10 Inclusion and exclusion in classroom practices

Empirical analyses of conjunctive spaces of experience in secondary schools

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Introduction

Since the beginning of this century, social science-oriented school and classroom research has been shaped by two significant approaches: on the one hand, by the "performative turn" originally proclaimed by cultural studies (Fischer-Lichte, 2000), which is rooted in Anglo-American "performance studies" (Turner, 1969); and, on the other hand, by the "inclusive turn" (Ainscow, 2007), which has gained attention in educational science through the discourse on the implementation of the UN-CRPD (Budde et al., 2019).

Both approaches influence the selection of subject matter for research on schools and teaching. Mel Ainscow uses the term "inclusive turn", which he developed, as follows:

> In general terms it involves moves away from explanations of educational failure that concentrate on the characteristics of individual children and their families towards an analysis of the barriers to participation and learning experienced by pupils within school systems.
>
> (Ainscow, 2007, p. 3)

Such barriers addressed by Ainscow are to be seen as phenomena that are produced both in curricula (Erevelles, 2005) as well as in interactions and social practices in schools and classrooms themselves (Wagner-Willi & Sturm, 2012). Those barriers have a social and a spatial reference and represent forms of exclusion.

The other approach, the turn toward performativity, is associated with the conviction in qualitative educational research that empirical findings can essentially be obtained through the reconstruction of (pedagogical) practice. Similar to the inclusive turn, this research approach assumes that practice is always embedded in social situations and is primarily interactive. The focus is on the performative production, i.e., on the processual, bodily-linguistic-spatial acting and interacting (Wulf et al., 2001).

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Despite a common social science background, however, the potentials of both research approaches, i.e., the "inclusive turn" on the one hand and the social space-focused branch of the performativity discourse on the other, have been related to each other in only a few works (e.g., Köpfer, 2016). In this chapter, we will refer to discourses around performativity, which consider space and spatiality, but also the establishment of boundaries, transitions, and territories, as central aspects of social processes and relationships. Further, we will present the metatheoretical categories of the Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge (PSK)—first and foremost, the conjunctive *space* of experience (Mannheim, 1982)—as a perspective on spatial qualitative research on inclusion. Additionally, we refer to the connection between power, visualization, and degradation related to space in classroom practices. This is followed by a short description of the methodology we use: an empirical approach to the spatiality and performativity of classroom practice with the help of videographies analyzed using the Documentary Method (Bohnsack, 2020, Bohnsack 2012). In order to account for the inherent logic of the conjunctive space of experience on which the classroom practice is based, data from secondary schools in Switzerland and Canada are examined in a comparative analysis. At the same time, the (transnational) comparison allows interesting insights into both similarities and differences regarding the (experiential) spatial constitution of classroom practice. A Conclusion summarizes the main results and discusses the meaning of the proposed praxeological-sociological view of social spaces for the approach of reconstructive inclusion research.

Social science conceptions of space and spatiality

Wanting to extend ethnographic observations in the classroom "by the differentiated analysis of spatial conditions and effects of the teaching situation" (Breidenstein, 2004, p. 87), Georg Breidenstein takes up the spatial sociological concept of Martina Löw (2001). Distinguishing herself from conceptions that consider space as a reality separate from action (Löw, 2001, p. 64), Löw argues for an action-theoretical conception and emphasizes "that the constitution of space itself must be conceived as a social process" (Löw, 2001, p. 67). In doing so, she understands "action itself as space-forming" (Löw, 2001, p. 67) and develops a concept of social space as a "relational order of social goods and people" (Löw, 2001, p. 158). Space is created by social goods and people and their relational placements or arrangements. Löw distinguishes two processes linked in practical action:

- On the one hand, the linking of social goods and living beings to spaces via processes of imagination, perception, and memory, referred to as synthesis performance,
- On the other hand, the placing of social goods and living beings, referred to as spacing.

Here, Löw offers the possibility for the development of an action-theoretical understanding of space. However, as Breidenstein (2004, p. 91) rightly points out, she did not "explicate her conception in a micro-sociological or interactionist way".

Such elaboration of social space can be found in the classic, micro-sociological interaction analyses of Erving Goffman (1983, p. 28) as he presented them with the analytical observation category of "territoriality". Territories can be spatially extended and location-bound (Goffman, 1983, p. 29), such as in the classroom, but can also be nonspatial, i.e. the "information reserve" (Goffman, 1983, p. 38). With the concept of territory, Goffman associates a claim that can be asserted and challenged in interactions. However, the problem here is that his conception starts from the individual. His focus on the production of and dealing with territories and their boundaries is, nonetheless, particularly suitable for the reconstruction of space and spatiality in classroom interactions.

For the spatial analysis of inclusion and exclusion in teaching practices, we refer to work on the micro-sociological consideration of territoriality (Goffman, 1983), focusing on those categories that are performatively tied back into space and spatiality. Empirically, we refer to the categories of *personal space* and *possessional territory*. For Erving Goffman (1983), the category of personal space refers to the space immediately surrounding the individual, the trespassing of which is interpreted as encroachment. The category of possessional territory describes objects that can be identified with the self and surround the body (Goffman, 1983, p. 38); for example, personal belongings, like a notebook or backpack.

