Inklusion, Behinderung, Gesellschaft
Bildungs- und sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge

Seyda Subasi Singh

Overrepresentation of Immigrants in Special Education

Die Überrepräsentation von MigrantInnen in der Sonderpädagogik

A Grounded Theory Study on the Case of Austria

Eine Grounded Theory Studie am Beispiel Österreich

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Abstract

The overrepresentation of minority students in special education referrals can be tracked in many countries, and the lack of transparency and uniformity in referrals is a hot topic to discuss. Despite the years of research and discussion, we have limited understanding of this complex issue, as the research is challenged by dependency on the availability of numeric data, incautiousness to cultural specificities, or concentration on certain variables. With this study, the aim was to come up with sophisticated research by giving participants an active voice, by drawing data from firsthand experiences, and by accepting the co-construction of the researcher. The study had a holistic perspective and included various stakeholders. Asking and looking for what we can learn about the overrepresentation by relying on the interpretation of experiences required a flexible epistemological stance. As a method, constructivist grounded theory was recruited. Teachers, parents, school inspectors, school directors, school psychologists, and special education teachers were the data sources. Intensive interviews were the main data collection tools supported with researcher diary, memos, group discussion and extant texts such as educational statistics, newspaper articles, reports, and school policy statements. The data from 25 participants were analyzed with the guidelines of constructivist grounded theory in an iterative way. The findings of the study showed that special education referral means different practices and experiences for different groups of participants. In addition, the people included in the referral have a direct influence on the experiences of each other. The referral process is experienced with challenges, suspicion and ambiguity and the process is built on mutual distrust. Distrust is the core of the experiences, relationships, interactions and actions related to special education referrals. Distrust is also the basis of the perceptions on educational equity, parental and teacher competencies, immigrants, the Turkish community, or the school system.

Keywords: overrepresentation, special education, migrants, minorities, equity

Zusammenfassung

Die Studie beleuchtet die Überrepräsentation von SchülerInnen mit türkischem Migrationshintergrund mit sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf im österreichischen Schulsystem. Ein überproportionaler Anteil von SchülerInnen mit sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf, die einer Minderheit angehören, kann in vielen Ländern beobachtet werden. Der Mangel an Transparenz und Einheitlichkeit des sonderpädagogischen Bedarfs sind brisante Themen. Trotz langjähriger Forschung und Diskussion ist das Verständnis für dieses komplexe Thema gering und die Forschung steht vor verschiedenen Herausforderungen, wie etwa der Abhängigkeit vom Zugang zu sozialstatistischen Daten oder geringer Sensitivität gegenüber kulturellen Merkmalen. In der vorliegenden Studie wurde eine innovative Perspektive eingenommen, indem dieses vielfältige Thema nicht auf sozio-demografische oder individuelle Merkmale beschränkt wurde. Das Ziel war, den Beteiligten mit einem anspruchsvollen Forschungsdesign eine Stimme zu geben, Erfahrungen aus erster Hand zu erheben und die Ko-Konstruktion der Ergebnisse durch die Forscherin gleichzeitig mit zu berücksichtigen. Die Studie folgt einem ganzheitlichen Zugang und inkludiert verschiedene Stakeholder, die am Prozess der Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs von SchülerInnen mit türkischem Migrationshintergrund im österreichischen Schulsystem beteiligt sind. Für das Erforschen der Überrepräsentation auf Basis der Interpretation von Erfahrungen war ein flexibler epistemologischer Zugang nötig. Als Methode wurde die konstruktivistische Grounded Theory eingesetzt und Lehrkräfte, Eltern, SchulinspektorInnen, Schulleitungen, SchulpsychologInnen und SonderschullehrerInnen befragt. Die Narrative, die mittels „intensive interviews" erhoben wurden, stellten die Hauptdatenquelle dar – unterstützt durch Forschungstagebücher, Memos, Gruppendiskussionen und andere schriftliche Datenquellen, wie Bildungsstatistiken, Zeitungsartikel, Berichte und strategische Dokumente aus Schulen. Die Daten aus den Interviews mit den 25 StudienteilnehmerInnen wurden mithilfe der konstruktivistischen Grounded Theory schrittweise ausgewertet. Die Ergebnisse der Studie zeigen, dass das Feststellen des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs mit unterschiedlichen Praktiken und Erfahrungen für die verschiedenen Gruppen verknüpft ist. Die Praktiken derjenigen, die den Prozess mitgestalten, bedingen sich gegenseitig. Dem Prozess wird mit der Erfahrung von Herausforderung, Argwohn und Ambiguität begegnet, was das gegenseitige Misstrauen der beteiligten Personen in den Prozess widerspiegelt. Dieses Misstrauen steht im Zentrum der Erfahrungen, Beziehungen, Interaktionen und Gedanken – nicht nur gegenüber dem sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf, sondern auf einer breiteren Basis gegenüber Bildungsgerechtigkeit, Kompetenzen von Eltern und Lehrkräften, Migration, der türkischen Community, und dem österreichischen Schulsystem.

