Aries, 1962). The goal of upbringing from a *geisteswissenschaftliche* perspective concerns the becoming of a person, which means that children will have to develop the ability to take responsibility and learn to accept that they can be held accountable for their actions (Beugelsdijk, Souverein & Levering, 1997). The scientific aim is to understand the normative character of upbringing practices by means of hermeneutics and phenomenological research strategies.

In contrast to the other strands, the empirical-analytical strand does not have a normative orientation. It is acknowledged within this strand that moral statements play a part in upbringing practices but, according to this strand, they do not belong to the scientific domain (Brezinka, 1971). The empirical-analytical strand is primarily concerned with instrumental upbringing questions: questions about the conditions under which different upbringing goals can be achieved by the adult and what kind of interventions they have at their disposal (cf. Meijer, 1999). The *geisteswissenschaftliche* pedagogy is looked upon as being too speculative, philosophical and prescriptive (Ponte & Ax, 2009). The scientific aim is to formulate cause and effect relationships in upbringing situations by means of deductive-nomological research strategies.

The critical strand developed firstly in response to the *geisteswissenschaftliche* strand, which was considered to give too little attention to the social and political context of the relationship between adults and children and, secondly, in response to the empirical-analytical strand, which overtly disregarded normative concepts. In the critical strand, the goal of bringing up children concerns the abolition of societal constraints in order to emancipate children. The method of upbringing is formulated in terms of helping children to develop communicative competencies, by acknowledging them as equal partners in interaction processes and providing them with opportunities to learn to participate in conversations (Mollenhauer, 1964/1979; Masschelein, 2005). With regard to the scientific aim of this particular strand, Ponte & Ax (2009, p. 259) write: 'The scientific aim is to develop emancipatory knowledge and insight into knowledge interest as a base for social transfor-

mation.’ Typical research strategies are ideology-critique and action research.

This general overview of the strands in continental European pedagogy illustrates that there are on-going debates about the means and ends of upbringing. These debates continue because the theoretical positions stem from different outlooks on what it means to be an educated person, how children can be helped to become such human beings and what constitutes the good society. These fundamental debates in continental European pedagogy are mainly philosophical in nature and not based on comprehensive empirical accounts of classroom practices. As a consequence, these debates are difficult to connect to concrete classroom situations (cf. Miedema, 1997a; Heytink, 2002; Heytink & De Winter, 2002; Stevens & Van der Wolf; Van der Schee, 2002). However, debates about what kind of upbringing serves the best interest of children are likely to have their counterpart in the actual practice of teaching.

At the level of their day-to-day classroom experiences, teachers probably have different views, whether consciously or unconsciously, on what they consider to be educationally desirable for their pupils and these views may be consistent or inconsistent and well or crudely articulated. Some teachers might conceive good education as preparing pupils for a harsh and demanding world, and therefore promote their pupils’ physical and mental development. Other teachers might conceive good education as helping pupils to become happy and balanced people and want them to collaborate with their classmates as much as possible in order to acquire good social and communicative skills. In concurrence with Hansen (2000) and Biesta (2009), it can be assumed that their educational outlooks will reverberate in the way they interpret their daily classroom interaction. However, it is not very likely that teachers will articulate the educational values and ideals that underlie their daily classroom interactions in philosophical or theoretical terms. This research project set out to locate debates about ‘what is’ and ‘what ought to be’ at the heart of teachers’ day-to-day classroom practices, by asking teachers to relate their classroom interactions as they are to what they consider to be most desirable for their pupils. The general research question was therefore:

‘How do teachers interpret their daily classroom interactions in terms of their pupils best interest?’

This research question was broken down into two sub questions:

‘How do teachers legitimise² their daily classroom interactions in terms of educational values and ideals?’

The aim of researching the first sub question was to find patterns and structures in the way teachers legitimise their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils’ best interest. The second sub question built upon the first sub question and was formulated:

‘How do teachers give expression to the legitimisation types when interpreting their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils best interest?’

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In accordance with Macmillan English Dictionary, we mean by legitimise ‘to make something seem morally right or reasonable’. Retrieved September 21, 2012, from <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/thesaurus/british/legitimise>

For example, are teachers decisive or doubtful when legitimising their classroom interactions? Do teachers draw on different legitimisation types or do they draw on one legitimisation type in particular when legitimising their classroom interactions? With regard to the second sub question, differences in ways of giving expression to the legitimisation types between teachers, as well as different institutional contexts were taken into account.