In this chapter, we propose to connect the micro-sociological approach of Goffman with the theoretical categories of the PSK (Bohnsack, 2018), especially with the concept of the "conjunctive space of experience" developed by Karl Mannheim (1982, p. 191). According to Mannheim, individuals derive the meaning of experience from a "certain context of experience supported by a community". This "space of experience" arises in common experience and action; it is a "conjunctive" dynamic nexus that connects the participants (Mannheim, 1982, p. 194). In addition, experiential knowledge is formed in it, a "conjunctive recognition" that is not readily communicable to third parties (Mannheim, 1982, p. 191). Mannheim (1952, p. 73) emphasizes the "rootedness of thinking in social space". The space of experience is thus to be understood as a social space that is formed in practice and interacts with experiential knowledge, in the sense of collective orientation frameworks that structure action.

Significant for Mannheim's conception is the distinction between the "conjunctive", i.e., pre-reflexive implicit level of knowledge (Mannheim, 1982, p. 191) on the one hand and a "communicative", i.e., reflexive explicit level of knowledge (Mannheim, 1982, p. 255) on the other. This relates to the distinction between conjunctive practice and the communicative program of

inclusive teaching. The latter is documented in pedagogical concepts, whereas the practice and implicit knowledge associated with it can be reconstructed through the observation of bodily-spatial actions. From this analytical perspective, social processes of producing and processing space, territories, and territorial boundaries refer to:

- Implicit affiliations and orientation frameworks (or frame congruencies) that structure action (Bohnsack, 2017, p. 123).
- Implicit differences/borders vis-à-vis other conjunctive spaces of experience and thus also differences/borders vis-à-vis other orientations, i.e., frame incongruencies (Bohnsack, 2017).

Accordingly, we can analyze processes of inclusion and exclusion in relation to the production and demarcation of common, interconnecting spaces of experience and associated orientation frameworks. Regarding processes of inclusion and exclusion, we distinguish between explicit and implicit norms within practice. These norms in turn are to be differentiated from the ones in educational discourse.

With regard to an analysis of space-related practices in classroom interactions in the context of inclusion and exclusion, another concern of this chapter is to contribute to the "development of a research and theoretical perspective" that asks about "pedagogical spatial relations with regard to the practices of power and subjectivation interwoven in them" (Nugel, 2016, p. 9). In this context, we understand "practices of subjectivation" as identity constructions in social interactions in the sense of Goffman (1961a, 1963) and PSK (Bohnsack, 2017). "Power-structured interactions" (Bohnsack, 2017, p. 272) go hand in hand with degradations or gradations inside the classroom, i.e., with a visualization—also bodily-spatial—of hierarchy, especially of the position of those lower-placed pupils who are affected by a construction of "total identity" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 205; see also Bohnsack, 2017, p. 246). Taking up Garfinkel's concept, Bohnsack speaks of a "second coding" (Bohnsack, 2017, p. 137) in the field of identity construction, which is added to "first coding", i.e., the "constitutive (external) framing" (Bohnsack, 2017, p. 136) of action in organizations, e.g., in teaching practices through disciplining and assessment (Bohnsack, 2017). With the construction of a total identity, "the external framing is in fact transferred to the construction of the (total) person" (Bohnsack, 2017, p. 136). This is accompanied by a degradation through the process of a "moral indignation" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 206) as well as "the restriction of personal autonomy of action through targeted control" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 137). In addition to making the hierarchical position visible, "strategies of invisibilisation" (Garfinkel, 1967) are added in power-structured interactions, i.e., the elimination of the possibility of metacommunication or role distance (see also Wagener, 2020). Significant for the approach of praxeological inclusion research presented here is that a conjunctive space of experience

is constitutive for the establishment of power-structured interactions in (school and other) organizations. Here, Goffman's sociological view of territoriality is taken as a micro-analytical observational perspective on the performativity of social space and spatiality.

Space-time dimensions of social practice: Documentary video interpretation

The action-theoretical view on space that is introduced by Löw in the context of the spatial turn opens up a connection to the performative turn. This connection allows for a focus on multidimensional social practice, which we take up methodologically. With the performative turn, the qualitative methods of school and classroom research have been expanded and differentiated by turning to visual procedures such as videography (Bohnsack, 2020; Fritzsche & Wagner-Willi, 2015). The associated turn to the bodily-spatial content of interactive practice in the classroom also means that the analysis has to deal with that level of the performative which we can grasp with the concept of the structure of simultaneity (Bohnsack, 2020, 2019; Wagner-Willi, 2004). Videography allows recorded interactive events to be reproduced and viewed repeatedly. Photograms, i.e., video stills, can be extracted for closer analysis. This allows a micro-analysis on the bodily-spatial level of the interactions (Erickson, 1992). The method of documentary interpretation of classroom videography (Fritzsche & Wagner-Willi, 2015; Wagener, 2020) is directed toward reconstructing conjunctive spaces of experience with regard to school and teaching. This method (Bohnsack, 2020) is oriented toward the reconstruction of process structures of practice and enables an exploration of the spatial dimension of teaching practices and interactions.