Schlagwörter: Überrepräsentation, Sonderpädagogik, MigrantInnen, Minderheiten, Gerechtigkeit

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To Defne!

Foreword

In this book, I tackled the overrepresentation of students from a migrant background in special education referrals in the Austrian context. This study was conducted in Vienna, the capital of Austria. It recruited migrants from a Turkish background and others such as teachers, school directors, school inspectors, and school psychologists who have experiences with special education referrals of students from a Turkish background. As the first qualitative study with this specific group of immigrants, the study aimed to offer insight into the discussion of immigrant-overrepresentation in special education and the discussion of the overrepresentation of students from a Turkish background. It gave voice to people who have experience in the referral process. My aim was to analyze this topic from a holistic perspective by including several stakeholders and relying on their first-hand experiences. The overrepresentation of immigrant children in special education schools or in other low-achieving schools is a complex topic that should not be diminished to the lack of language competence of these groups. Similarly, the literature has pointed to the need for more sophisticated research to understand this phenomenon. Trying to explain such complexity through statistical data of parental background, socio-economic status or language competence has been proven inadequate as well. Therefore, this study strived going beyond the description of the situation or identifying the most relevant cause regarding family background. It can be said that this study tackled a topic that is known, discussed but not researched. Findings showed that there was a need for such a study. What the study reached suggested that the emphasis on the lack of language competence or on the family background would be only an underestimation of the problem. The referral process indeed bears a more manifold nature which requires collaboration among stakeholders to avoid any misdeed for students. However, this study demonstrated distrust and a weak collaboration among them which confirmed the necessity of research on the topic. Including Turkish immigrants, non-German speakers, asking about the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish background in special education in a culturally sensitive way, reaching several stakeholders included in the process such as teachers, school directors, school inspectors, or school psychologists as a foreigner researcher, and doing research about such a sensitive topic an immigrant was not a smooth and easy process. However, every single step of this research brought the hope that the findings will reach a wide range of readers and it will have an influence on practices. Hopefully, this goal will be achieved through this book.

This book presents the study in eleven chapters. The first chapter introduces the study in terms of its background, relevance, purpose, and significance. The literature that formed the frame of the discussion for this study is discussed in the second chapter. The next chapter gives detailed information about the research context by presenting the Austrian education system, teacher education system, special education context, as well as the immigrant context. The fourth chapter discusses the methodological approach and the epistemological stance of the research. The fifth and sixth chapters present the data collection and data analysis processes respectively. The presentation of findings starts with the seventh chapter that explains the categories reached at the end of data analysis. This chapter provides quotations from the participants as well. Following, the eighth chapter shows how the core category emerged while the ninth chapter presents the theory generation. The tenth chapter, on the other hand, discusses the generated theory in terms of its relevance to literature by making use of visuals. The last chapter summarizes the previous chapters and discusses the implications of the study by reflecting on critical issues.

We live in a time of selectivity and rivalry, where people are more individualistic and ask for the best only for themselves. However, asking the best for all can defeat the disadvantages of all. Hence, I would like to finish this foreword with a quotation from John Dewey.

> "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy." (Dewey, 1907)

Seyda Subasi Singh, Ph.D.

1 Introduction

This chapter gives information about the background, relevance, purpose, and significance of this study. After introducing the background that urged and motivated the study, the relevance of the study to special education, inclusion, Austria, and methodology is discussed. The chapter goes on with the purpose, significance, and potential of the study. At the end of the chapter, the definitions of the terms that are adopted in this study can be found.

1.1 This Study

This study attempted to develop an understanding of the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish migration background in special education referrals in Austria based on the experiences of the people included in the education referral process. The study was conducted in Vienna with participants who had first-hand experiences. The aim was to identify the meaning that participants made of their experiences.
The topic of minority and immigrant overrepresentation in special education is a complex one. However, it is a topic that can reveal significant information about the context, society, and research field. This study could show how the special education referral process is understood, experienced, and interpreted by individuals included in the referral process. In a broader sense, the study could indicate how students with special needs and being educated in a special education school are understood especially focused on immigrants and minorities. The attitude of teachers towards special education and special education needs among Turkish immigrants are some additional aspects that such a study could reveal.

1.2 Background of the Study

In many countries, students with a migration background have a likelihood to attend certain types of schools in a disproportioned way (Song, 2011). Disproportional placement of immigrant students may refer to underrepresentation or overrepresentation for this group. Underrepresentation mainly means fewer students with a migration background in promising schools such as academic schools, grammar schools, or pre-university schools. On the other hand, overrepresentation refers to the high number of immigrant students in low-promising schools such as vocational schools, apprenticeships, or special education schools.
The overrepresentation of students with a migration background in special education referrals can be tracked in many countries around the world (Berhanu & Dyson, 2012; Luciak, 2004; Reichenberg & Berhanu, 2017). Harry (2014) discussed that the low achievement of immigrant students can be considered as a disability in some contexts, which may lead to a referral to special education. Werning, Loser, and Urban (2008) reported the overrepresentation of immigrant students in special education schools in Germany, while Berhanu and Dyson (2017) reported a similar placement for Nordic countries, Strand and Lindsay (2009) for England, or Petricusic (2004) for Slovenia. As a country that is populated with a large number of immigrants, and where immigrant children are overrepresented in special education, Austria was chosen as the research site for this study (Herzog-Punzenberger & Unterwurzacher, 2009; Luciak & Biewer, 2011; Yildiz, 2012). The context of Austria will be discussed in Chapter 3 in detail.