In the next section a value-based model of teachers' professionalism is presented, which underlines the fact that teachers necessarily draw on moral ideas when interacting with their pupils.

1.3 A value-based model of professionalism

From the perspective of continental European pedagogy, classroom interactions can always be connected to the question 'what course of action serves the pupils' best interest and why'. This means that moral considerations form an integral part of teachers' day-to-day classroom interactions. Moreover, teachers' classroom interactions will always be informed by what third parties expect them to do and their own understanding of what is needed in their daily classroom practices. Ponte (2003, 2009) argues that teachers have to work within general frameworks that are laid down by the government, school boards, their management team and so forth. At the same time they have certain degrees of freedom to make their own choices with regard to what they consider to be adequate teaching for particular pupils at a particular moment in a particular situation (cf. Ruyter & Kole, 2010). Ponte continues by arguing that professionalism requires teachers to keep seeking a balance between formulating their goals themselves and determining how to achieve those goals, and fitting in with procedures set by others in order to achieve goals set by others (cf. Cribb, 2009; Gleeson, Davies & Wheeler, 2005). This requires them to balance different interests. It could, for example, be in the school's best interest to promote technical skills and knowledge, because (in the Dutch context) the government has funding programmes available for schools that raise pupils' interest in working in the technology sector, which is suffering from a shortage of skilled technicians. However, this may not be compatible with a teacher's mission to help pupils to discover their own passion in life.

This example indicates that teachers' classroom interactions are not only connected to the instrumental aspects of their classroom practices, such as how to prepare pupils for their exams or how to teach pupils particular subject matter in an effective way, but also touch upon teachers' values and ideals with regard to what they consider to be good teaching. These value-based aspects of teachers' professional conduct have been for the most part disregarded in a model of teachers' professionalism that stems from an 'evidence-based' rationality (e.g. Oakley, 2002; Slavin, 2002). Following an evidence-based model of teachers' professionalism implies that teachers' judgments should focus on selecting those teaching strategies and protocols that research has proven to be effective. This perspective on teachers' professionalism connects to what Mannheim (1940), with

reference to Weber (1946, first published in 1902-24), calls ‘functional rationality’. This rationality concerns technical or instrumental considerations about how to reach pre-given goals in the most efficient and effective manner. Debates about the desirability of the substance of particular goals are considered irrelevant for the realisation of those goals. In contrast with functional rationality, Mannheim used the term ‘substantive rationality’. This rationality concerns normative and value-based considerations about the desirability of particular goals and the means to achieve those goals. Open debates about what ‘the substance’ of reality should look like and how to realise such a reality constitutes the main vehicle for legitimising particular points of view (cf. Ax & Ponte, 2008; Biesta, 2010b; Groundwater-Smith, Mitchell, Mockler, Ponte & Rönnerman, 2012).

Scholars such as Atkinson (2000), Blackmore (2002) and Evetts (2009), who problematise an evidence-based model of professionalism often use the argument that the teaching profession also requires teachers to draw on moral ideas about what they consider educationally desirable for their pupils. In line with this argument, Biesta (2010a) proposes a ‘value-based’ model of teachers’ professionalism and argues that teachers’ judgments are not simply about finding the most effective means to achieve certain ends, but always involve an evaluation of the desirability of the educational impact that is produced by those means, whether intentionally or not. Such an evaluation requires, in the words of Mannheim, a substantive rationality.

This claim can be illustrated by problematising ‘teaching to test’ practices. Teaching to test is a practice where the curriculum is heavily focused on preparing pupils for standardised tests. It increases pupils’ performance on mandated tests, which in itself could be considered a highly valued outcome. However, from a learning perspective this practice could be problematic, because it may lead to a limited and isolated understanding of the curriculum content. Additionally, from an educational point of view this practice could be regarded as undesirable for another reason: teaching to the test seems to promote the idea to pupils that test scores are an end in themselves, instead of an indication of their mastery of particular skills, subject matter or virtues.

What can be learned from this example is that pupils will not only learn from what they are taught but also from the manner in which they are taught (cf. Biesta, 2010a). Dottin (2009) argues that professional judgement in education links means and ends reciprocally. This point is also made by Gholami and Husu (2010), who coined the term *praxial knowledge*, referring to teachers’ reasoning in which the means are not technically isolated from the ends. From this it follows that teachers should always consider whether means as well as ends are educationally desirable when making professional judgments. In order to do this, they need to be able to examine their educational values and ideals.