In this documentary video interpretation, we combine the reconstruction of simultaneity as documented in photograms (stills) with the analysis of the sequentiality of the selected video sequences. The interpretation of both the photograms and the video sequences follows the distinction between the "what" on the level of formulating interpretation, i.e., the content, and the "how" on the level of reflective interpretation (Bohnsack, 2020), i.e., the way in which the actors act and interact. The photogram interpretation works with the analytical steps developed by Bohnsack (2020), such as the analysis of perspective or scenic choreography. A summarizing interpretation merges the main results of the interpretation of the photograms and the video sequence.

Inclusion and exclusion: Comparing conjunctive spaces of experience in Swiss and Canadian secondary schools

In the following, we present a comparative analysis of the relation of space and the practical construction of (achievement-related) differences in two educational contexts, Switzerland and Canada, which differ widely in school structures and historical experiences regarding inclusive education policies and practice.

Primary framing through pathologisation, moralization or subject matter reference: Art and mathematics lessons in Swiss "inclusive" secondary schools

The video data and interpretation are based on a doctoral thesis investigating the construction of assessment-related differences in classrooms (Wagener, 2020) and was collected in four schools located in an urban area in the German-speaking part of Switzerland: two secondary schools that integrated two tracks defined by pupils' achievement. Both of these tracks lead to vocational training. There are also pupils diagnosed with special educational needs (SEN) in those schools. Moreover, two grammar schools (Gymnasien) were included in the sample. These exclusively represent the highest and academic-oriented school track of the multi-track school system. In each school, mathematics, German language, and art lessons of one class of eighth grade were video-recorded with two cameras. The following video analysis encompasses the simultaneous and the sequential dimension of a video sequence derived from an art lesson at a secondary school. The pupils work on an assignment given by the art teacher, Mr. Krause. They are to construct a square on a sheet of paper as a frame for drawing a hexagon representing a pencil lead. Proportional to the pencil lead, they are to draw a pencil. All names are anonymised.

Simultaneous dimension

The selected photogram shows the bodily-spatial positioning of the actors depicted, which is typical for this sequence: *Mr. Krause* stands next to Pablo, who constructs a hexagon with a compass, while *Mrs. Seematter*, the SEN teacher, sits beside *Linda* and draws in the picture in front of the pupil. At the same time, the other pupils show very different positions. While some pupils appear to be working on the assignment, others face each other. On the other hand, *Gordana* and *Edonita* turn to *Mr. Krause* with different bodily-spatial positions.

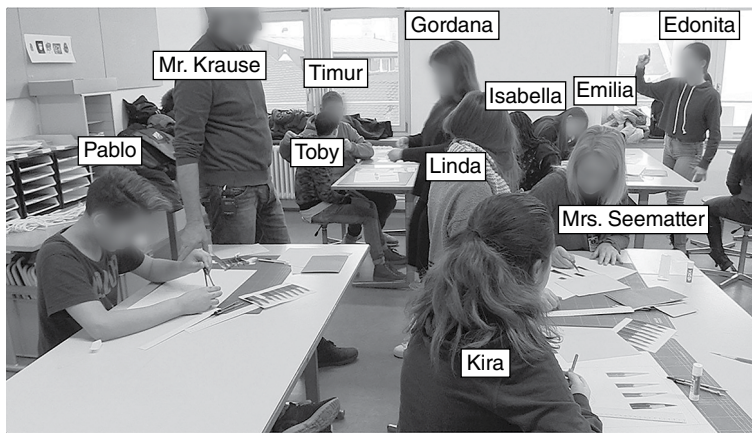

Figure 10.1 Photogram.

With his right hand, the teacher lightly touches the work table, i.e., *Pablo's* personal territory (Goffman, 1983). *Mr. Krause's* immediate proximity to *Pablo* shows a relatedness of the teacher to the pupil's action and suggests a control of his activity, whereby he is not looking at *Pablo* or his drawing, but at *Gordana*, who is walking toward him, holding something in her hands that she seems to be looking at. The teacher's shift of weight toward *Pablo* and his occupation of the table imply a longer control situation that extends temporally beyond *Gordana's* address, while his standing and the discreetly touching the table imply only a temporary positioning.

The bodily-spatial positioning of *Mrs. Seematter*, the SEN teacher, contrasts with that of the teacher. Comparable to the art teacher, she is positioned at the edge of the table next to the pupil *Linda*. However, she is not standing, but sitting or kneeling next to *Linda*, which documents a permanent positioning. She draws intently on the sheet of paper in front of *Linda*—although it is not clear whether she intervenes in the pupil's work or takes over the whole assignment. In both cases, however, she encroaches on the pupil's personal and possessional territory (Goffman, 1983). While *Pablo*, on the other hand, has to solve the task alone, he is physically and spatially restricted in his autonomy by the teacher's position; the teacher, in turn, does not refer to the action/product of the pupil, which documents an ambivalent bodily-spatial position on his part. In *Linda's* case, it is the opposite: *Mrs. Seematter* takes over her job and thus denies her autonomy. But here, too, ambivalence is evident, since *Linda* is at the same time partially turned away from the work material, which is connected to the SEN teacher's doing the work for her.