The disproportionate distribution of students with a migration background in special education schools is a topic that has been tackled with different perspectives for decades (Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2008; Harry, 2014; Hosp & Reschly, 2004; Valenzuela, Copeland, Huaqing Qi & Park, 2006). As Skiba et al. (2008, p. 264) put, the disproportionate placement of immigrants and minorities is one of the "most long-standing and intransigent" problems of the special education research. However, despite the years of research and discussion, we have limited understanding of the complex issue of the overrepresentation of immigrant groups in- special education referrals (Sullivan & Artiles, 2011; Sweller, Graham & van Bergen, 2012). Forming a coherent explanation of this issue is challenged by several factors such as; dependency on the available data-sets, divergent or contradictory research findings, linear explanations, too much attribution to some certain variables (Sullivan & Bal, 2013), culture-specificity, nation-specificity (Gabel, Curcic, Powell, Khader & Albee, 2009), or various definitions across educational systems (Berhanu & Dyson, 2012).
Similarly, the research in the Austrian context tries to explain the overrepresentation or the underrepresentation of students with a migration background in some specific schools through statistics. National statistics give a detailed picture of the number of students with a migration background in different types of schools. However, the research tackles the topic based on certain factors such as economic status or education level of parents. For the Austrian context, several scholars (Bacher, 2006; Herzog-Punzenberger & Unterwurzacher, 2007; Luciak & Biewer, 2011; Unterwurzacher, 2007) indicated that the education level of parents or socioeconomic status could not account for the low academic achievement and need for special education of students with a migration background. Hence, there has been a call for the research that can come up with an integrated understanding without limiting the discussion to specific indicators.

1.3 Relevance of the Study

There were two phases of the literature review in this study. In line with the constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014), the research did not start with a framework or a gap in the literature to fill. The initial literature review was undertaken comprehensively before the research started. The aim was to find a starting point, to identify what new insight the study can achieve, and to locate the relevance of the study to certain aspects in the educational field.
The following part discusses the relevance of the study in several aspects. The research topic comprises multiple concepts such as special education or inclusion. These aspects are interrelated and relevant to the research in different ways. On the other hand, the relevance to the research conducted so far, and the appropriateness of the methodology are also included in this section.

1.3.1 Relevance to Special Education

Special education can be considered a tailored intervention to respond to the difficulties that some learners experience (Berhanu & Dyson, 2012). Although special education should ideally offer specialized and mainly costly services for the ones who need them, special education is regarded as dubious by immigrant families. Firstly, special education is considered ineffective in achieving desired learning outcomes especially, for providing language services (Artiles & Ortiz, 2002). Learning the language of the receiving country and communicating by using it at an advanced level has great importance for immigrant families. However, as a special education

need is diagnosed through tests in receiving country language (Sullivan, 2011), the referral to special education may be based on being incompetent in the language of the receiving country. Another issue is the overrepresentation of ethnic minorities and immigrants in special education referrals based on high incidence disabilities (Berhanu & Dyson, 2012; Sweller et al., 2012). The identification of special education needs for immigrants is often based on subjective high incidence disability categories such as specific learning disabilities, speech and language disorders, cognitive impairments, and emotional disabilities, which are mostly convertible (Sullivan & Bal, 2013). Such impairments may not be enough for putting a hold on the access to education for many immigrant families, because accessing mainstream education and academic achievement are viewed as indicators of integration by immigrants (Arzubiaga, Nogueron & Sullivan, 2009; Goldberg, 2002). Hence, being diagnosed with special education needs and being educated in segregated school settings concern immigrant families. As such this study strived to understand the immigrants' perspectives about special education by recruiting them as data sources.

1.3.2 Relevance to Inclusion

With the introduction of the term 'inclusion' to school context at the end of the 1980s, this sociological term became an important term for educational sciences (Biewer, Proyer & Kremsner, 2019). With the declaration of Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 (UNESCO, 2015), inclusion became a central point of education in the international context. As Biewer and Schütz (2016) explained, inclusion has two categories of focus: narrow and broad concepts. The narrow concept can be understood as the inclusion of children with disabilities until the end of the 1990s. However, starting in 2000, inclusion took on the broader context to include all students who are disadvantaged (Biewer et al., 2019). This development presented inclusion as a concept that encompasses all who are vulnerable to exclusion and marginalization. Several aspects, such as migration, sexual orientation, gender, poverty, or disability are discussed as vulnerability factors in the inclusion context. Hence, catering to all people with basic rights and equal opportunities regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, ability, or religion is rudimentary of inclusion (Siska & Habib, 2013).