It is important for teachers to elucidate educational values and ideals that guide their interpretations of their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils’ best interest, because this enables them to express their educational standpoints (cf. Wallace, 2005; Ponte, 2012). In connection with this claim Mahony (2009, p. 986) states: ‘...I would argue that teachers might benefit from support in knowing how to formulate the basis on which to articulate and sustain their ‘principled’

positions.’ Supporting teachers to inquire into the educational values and ideals that underlie their reasoning about their pupils’ best interest can fuel collegial and public deliberation about what constitutes good education. In connection with this point, De Ruyter and Kole (2010) argue that these kind of deliberations are not confined to the practicalities of teaching but should involve questions of a wider scope, such as: ‘What constitutes the good society?’ In this regard, deliberation about the purpose of education requires participants from within civil society and governmental institutions as well as teachers.

By trying to elucidate the substance of teachers’ educational values and ideals that guide their interpretations of their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils’ best interest, this thesis aims to contribute to (1) a comprehensive understanding of the inherent moral dimension that is necessarily involved in teachers’ classroom interactions; and (2) recognition of the importance of teachers being able to participate in deliberation about the purpose of education.

In the two previous subsections it was argued that teachers’ educational values and ideals form an innate part of their classroom practices. This raises the question of what research strategy and method is suitable for studying teachers’ educational values and ideals. This methodological issue will be the focus of the next subsection.

1.4 A phenomenologically informed methodology

In line with the ‘is-ought’ debates in continental European pedagogy and the value-based view of professionalism, moral significance is construed as something that permeates the work of teaching (e.g. Goodlad, Soder, & Sirotnik, 1990; Van Manen, 1991; Jackson, Boostrom, & Hansen, 1993; Biesta & Miedema, 2002; Biesta, 2007; Ax & Ponte, 2010). The inherent moral significance of teacher-pupil interactions is, in the present thesis, connected to the argument that these interactions can be always subjected to moral interpretations, and that these interpretations will in turn be guided by teachers’ educational values and ideals (cf. Phelan, 2001). Biesta argues (2009, p. 189):

We shouldn’t think, therefore, of educational values and ideals as something that teachers explicitly hold and endorse. Educational values and ideals ‘happen’ or ‘occur’. They are part of what teachers do and think, they guide teachers’ action, they support their decisions, they inform a particular, educational way of seeing and understanding, and they provide inspiration and motivation

Educational values and ideals, thus, can be considered part of the moral dimension of teachers’ everyday classroom experiences or what in the phenomenological research tradition is called ‘life world’. The concept of ‘life world’ can be considered an essential element of phenomenology and can be described as the relational world of lived experience as opposed to an objective world ‘out there’ (Todres, Galvin, & Dahlberg, 2007; Van Manen, 2007). In the present study a life world perspective

implies that we consider educational values and ideals to be embedded in teachers' classroom practices, and conceive it as a challenging task to obtain insight into their substance and significance. This is different from what one might call an 'external perspective' on teachers' educational values and ideals, i.e. looking upon educational values and ideals as a particular set of moral codes or rules that can be 'imported' from outside the world of teaching and explicitly taught to teachers (Hansen, 1998; Van Kan, Ponte, Verloop, 2010a).

Considering teachers' educational values and ideals as an innate part of their life world has two methodological implications for this study. The first methodological implication is connected to the aim of the study, which was to understand how teachers interpret their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils' best interest, rather than providing an explanation of some sort. Explaining is in line with what Borko, Withcomb & Byrnes (2008) call effects research, which seeks to find generalised patterns of relationships between a small number of isolated variables in an experimental setting. The aim of understanding is congruent with an interpretative research approach, which is described by Borko et al. (2008, p. 1025) as follows: 'Interpretative research seeks to perceive, describe, analyse, and interpret a specific situation or context, preserving its complexity and communicating the perspectives of the actual participants.' Adopting a life world perspective indicates that understanding how teachers interpret their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils' best interest is not possible when these interactions are isolated from the social context in which they took place (cf. Ponte, 2009). In other words, understanding in terms of a life world perspective requires real-life situations.