The other pupils depicted contrast with *Pablo* and *Linda*. *Toby* and *Timur* directly interact with each other and face away from the table. This appears to involve the misappropriation of parts of the assignment, with *Timur* placing a long strip of paper around *Toby's* shoulders. *Isabella* is also turned away from the table and facing *Toby* and *Timur*, while *Edonita* appears to be walking. Because of *Edonita's* orientation toward the teacher and her hand raising, she seems to be addressing *Mr. Krause* comparably to *Gordana*, although she physically indicates the addressing from a distance. At the same time, she does not look toward the teacher, and her attention seems to be directed toward something immediately in front of her. The only pupil apart from *Pablo* who seems to be working on the assignment is *Emilia*, although she is not under the direct control of a teacher.

Linda has an assigned SEN status. The restriction of her autonomy of action contrasts with the actions of the other pupils in the room. The intervention of the SEN teacher indicates a suspension of the pupil's opportunity to act on her own responsibility, while the other pupils seem to be able to follow the instructions of the art teacher (or not) based on their own decision, i.e., they can also distance themselves from the role expectations in the sense of *role distance* (Goffman, 1961b). The denial of the ability to act on one's own responsibility reveals aspects of *pathologization* in the sociological sense (Bohnsack, 1983, p. 75), which leads to the *total construction of a "disabled" identity* (Wagener, 2020, pp. 118). This together with the higher visibility of *Linda*

due to the way she is addressed also represent central elements of *power* according to Bohnsack (2017).

This structure is also homologous to other lessons of this class, especially for mathematics lessons, but also to the class of the second "inclusive" secondary school (Wagener, 2020, p. 118). However, there are significant differences between art and mathematics lessons in terms of the bodily-spatial separation of the actors in each case. While the art lessons are held together in the same room, in the mathematics lessons the SEN teacher usually teaches the pupils with SEN status separately in a side room. This is related to a strong focus on the subject matter and an increased expectation of autonomy in the mathematics lessons for the pupils without SEN. There, the subject matter is brought out as highly standardized (correct/incorrect), while "access" to the person or identity of the pupils recedes into the background. In the separate mathematics lessons for the pupils with SEN, the access to the person and the associated pathologization is reinforced due to the denser bodily-spatial situation. In art lessons, on the other hand, the interaction between the art teacher and the pupils without SEN focuses on the moralization of the pupils' person, and the subject matter recedes into the background, as the following interaction between *Pablo* and *Mr. Krause* shows. It takes place after the teacher's instruction, when *Pablo* asks *Mr. Krause* if he can go to the bathroom.

Sequential dimension[1]

Mr Krause stands bent over in front of Emilia and supports himself with his arms on the table.

Pablo:	runs to Mr. Krause, leans on the edge of the table and jumps into position next to Mr Krause Oh oh Mr Krause may I looks briefly at Emilia, raises his right hand in her direction I'm sorry. and looks at Mr Krause Mr Krause may I go to the bathroom now?
Mr Krause:	straightens up and looks at Pablo No.
Pablo:	@I've done it@ staggers backwards emphatically
Mr Krause:	walks towards Pablo I don't think so.
Pablo:	@Yes@ very barely, meanwhile going to his seat without making a flower. points to his sheet of paper
Mr Krause:	follows Pablo and looks at the sheet of paper But now I haven't watched it at all. I'd like to see how fast you can do it.
Pablo:	Ok, ok. takes his seat an grasps a compass
Mr Krause:	| One more thing. I don't think you've done that by yourself. ok. supports himself with his arms on the edge of the table and bends over Pablo's sheet of paper.

Pablo begins to draw a circle on the sheet with the compass

Through the teacher's immediate denial, which is not followed by a justification, *Pablo* is on the one hand denied the satisfaction of his (elementary) need to go to the bathroom, and on the other hand he is framed as a partner in conversation or negotiation who cannot be taken seriously. *Pablo* then recalls the task that *Mr. Krause* has set as a condition for permission to use the bathroom: drawing circles with a compass (contextual knowledge). *Pablo* refers to

its fulfillment and at the same time demands that the teacher fulfills the agreement. In his laughter and exaggerated staggering backwards, an ambivalence is documented: on the one hand, an attempt to distance himself from the humiliation (Goffman, 1961b); on the other hand, he fits into the role or identity of the "supplicant" assigned to him. This identity comes along with a denial of autonomy based on the moralization of behavior. *Mr. Krause* then continues the moralization of *Pablo* by insinuating that he is telling the untruth without even looking at *Pablo's* drawing. The pupil is seen as not possessing the competence to carry out the work assignment appropriately, as is also documented in the further course of the interaction. By approaching *Pablo* (and ending the interaction with *Emilia*), *Mr. Krause* indicates that an evaluation of *Pablo's* "claim" will now take place. Pablo insists on the validity of his statement and acquiesces to the teacher's scrutiny by going to his seat. "Very barely" implies that the drawing may not have turned out perfectly but meets the minimum requirements. The reference to the "flower" as a figure that is connected to the circles for the construction of a hexagon also implies the anticipation of an evaluation by the teacher. The drawing of a "flower" obviously forms a negative horizon, i.e., a specifically faulty drawing. In the further course of the interaction, *Pablo* has to draw the hexagon in front of the teacher.