The inclusive practices are supported by UNESCO (2017) as they "can be effective in supporting the involvement of all learners who are facing vulnerable situations; examples include those who are new to a class, learners from different cultural and language backgrounds, and those with disabilities" (p. 33).

Being an immigrant increases the likelihood of being diagnosed with special education needs and being denied from mainstream education (Hosp & Reschly, 2004; Luciak & Biewer, 2011; Skiba et al., 2008). Inclusion was introduced as a way to eliminate this disadvantage. However, the goal of elimination of the disadvantages of vulnerable groups through inclusion should be tackled carefully. The discussion of the overrepresentation in special education referrals for immigrants should not be clouded by the inclusive education discussion. Inclusion is encouraged as a response to the inequities in special education, and inclusive educational practices are served as remedies. However, like other policies, educational policies are vulnerable to the people who implement them (Chase, 2014). Putting policies into practice is an interpretation of policy; and the success of inclusion is up to the ethos of the school, support systems, settings, and shared responsibility of staff (Coburn, 2005). Hence, the marginalization and stigmatization of certain groups of people cannot be eliminated only through the introduction of inclusion as an educational policy.

Moreover, inclusion cannot be the opposite of exclusion as long as normality is the focus of the educational processes. The comparison to the implicit norms and usage of difference markers may

create new discriminatory conditions embedded within inclusive education (Graham & Slee, 2008). Therefore, discussing the overrepresentation of immigrant groups in special education referrals should be of great interest even when inclusive education is implemented across nations.
Equity and inclusion go hand in hand in terms of eliminating disadvantages and ensuring access and opportunities for all. As Obiakor (2011) suggested, any education program should encourage access, equity, and inclusion; however, he explained that the placement principles for inclusion still value race, background, and language, which contradicts the idea of equity. That fact that students with a migration background are represented in segregated settings, more than their peers are, would contradict the inclusion efforts in a country. As a country that adopted several steps in the direction of inclusion, the consistent overrepresentation of Turkish immigrant students in special education is an important point to examine in Austria.

1.3.3 Relevance to Austria

With a culturally diverse population, Austria experiences the overrepresentation of students with a migration background in special education referrals (Herzog-Punzenberger & Unterwurzacher, 2009; Luciak & Biewer, 2011; Yildiz, 2012). According to Luciak and Biewer (2011) and Bacher (2006), immigrant students and ethnic minorities such as Roma students are overrepresented in low promising schools and underrepresented in academic schools. In addition, the diagnosis of special education needs and the special education referral process are suspected of being based on false decisions. Similarly, Altrichter and Feyerer (2011) as well as Krammer, Gebhardt, Rossman, Paleczek, and Gasteiger-Klicpera (2014) pointed to the lack of unity and conformity to diagnose special education needs and to refer to special education in Austria.
When compared to other immigrant students, students with Turkish background have a higher risk of being referred to special education in Austria. Luciak and Biewer (2011), as well as Herzog-Punzenberger and Unterwurzacher (2009) and Bacher (2006), reported the high risk in Austria for Turkish along with former Yugoslavian immigrant students. Herzog-Punzenberger and Unterwurzacher (2009) concluded that students from a Turkish background have a 2.3 times higher risk of being diagnosed with special education needs than their native peers in Austria. However, the overrepresentation in such diagnoses is not so high for all students with a migration background. The same study showed that students with Polish, Czech, Hungarian and Slovakian background do not have a dramatically higher risk than their native Austrian peers of being diagnosed with special education needs; while students with Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian background have a high risk, but still lower than the students with a Turkish background.
Similarly, Franz (2007), Söhn and Özcan (2007), and Avcı (2006) highlighted Turkish children's high probability of ending up in a special education school in Germany. Diefenbach (2004), Merz-Atalik (2014), as well as Geiling and Theunisses (2009) described such placement as ambiguous. Weiss (2007) suggested that social and structural factors are more effective on educational achievement than ethnicity in the German-speaking context. However, the research of Unterwurzacher (2007) showed that even when the socioeconomic factors are controlled, students with Turkish or former Yugoslavian backgrounds perform less than their peers do in Austria.
As a country that has developed policy regulations and strategies for the implementation of inclusion, Austria offers a context where we witness efforts for inclusion and educational equity as well as the overrepresentation of immigrants in special education schools at the same time. As Krammer et al. (2014) suggested, we need more analytic research on the overrepresentation issue by including people who have experiences in special education referrals. We need to construct a "theoretical understanding" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 4).

1.3.4 Relevance to Research

The president of the Council for Exceptional Children, Lloyd Dunn, brought the issue of overrepresentation of immigrants in special education to attention in the United States in 1968 (Dunn, 1968). The research in the last five decades has shown that several notable themes have emerged regarding this issue.

In some context, as Harry (2014) indicated, the low achievement of students with a migration background can also be considered as a disability and may lead to the placement in special education schools for students with a migration background in an overrepresented way. While Hibel, Farkas, and Morgan (2010) suggested that such overrepresentation may result from nonacademic factors rather than learning problems.