The second implication, which is closely connected to the first, concerns the research method. In order to concur with this study's research aim, a research method was needed that was suitable for perceiving, describing, analysing and interpreting, rather than measuring. Methods in line with effects research are intended to measure the influence of isolated variables on a targeted outcome. Typical research instruments in effects research are standardised tests, questionnaires and observation lists. Methods that concur with a 'life world' perspective or interpretative research aim to describe in depth how people interpret their experiences in their own terms (Pope & Denicolo, 2001; Butt, 2004). Borko et al. (2008, p. 1026) define the particularities of methods in interpretative research as follows: 'Participants' voice and discourse are critical to capture, so researchers record interactions in naturalistic settings, conduct interviews, and review written artefacts...' Our research needed a research method that captured teachers' interpretations of authentic experiences, i.e. classroom interactions.

In order to meet both methodological implications, one study of this research project was devoted to the development of a research method that focused on understanding and describing teachers' interpretations of their classroom interaction in terms of their pupils' best interest. This resulted in the development of a repertory interview procedure (Van Kan, Ponte & Verloop, 2010a), which is a qualitative adaption of Kelly's (1955) standard repertory grid application. Further details of this repertory interview procedure will be presented in Chapter 2.

1.5 Points of departure

The 'is-ought' debates in continental European pedagogy on the inherent moral significance of teaching, the value-based model of teachers' professionalism and phenomenologically informed methodology can be considered the points of departure for each study in the present research project. These points had a more or less prominent role in each of the four inter-connected studies, as will become clear in the following sections.

1.6 Focus and overview of this thesis

In order to answer the general research question: '*How do teachers interpret their daily classroom interactions in terms of their pupils best interest?*', four closely related studies were conducted. Each study was based on theoretical concepts as well as empirical data.

Chapter 2

The first study focused on a methodological problem, namely: how to employ a method that enables an exploration of teachers' interpretations of their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils' best interest. The leading research question in this study was how to conduct research on the inherent moral significance of teaching. The repertory grid application (Kelly, 1955), which is a structured interview that enables the exploration of one person's views, seemed at first sight an adequate response to this complex assignment. The present study examined to what extent this application can be considered a fruitful strategy to probe teachers to articulate their more or less implicit educational values and ideals when interpreting their classroom interactions. During a series of empirical try-outs, several challenges were encountered with regard to the 'life world' qualities of this methodology, which will be laid out in detail. These challenges formed the main reason for creating a repertory interview, which can be considered a phenomenological elaboration of the standard repertory grid application. Chapter 2 gives a comprehensive account of the content of this elaboration and the way it came about.

Chapter 3

A further puzzling question was how to analyse the qualitative data that was collected by means of the repertory interview. The task was to develop a descriptive framework, informed by theoretical concepts from continental European pedagogy, which would enable a systematic description of what teachers consider to be in their pupils' best interest. Because of difficulties connecting theoretical concepts to empirical data directly, an intermediary operation was required. In other words, a descriptive framework was needed to mediate between these concepts and the interview data. To meet this requirement an overarching question that plays a central role in continental European pedagogy: 'Who should be taught what, when, how, and why?' (Imelman, 1995, p. 60) was used as the starting point for the development of the framework. Chapter 3 sets out in detail the iterative process of getting from this question to the descriptive framework.

Chapter 4

The third study reports on the first sub question of the central research question, i.e. *'How do teachers legitimise their daily classroom interactions in terms of educational values and ideals?'* The repertory interview was conducted with thirty-seven teachers. With the help of the descriptive framework based on the compound question *'Who should be taught what, how, when, and why?'*, a systematic analysis of the interview data was conducted. This resulted in a typology of legitimisations. A legitimisation type, in this study, refers to a particular pattern of educational values and ideals that teachers draw upon when they interpret their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils' best interest. The substance of these legitimisation types will be described in detail. The chapter concludes with a reflection on how these legitimisation types could be significant for teaching.

Chapter 5

The final study explores the second sub question of the central research question, i.e. *'How do teachers give expression to the legitimisation types when interpreting their classroom interactions in terms of their pupils best interest?'* Differences in ways of giving expression to the legitimisation types between teachers, as well as different institutional contexts were taken into account. Drawing on the findings of the former studies, an analytical framework was developed to find themes in the interview data that would help to describe ways in which teachers give expression to the legitimisation types. The chapter concludes with a reflection on how different ways of legitimising classroom interactions related to serving each pupil's best interest.

Chapter 6

This chapter presents the general conclusion and discussion based on the findings described in the previous chapters.