Pablo begins to draw a circle on the bow with the compass.
Mr. Krause: is still bent over the sheet of paper Make it bigger, please. stands up and looks around the room.
Pablo: looks in the direction of Mr. Krause Like this?
Mr. Krause looks in the opposite direction, at Toby and Timur.
Pablo: O-ke. looks towards the arch again, keeps drawing like this? keeps drawing
Mr. Krause takes a step to the left and stands wide-legged in the centre aisle, puts his arms on his hips and looks ahead (presumably towards the blackboard)
Pablo: Mr. Krause? looks up briefly at Mr. Krause (like this?)
Mr. Krause looks at Pablo's sheet of paper.
Pablo: keeps drawing cut in here. draw a line here. like this.
Mr. Krause: Try not to press so hard or it'll get misaligned. looks around the room, then back at Pablo's sheet of paper the compass right? puts one hand on the edge of the table next to Pablo and looks ahead (towards the blackboard).
Meanwhile, Pablo continues to draw circles with the compass.

The control continues, and *Pablo* is asked by *Mr. Krause* to make corrections. This implies a negative evaluation of Pablo's action. The control becomes fragile, however, when the teacher also seems to direct attention to other pupils (see photogram). *Pablo*, on the other hand, shows a willingness to implement *Mr. Krause's* demands and asks for his confirmation several times, while *Mr. Krause* continues not to direct attention to *Pablo's* drawing and also does not

react to his inquiries. In the teacher's physical change of position, through which he takes up an even greater physical distance to *Pablo* and his drawing, the maximum increase in the loss of the material reference occurs. *Pablo* then demands *Mr. Krause's* attention more clearly and verbalizes his action steps (in a rudimentary way): what the teacher does not see or is not willing to see is now presented to him acoustically. *Mr. Krause* then turns his attention back to *Pablo* and his drawing and instructs him on the correct handling of the circle, which again implies a negative evaluation of his actions. In contrast, there is no explicit commentary on the drawing at any point, which means that the factual reference (still) remains precarious. The ambivalent moment in the control action then continues: on the one hand, *Mr. Krause* occupies *Pablo's* table with his hand, marking his presence and restricting *Pablo's* possibility of distancing himself; on the other hand, he keeps an eye on other activities in the room, in which precarious reference to the pupil's creative artifact continues.

In summary, in art lessons, the interaction between the art teacher and the pupils without SEN status is characterized by a moralization of the pupils, while the reference to the subject matter is marginal. This arbitrary mode of interaction indicates a missing conjunctive space of experience (Bohnsack, 2017, p. 270). This mode was evident in the art lessons in both secondary schools, while the art lessons in one grammar school showed a strong subject orientation. In contrast, mathematics lessons showed clear tendencies toward subject orientation in the entire sample, i.e., also in the grammar schools without an "inclusive" program (Wagener, 2020, p. 153). In mathematics lessons, in turn, the interactions between the subject teachers and the pupils without SEN constitute a conjunctive space of experience, which is characterized by an increased expectation of the pupils' personal responsibility for their performance. In the context of a focus on the subject matter in the interaction, which is also highly standardized, access to the person and thus construction of a (total) identity is missing. This is very different compared to the interaction system of the SEN teachers and the SEN pupils in both art and mathematics lessons. They are essentially characterized by the denial of autonomous action and the associated interference in the personal territories of the pupils, as well as restrictions of their autonomy of action, which in mathematics lessons is in turn associated with the complete exclusion from the joint lessons. These (partly) simultaneously existing conjunctive spaces of experience are in turn characterized by power-structured interactions (Wagener, 2020, p. 118).

Primary framing through subject matter reference and individualization: A mathematics lesson in a Canadian secondary school

The sequence "Gentlemen. Did it work?" was selected from the project *The Construction of Difference in Schools and Its Social Genesis—An International Comparison* (Sturm, 2019). The Canadian sample comprises math and social science classes of two secondary schools in an urban region of British Columbia. *Mr. Williams* is a math teacher in one of the Canadian schools whose

classroom was a site for data collection. The class is attended by pupils with and without Individual Educational Plans (IEPs). One of the pupils with an IEP is being accompanied by an educational assistant. The lessons in the school last 80 minutes and are taught in English. During a part of *Mr. Williams's* lessons, the pupils are working on equations on whiteboards that are installed along the four walls of the room. While the pupils do so, *Mr. Williams* walks around talking to each of them on their calculations. A sequence lasting 1 minute, 12 seconds was chosen because it pictures a typical bodily-spatial situation for this second part of the lesson. Moreover, it is a focused act for the research interest, because the topic of the conversation between the teacher and the pupil is the correction of an incorrect calculation. Since we do not have the permission of all people pictured, we provide sketches.

Simultaneous dimension

In the left center of this image, there is an interaction between *Vendir* and *Mr. Williams*. With the pointing gesture of *Mr. Williams* and the writing of *Vendir*, both refer to the equation on the whiteboard in front of them. The frontal orientation in the alignment of the few visible desks and the pupils seated at them is being broken by the fact that they are standing. It is not only their position that differs, but also the way that each in the dyad relates to a common matter, the equation, written on the board that *Mr. Williams* and *Vendir* refer to; while the other pictured pupils are sitting and are seemingly individually following something in a personal space and a possessional territory. *Shane*, who is shown sitting on the right side of the photogram, appears to be observing the interaction between *Mr. Williams* and *Vendir*. *Brendon's* face is pictured behind *Vendir's* and *Mr. Williams*, he is facing another equation in front of him on the whiteboard.