Among the studies and research so far, we can find several explanations for this overrepresentation. Misidentifying disability (Blanchett, 2006), poor parenting (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994), social and educational inequality (Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2008), wish for homogeneity in schools (Thomas & Loxley, 2001), identifying challenging students as deviant (Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2008), the failure of culturally responsive teaching or lack of fit between students' culture and school culture (Gay, 2002), teacher efficacy (Podell & Soodak, 1993), institutional discrimination (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009), or employing special education as a tool of assimilation (Gabel et al., 2009) are some of the discussion points that we can see in the literature.

However, as Hosp and Reschly (2004) suggested "a significant weakness in the research is the exclusion of variables that are more directly related to special education eligibility decision-making" (p. 185). This study takes this suggestion one step further and tries to develop an understanding of the perspectives of the people who are included in the decision-making for special education referrals. Hence, several data sources were recruited, the excessive focus on numeric data and single factors was avoided.

1.3.5 Relevance to Challenges

Forming a comprehensive understanding of the overrepresentation of immigrants in special education is challenged by several reasons. Hence, there are numerous points of view on the phenomenon, although the research body has struggled to form a comprehensible understanding (Sullivan & Artilles, 2011; Sweller et al., 2012).

The research about the overrepresentation of students with a migration background in special education is limited to the availability of data. As Sullivan and Bal (2013) stated, many child-level or school-level variables are not documented by the officials or made public to researchers. The collection of data covering several important variables about national special education indicators would allow the researchers to conduct sophisticated research about the overrepresentation (Valenzuela et al., 2006). However, using different ways of data collection (Donovan & Cross, 2002) can make it difficult to do comparative studies across countries. Similarly, several other scholars around the world from the UK (Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2008), New Zealand, Germany, and Canada (Gabel et al., 2009), or Australia (Sweller et al., 2012), stated the impossibility of comprehensive analysis due to lack of available data sets in their countries.

Another challenge is the divergence and contradiction of research findings and linear explanations for special education referrals. When a single factor is tackled, inconsistent findings across studies reveal the reasons in economic variables such as housing value, income, school poverty or community poverty (Sullivan & Bal, 2013) or across studies that explore only the effect of teacher efficacy on special education referrals (Chu, 2011). An example can be the study of Morgan, Farkas, Hillemeier, and Maczuga (2012) who analyzed the data of 7,900 children in early

childhood education age. After controlling for sociodemographic characteristics, they found that minority children are disproportionally underrepresented in early childhood interventions and early childhood special education. However, their findings were challenged by contradictory findings of similar research with the same variables. On the other hand, gender, birth weight, and racial-ethnic status could have created bias due to "reverse causality" (p. 348). Therefore, they pointed to the need for calibrating the focus on how several underlying variables come together to generate that overrepresentation.

The next challenge is the disproportioned focus on certain factors. Until the early 2000s, the investigation about the phenomenon concentrated on two themes, namely demographics and economic variables of the children and the school districts (Hosp & Reschly, 2004). Based on this concentration, prior research adopted the statistical significance of predictors to explain the overrepresentation of children with a migration background in special education. Many studies have relied on the available data sets on socio-economic status and tried to explain the overrepresentation based on poverty indicators. However, exposure to poverty or poverty-related variables does not necessarily yield low achievement or special education needs (Skiba, Poloni-Staudinger, Simmons, Feggins-Azziz & Chung, 2005). An important point to bear in mind is the interaction of the variables. The intersectionality between variables such as demographics, economics, or academics must be taken into account.

Based on the data from one school district, Valenzuela et al. (2006) examined the relationship between language proficiency and ethnicity in terms of their effect on disability labels. Their findings showed minority students and English language learners were disproportionately enrolled in special education and segregated settings. However, they regard their analyses of the data from 17,870 students as limited because of the incompetence of correlational studies to identify the causal relationships among the variables. At the end of their large-scale quantitative study, they argued the impossibility of collecting data about all potential intersecting variables through quantitative methods.

A final challenge to sophisticated research is the incautiousness to cultural and social variedness. Although ethnic overrepresentation in special education is a global phenomenon, the causes, eligibility criteria, and rates of ethnic overrepresentation may vary within the country or within the cultures in the same country (Gabel et al., 2009). Sweller et al. (2012) showed how the enrollment of ethnic minorities in special education increases drastically faster than the enrollment of this group in mainstream schools. Their findings, however, indicated a discrepancy among different minority groups in terms of representation in special education settings in Australia.

Different linguistic competences, knowledge of the school system, knowledge of parental rights, educational experiences in the country of origin, and immigration reasons are factors that can be peculiar to individuals as well as to ethnic groups. Similarly, Dyson and Gallannaugh (2008) argued that too much of a focus on one individual level can curb insights into the group norms. They suggested that some individual problems that lead to unfitting school performance can be related to the educational or social outcomes of the whole social group. Hence, we should bring the social group dimension and the individualistic approach together to understand how local cultural and social practices intersect with students' cultural and social practices to create such overrepresentation (Artiles & Bal, 2008).

With this study, such a manifold issue was not attributed to a single socio-demographic or individual factor. On the other hand, as Gabel et al. (2008) suggested, reasons for overrepresentation can be nation/culture-specific and terminologies, classifications, and definitions may vary within educational systems, making it difficult to come up with internationally valid explana-

tions. However, there was an effort to maximize the range of collected information through theoretical/purposive sampling by providing a thick description of the context of this study. So, the findings can be discussed in other contexts, and thereby, form research that appeals to international interests.

1.3.6 Relevance to Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative methodology for data collection and analysis. There were several reasons for choosing a qualitative approach. In this study, the aim was to collect data from different perspectives about the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish migration background in special education referrals. Interpreting the experiences and the perspectives of the participants and getting to learn their interpretation of their experiences were the goals. When the focus of the research is an interpretation, the qualitative design is likely to be adopted (Ingstad & Grut, 2005).

On the other hand, as Denzin and Lincoln (2005) suggested, qualitative methods would allow the researcher to investigate the experiences of the participants. In her study using qualitative methods, Poon-McBrayer (2016) indicated how a qualitative design could be used to map the complexities embedded in special education in multicultural settings. Her work showed how narrative inquiry could illustrate more complicated situations that cannot be explained through quantitative methods.

Grounded theory was chosen from other qualitative research methods for this study. As Birks and Mills (2015) described, grounded theory does not only describe and explore a phenomenon but explains and elaborates on the phenomenon being studied. Grounded theory explains the phenomenon in the context of the people who experience it. This study tried to come up with an understanding rather than only a description; hence, grounded theory served to this aim. Specifically, constructivist grounded theory was the best match. As constructivist grounded theory is ideal for getting to the underlying processes (Charmaz, 2014), it allows us to collect data to understand what is happening in the research site.

The purpose of developing an understanding of overrepresentation in special education required going through the underlying meanings. Hence, qualitative design and constructivist grounded theory method were the most fitting choices.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

With this study, I tried to defeat the challenges for reaching a comprehensive understanding by embracing an innovative stance, by drawing the data from first-hand experiences, and by not denying the co-construction of researchers. The target was to ask and identify what we can learn about the overrepresentation by relying on the experiences of the parents, teachers, school directors, school psychologists, and inspectors. These participants are the ones who are included in the decision-making process for special education needs, although to different extents. In addition, the study avoided oversimplifications and did not consider certain background variables as the only factors for the overrepresentation of students with Turkish background in special education. Hence, the study required a methodology that gives way to flexibility, the inclusion of various data sources, and interpretation.

By asking what we can learn about this phenomenon, the aim was to understand what the experiences of parents, teachers, school directors, inspectors, or school psychologists can tell us about the referral of students with a Turkish background to special education schools. The

study started with some initial questions to progress the research and later, the questions were modified after discovering relevant or irrelevant concepts in the course of the research (Charmaz, 2014). The initial questions were to identify the research phenomenon but not to make assumptions about it. In the beginning, the aim was to stay at a descriptive level and to channel the attention to the actions and process. The initial questions were:

- How is a referral to special education done for students with Turkish background?
- How do participants explain the referral to special education for students with Turkish background?
- How do participants make the meaning of their experiences that they had during the referral process to special education for students with Turkish background?

These research questions were reviewed and adapted through the research. The ongoing process of the inquiry, interviews, or analysis influenced the inquiry. The adapted research questions are discussed in Chapter 6.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Such a study has a touch on important and needed discussions. First, this study created a holistic perspective by including several stakeholders (Turkish parents living in Austria, school directors, inspectors, and school psychologists) affected by or affecting the same process, namely, the referral to special education.

Another advantage of this study lies in its qualitative nature. Such a qualitative study is needed in Austria as educational research on educational equity and school placement is discussed based on quantitative data about school enrollment, dropouts, or achievement scores provided by educational statistics.

With the qualitative nature of this study, the research explains the participant meanings, and it sheds light on the differences that are practiced during the referral of students with Turkish background to special education. Along with immigrants from the former Yugoslavian background, the Turkish community forms the second most populated immigrant community in Austria. The overrepresentation of Turkish immigrants in special education which is considered as a non-university track is an important topic to discuss.

So far, research has included teachers in studies. However, this time, parents are also included, and they form the main source of information along with the teachers. The experiences of parents can demonstrate how parents explain their knowledge about schooling processes, the rights of their children, and their rights as parents, as well as their experiences of participants of special education referrals. Additionally, the experiences of teachers may provide knowledge about where teachers interact in such a referral. School psychologists are the ones who are responsible for psychological evaluation and testing upon the initiation of teachers, hence, they have relevant experiences as well. Additionally, school inspectors or school directors are members of the educational settings at different levels, although not directly in the learning of students. However, their experiences are also included to understand the phenomenon from a comprehensive perspective.