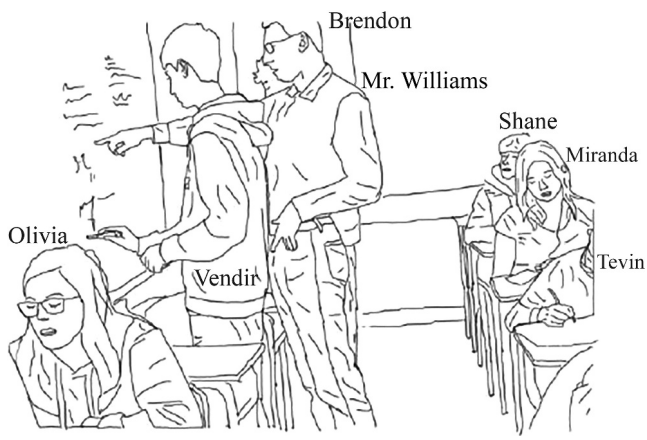

Figure 10.2 Sketch of photogram 1.

The teacher's pointing to a specific part of the notation documents both his engagement as well as a point of focus, while *Vendir* writes something, which makes him the producer of the notation. The photogram indicates that they both refer to a common subject matter: the equation, or to some part of it. *Mr. Williams* is standing slightly behind *Vendir*. While standing behind the pupils, just his arms seem to enter the personal space of his pupils. The teacher's position differs from both *Vendir's* and *Brendon's* proximity to the board and indicates that he takes a less active role in the equation as well as a nonpermanent (or longer) stay.

In the second photogram, which was taken 8 seconds after the first one, the position of the camera has slightly changed. *Mr. Williams* seems to erase part of *Vendir's* equation. *Vendir* seems to observe him holding a sponge to his written equation. Compared to the first photogram, *Mr. Williams* is bent forward and encroaching into both *Vendir's* territory and his math product on the board. By doing so, *Mr. Williams* is framing the equation as incorrect according to his interpretative sovereignty (*Deutungshoheit*). *Vendir* observes him, and *Vendir's* body is a little more distanced from the board than earlier, which indicates that he feels his personal space being enchroached.

Comparing the two stills from this math class documents dyadic and cooperative action around the equation. Both photograms show that the standing, interacting actors have a prominent position in relation to the others. They are on eye level, similar to the teacher-pupil relation in the Swiss case of an art class. While *Mr. Williams* is active in both pictures (pointing gesture, wiping the equation), *Vendir* is active in the first and observing in the second. All in all, the comparative analysis of the two images shows a teaching-learning situation: a pupil and a teacher are dealing with an equation created by the pupil. However, in the case of *Mr. Williams's* class, the pupils—except Vendir—are

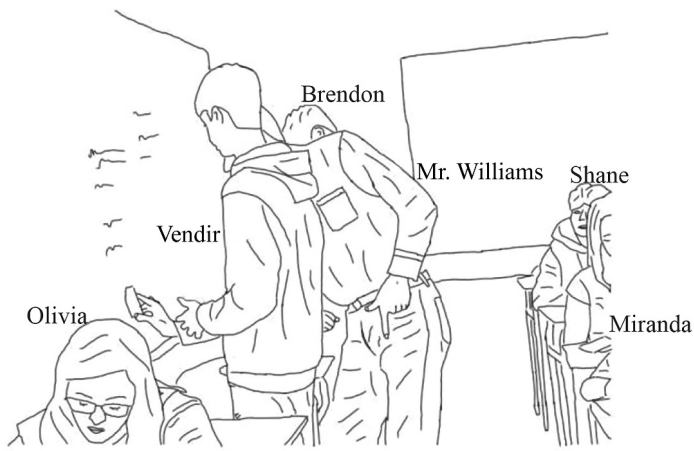

Figure 10.3 Sketch of photogram 2.

individually engaged in various things, while they are interacting with each other in *Mr. Krause's* class. Although the seating is oriented frontally toward a teacher's desk in both settings, it is broken up to a greater or lesser extent by the positioning of the people. Not only does the spatial context and its use by the actors differ, but so does the media that is positioned and used in the lessons: especially the pupils' products on the board in the Canadian case seem to be less permanent than the paper-and-pencil products of the Swiss pupils.

Sequential dimension

The name of the sequence relates to the context of which will be shown here: while *Vendir* and *Brendon* stand side by side writing something on the board in front of them, *Mr. Williams* steps into the camera frame and says loudly, "Gentlemen. Did it work?". *Brendon* and *Vendir* physically turn briefly in his direction, *Brendon* says quietly, "yeah", and Vendir, "kind of". Then the two turn back to the board and look at the notation in front of *Vendir*, while *Mr. Williams* walks toward them, looking first over *Vendir's* left shoulder, steps between the two pupils, stays slightly behind them and looks at the equation in front of *Vendir* saying, "so let's see what happened".