On the other hand, including parents who cannot communicate in German is another advantage of this study. Families, especially non-competent German-speaking mothers, can rarely be integrated into research conducted by non-Turkish speaking researchers. In this study, the data collected in Turkish were used by losing no meaning to an external translator or interpreter.

1.6 Definitions of Terms

Students: in this study, students refer to school-age children (pupils). As the relevant literature mainly adopts the terms 'students with a migration background' or 'students from a migrant background', this study used the word 'students' rather than 'pupils'.
Students with a migration/from a migrant background: this term is used to define the students who do not belong to the dominant cultural group in the country. These students can be first, second, or third-generation immigrant students with or without Austrian citizenship. Students with a migration background are mainly the ones who have a different household language other than German.
Parents with/from Turkish background: in this study, parents with a Turkish background are the parents who were born either in Turkey or in Austria. These parents are sources for the parents-data. The terms 'Turkish parents', 'parents from Turkey', 'parents from a Turkish migrant background', or 'parents with Turkish background' are used interchangeably.
Students with/from Turkish background: these students are the students whose parents are of Turkey origin. Their parents can be first or second-generation immigrants born in Austria or Turkey and can have either Turkish or Austrian citizenship. The criterion for having a Turkish background is the language spoken at home. The language in the household of these students is predominantly Turkish. The national statistics and research also adopt this criterion.
Special education teachers: these teachers are the ones who completed teacher training for special education and who are employed in special education schools or mainstream schools. Special education teachers can be employed in special education schools, in integrative classrooms of mainstream schools, in special education centers, or inclusive settings.
Special education referral: the referral to special education is the diagnosis process of special education needs and mainly means a change in the curriculum that the student should follow. Based on the extent of the special education needs, the referral can lead to a change in the classroom or school. However, students can stay in their classrooms after being diagnosed with special education needs in case their needs can be catered with the available sources.
Special education referral process: the term special education referral process refers to the process that includes the diagnosis and decision-making for special education needs. The referral starts with the first step that teachers take by reporting a possible special education need that a student has. The referral mainly starts in the school and includes teachers and school directors at the beginning. The referral process later includes parents, the observation of students, testing, the evaluation of special education centers, decision commission, diagnosis, and placement in a new classroom or school.
Disproportionality: disproportionality refers to either a lower or higher percentage of students from a specific ethnic or minority group in a specific type of school than it can be found in the whole school system.
Overrepresentation: overrepresentation in schools occurs when the number of pupil groups with a certain background in specific schools is more than the number that these groups appear in the whole school system. Overrepresentation in the literature and the judgment of disproportionality are calculated with the 10% rule of Chinn and Hughes (1987). This rule indicates an acceptable bandwidth for the total enrollment of a specific group.
Receiving country/host country: these terms are used to explain the country of residence of immigrants. The term 'host country' encourages the understanding that immigrants are guests or hosted as temporary residents. However, the relevant literature uses this term to refer to the country where immigrants live. This study uses 'receiving country' and 'host country' interchangeably.

2 Guiding Interests

This chapter includes the major topics that guided the researcher prior to this study. As a suggestion of constructivist grounded theory, researchers should not allow their pre-conceptions to direct them in their research process. However, they should be reflexive in terms of identifying their pre-conceptions. Due to the immersion in the literate in the previous studies and research projects, familiarity with some certain discussions in the education field could not be avoided. These topics can be understood as guiding interests that urged the work but not as a theoretical framework that shaped the study. The discussion starts with a broad perspective on the term 'culture' and goes on with the explanation and differentiation of cultural diversity and multiculturalism. Multicultural education and culturally responsive teaching precede teacher education for diversity. Later, the focus shifts to migration and integration, followed by a discussion about the education of immigrants and educational equity.

2.1 Culture, Cultural Diversity and Multiculturalism

The mobility of people changes the profile of societies and creates cultural diversity. Firstly, to understand cultural diversity, the term 'culture' should be discussed. However, culture is not easy to define because everything related to life can be included in the definition of culture (Erickson, 2005). Culture can be considered as the total way of living (Pai, 2005), the way we do things (Kilman, 1985), or the way we perceive the life (Diller & Moule, 2005). In any definition, culture affects our beliefs, attitudes, values, traditions, or practices. However, as Ruiz and Sanchez (2011) warned, culture should not be considered as prescribed codes or behaviors. If culture is understood as an absolute value, people will be expected to behave in a fixed way, and they will not be able to form their own cultural identity.

Culture and education are closely related in that culture affects educational policies and practices. The way education is considered as a process of shaping behaviors is similar to how culture shapes and guides our behaviors (Irvine, 2001). On the other hand, Hillard (1976) explained that culture has an impact on our behavioral styles and also affects our preferences and habits. As learning is also related to the preferences, culture influences our learning as well.

Like culture, cultural diversity is also challenging in terms of defining the boundaries for its definition. Cultural diversity generally covers a broad spectrum of factors including age, religion, ability, language, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, geographical region, nationality, or gender, etc. (Cushner, McClelland & Safford, 2003). For practical reasons, the term 'diversity' is used in a narrower perspective in this discussion. Ethnicity, religion, language, or nationality are the main sources that frame the term cultural diversity in this study.