Mr. Williams: stretches out his right arm and index finger, touches the whiteboard so: everything we did to here was okay while he runs his right hand over the lines of the calculation and then you combi:ned (.) that looks good and you combi:ned (.) pulls his right hand to his chin, tilts his head down in the direction where Vendir is notating, moves his right hand forward down to the last line of the equation okay and then you: added.
Vendir interrupts his writing process, points to the middle of the equation I got confused with this part here,(.).
Mr. Williams: ah okay bends the upper body forward, reaches with the right hand for the sponge lying on the ledge below the whiteboard, ah okay so so can I take this up, wipes away one line of the equation, puts the sponge back down and straightens the upper body so remember the rule, whatever you do to one side you have to do to the same to the other points with the right hand to the bottom line of the equation, bends the head slightly forward so what did you decide to do he:re?
Vendir: opens the pen add the substract
Mr. Williams: exactly (.)
Vendir: notes something in the bottom line of the equation
Mr. Williams points with the right hand to the lower center of the equation so what happens to these ones,(.) pulls the right hand back to the waistband of the pants.
Vendir: stops writing eh the cancel each other (..).
Mr. Williams: yup
Vendir: and this will be.
Mr. Williams: four minus thirteen
Vendir: negative nine.
Mr. Williams: (mhh) and on the other side what do you got,(2).
Vendir: °(eh this will be)°.
Mr. Williams: and how do we go with another three, (3). so what do you end up with,(2)
Vendir: eh (.) n (.) equals (.) negative three.
Mr. Williams: turns the head to Vendir and runs his right hand over the equation exactly (.) and if you check that out you gonna find out you gonna get the same answer
Vendir: okay.
Mr. Williams: turns head and body to the right to Brenden di- did you worked on the same one.

With his outstretched right index finger, *Mr. Williams* moves from top to bottom of the equation, retracing the substeps of it. Along with his verbal expression, a differentiated examination of the pupil's calculation is documented, while the pupil continues to note something. *Mr. Williams* says, using the "we" form and pointing to one of the lower lines of the equation, "so: everything we did to here was okay", thus including himself rhetorically in the situation. The "okay" seems to indicate that the work is correct in terms of an unquestioned understanding of in/correct how to solve the equation. *Mr. Williams* continues, distinguishing this for different parts to the equation. Other than the picture, the view of the sequence indicates that the pointing gesture of *Mr. Williams* is likely part of his examination of *Vendir's* equation. He points to a spot in the middle of the noted calculation, he switches to the "you" form, he recognizes the product on the board as *Vendir's*, and distances himself from its production, by stating that *Vendir's* "added" something. *Vendir* differentiates this by stopping his writing and pointing to a part of the calculation, saying that he was "confused" there. *Mr. Williams* ratifies this, leans forward to reach for the sponge and asks if he can "take this line up" while he wipes. His question seems to be rhetorical, because at the same time, he starts wiping. In doing so, he differentiates *Vendir's* assumption, that a specific part of the calculation was confusing him, opening possible (space) for a correct equation on the board. He is not only assessing the calculation as incorrect and *Vendir's* confusion as given, but framing himself as the one knowing how to get to the correct/expected answer. The teacher's approach is related to the product on the board, which should be done "correctly". *Mr. Williams* then straightens his torso and transforms the situation by verbally addressing *Vendir*, reminding him of the mathematical rules that need to be applied when solving equations. Implicitly, he says that *Vendir* did not apply these rules, which led to the incorrect result. By naming the rule, he supports him applying it. By pointing to another part of the equation and asking *Vendir* what he did there, *Mr. Williams* implicitly refers to another incorrect notation. *Vendir* loosens the lid of the pen and says, "add the substract", which is validated by *Mr. Williams*. *Vendir* ratifies the accuracy that the teacher verbally called out by writing it on the board, while *Mr. Williams* continues to ask him while pointing to different parts of the notation, before he withdraws his hand, putting himself in the position of an observer. The interaction continues in this question-answer-assessment scheme that is issue-related, focusing on *Vendir's* equation for a while. *Mr. Williams* transposes the theme by saying to *Vendir*, "and if you check that out you gonna find out you gonna get the same answer", which documents that the process of applying the mathematical rules is central, not the result itself, as in the Swiss art class. *Mr. Williams* names a rule along which it is possible to recognize whether a result is correct. Here again, it is documented that the teacher explains to the pupil the rules to be applied in contrast to *Mr. Krause* who tells what to do or *Mrs. Seematter*, who takes over the tasks in proxy for the pupil. *Mr. Williams* concludes the interaction with *Vendir* by physically turning toward *Brendon*.

The primary framing of a subject matter reference of the sequence "Gentlemen. Did it work?" is homologous with other data analyzed from math classes in this Canadian secondary school, both in *Mr. Williams's* class and the one of his colleague *Mrs. Wilson* (Sturm, 2021). The work on the board can be characterized as momentary as well as being focused on processes. The material of the board makes it to erase written things as a means of correcting an incorrect path taken. In contrast to the art class from Switzerland as well as the math classes investigated in the same project, not only are the results of tasks central, but also the process of getting to a result. While *Mr. Krause* mainly judges *Pablo's* work and tells him what to do, *Mr. Williams* make it clear that he is confused in relation to *Vendir's* equation. Here it is documented not only that *Vendir* understands the teacher as someone who helps him to work on the problem, but that this is also possible without experiencing comparable degradations. The incorrect application of rules or mistakes are not comparably understood as individual problems here.

While in the case of the Swiss inclusive secondary school, pupils with or without ascribed SEN are taught together in art, but mainly separated in mathematics, in the Canadian case math lessons like any other take place together. *Mr. Williams* engages with *all* pupils in the tasks they are working on, regardless of the IEP assigned to. Thus, the physical proximity to the teacher in the Canadian example is temporary and, like the associated verbal communications, related to the matter at hand. The teacher's address of *Vendir* and *Brendon*, which gives the sequence its name, also indicates that the teacher speaks to the pupils several times during a lesson. Teacher and pupils share a classroom space of experience in which subject-related conversations along in-/correctly applied mathematical rules constitute the primary framing. The teacher, in his role or in the social identity attributed to him, possesses this knowledge of the subject-related norms or the correct application of the rules. This is not questioned by anyone. Although the teacher in the Canadian case also attributes the product of the pupils to the pupils themselves, a comparable attribution of individual responsibility is not documented in the case of art and also mathematics lessons in the Swiss study. The maintenance or loss of clear reference to the subject matter at hand is also absent in the Swiss example. Moreover, there is no comparable negative evaluation, as is found in the Swiss case. What is instead documented is a cooperative correction of *Vendir's* calculation, guided by the teacher's explanation of the mathematical rules.

Conclusion: Summary and perspectives for research on inclusion and exclusion in classroom practices

Summing up, the comparison shows that teaching in the Canadian case is characterized by a constituent framing in which the content accuracy of calculations is central. It is habitualized by both teacher and pupil. The pupils receive support from the teacher when they do not meet this requirement. Against this background, a central difference is that teaching in the Swiss case

is not comparably characterized by cooperation and teaching, but by individual attributions and hierarchizations, even under the loss of any relation to the content. This perspective of international comparison cannot be generalized in terms of "Swiss" and "Canadian" examples (Baur et al., 2021). These results lead to the question of the "genealogy of meaning" (Mannheim, 1982, p. 204) of the different classroom practices.

In the two segments studied, we applied the categories of the PSK with special consideration of performativity and space to reconstruct classroom practices and to generate new findings. These go beyond purely verbal analyses of teaching, as shown in the cases presented. The reconstructive analysis of performativity and space as a central element of the documentary analysis reveals forms and relations of inclusion and exclusion in instructional practices on the level of simultaneity as well as of sequentiality. A particularly striking difference is the consistently close bodily-spatial address of pupils with an assigned SEN status within the classroom or through separate teaching in small groups, as practiced in the case of Switzerland, and which goes along with construction of total identities through the exercise of power, i.e., of the "disabled" pupil. This contrasts with the temporary subject-related support provided for all pupils by the teacher in the Canadian case. In addition, the Canadian case shows a teaching arrangement that focuses more on learning processes and considers pupils' products from the point of view of the work processes behind them. This has implications not only for the process structure of the interaction between teacher and pupil, but also for the material-spatial equipment and practice of lessons, as was made clear in the example of calculations on the whiteboard. In contrast, the Swiss art lessons showed a materially fixed orientation toward results with a simultaneous marginal reference to the product and moralization by the art teacher. The Swiss mathematics lessons also showed a strong product orientation without moralization, but also a lack of personal access and a high level of personal responsibility for the learning process, and thus an increased risk of exclusion. Overall, a construction of "disabled" identity can be identified across subjects for the Swiss lessons studied—in the context of loosely coupled, parallel systems of interaction which prevent joint participation and lead to barriers in learning processes. The comparison shows that continuous reference to the subject matter at hand, which takes place without attributions of identity and individual responsibility for the learning process, does not produce comparable barriers to subject-based engagement.

Through our methodological adaptations and our empirical reconstructions of classroom situations, we hope to contribute to scholarship on the connection of spatial or territorial (power) relations in pedagogical contexts (Nugel, 2016). We also see this chapter as initially addressing a desideratum for the study of space and spatiality in education—namely, to develop "[a] theoretical and research perspective … that can be used to ask about the educational potential of social and, in particular, pedagogical spatial relations with regard to practices of power and subjectivation interwoven within them"

(Nugel, 2016, S. 9). We understand "subjectification practices" here as identity constructions in the sense of Goffman and the Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge, both of which are in the tradition of ethnomethodology. We have also emphasized the relevance of the "spatial conditions and effects of different teaching forms and situations" (Breidenstein, 2004, p. 104) in schools. We have done this while underscoring spatial practices in conjunction with the "shaping of relationships" (Breidenstein, 2004, p. 104). For inclusive education, Andreas Köpfer (2016, p. 83) has proposed the empirical investigation of "spatial arrangements evoke education and participation in the context of inclusive school and classroom development, or how experiences of disability are produced and manifested through them". In our view, an analytical perspective on video-based research that is methodologically based on the categories of territories of the self (Goffman, 1983) and the notion of "conjunctive space of … experience" (Mannheim, 1982, p. 199) appears particularly promising. This is because such research would not be limited to processes of exclusion and inclusion alone. Instead, the research would also be able to reconstruct the relations and interactions of these processes as well as their role in the emergence of constructions of difference and power (relations) in teaching contexts. However, such a microanalytical and spatially oriented research on school and inclusion has only just begun.

Note

1 The verbal transcription follows "TiQ" (Bohnsack, 2009). @()@ means that something is said laughingly.

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