Cultural diversity can be considered as the existence of different cultures in society and mobility is an important source for it (Diller & Moule, 2005). When people move, they take their culture with them. In other words, they carry their attitudes, beliefs, traditions, and ways of living, histories, or languages (Banks, 1993). This movement of cultures introduces people to new cultures at the same time which causes cultures to change due to an exchange with other cultures. Hence, culture is never static (Ruiz & Sanchez, 2011).

However, cultural diversity does not mean multiculturalism. The term multiculturalism should call for the promotion and appreciation of the cultures but not only the existence of different cultural values (Clayton, 2003). Like cultural diversity, multiculturalism can have a broad per-

spective by including the factors of age, gender, religion, ability, or ethnicity. In this discussion, multiculturalism is adopted as the promotion of religious, ethnic, linguistic, or cultural diversity. As Maxwell, Waddington, McDonough, Cormier & Schwimmer (2012) suggested, multiculturalism also requires a policy that considers all cultures, provides support to minorities, and guarantees equity for all. In this way, multiculturalism can promote the creation of a democratic society. A democratic society is one that appreciates and encourages the political and economic participation, the recognition of cultural identities, and the equal opportunities regardless of the cultural, ethnic, linguistic, or religious background (Kymlicka, 2012). A point to take into consideration is to have a mixture of cultures that does not blend cultures into each other. A melting pot or a mixture of cultures would mean losing cultural identities and assimilation for some groups (Clayton, 2003). Hence, the preservation of culture should be guaranteed through recognition and policies.

Multiculturalism can be regarded as an attitude that encourages the appreciation and understanding of minority identities (Nagayoshi, 2011). The advantages of adopting multiculturalism are many. Multiculturalism has the potential to regulate social systems and eliminate injustices by bringing social cohesion (Xiao-lei, 2011). On the other hand, being exposed to different cultures, perspectives or identities brings enrichment to all people in society (Clayton, 2003). Living together in a community that knows how to appreciate the richness of diversity can achieve economic and social growth through social cohesion (Gay, 2010). Similarly, resistance to multiculturalism can create negative results. Non-acceptance of cultural diversity may hinder equity among people which is a common experience in the contemporary world (May & Sleeter, 2010).

When not resisted, multiculturalism may be adopted at different levels. If it stays at the level of only knowing and respecting other cultures, it can turn into a celebration of diversity by foods, clothes, or fests. This type of adoption is called difference multiculturalism. Difference multiculturalism emphasizes the pluralism of cultures to advocate for an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect and treating others with dignity, but it affects little change about the oppressed groups (Hale, 2002) because it stays at acceptance level. To analyze the power relations, to assure equity, and to create social justice, we need critical multiculturalism (May & Sleeter, 2010; Xiao-lei, 2011). Critical multiculturalism adopts an approach to examine the injustices and advocate for equities in a multidimensional way. It goes beyond the celebratory approach to examine the issues of ethnicity, race, or language (Gay, 2000).

The application of critical multiculturalism requires an understating of education that cares for diversity. Education should be considered as an effective tool in terms of eliminating injustices and preventing discrimination (Xiao-lei, 2011). Education is important as it can show people how to protect their rights, and it offers opportunities for individual and economic growth. Education is key to social cohesion in society. Hence, education that teaches multidimensionality and multiculturality of a society (Castro, Field, Bauml & Morowski, 2012) is needed. According to Gay (2010) and Flynn (2010), if applied correctly, education can defeat inequities in a diverse society.

2.2 Multicultural Education

Cultural diversity increases in society when it increases in the schools and thus changes the profile of classrooms. Increasing cultural and linguistic diversity requires considering diversity when planning educational activities (Dolby, 2012). In other words, education should be revised to include the idea of multiculturalism, and especially critical multiculturalism. The term 'multicultural education' (Banks & Banks, 1995) targets going beyond content integra-

tion about cultural diversity, and urges thinking about injustices and inequities in society. Multicultural education is a reform movement that targets changing the structure of educational institutions so they can respond to the needs of cultural diversity (Smith, 2009). As Xiao-lei (2011) suggested, this is required to achieve a democratic, pluralistic modern society that is free of inequities and injustices.

Multicultural education has several duties to achieve this goal. According to Banks (2004), the main goal of multicultural education is to provide educational equity, while Clayton (2003) explained that multicultural education should provide social justice. On the other hand, Pai (2005) discussed that multicultural education should definitely promote multicultural competences in order to survive in a variety of cultural settings. Diller and Moule (2005) introduced two other aims of multicultural education. They explained that multicultural education should prepare responsible citizens and should value all the cultures represented in society. Among the other aims of multicultural education are teaching people how to appreciate diversity (Pai, 2005), teaching how to achieve one's own potential (Clayton, 2003), teaching how to see the issues from a variety of perspectives, and how to develop one's own decision-making skills (Banks, 1987). No matter which aim is suggested as the main one, there is agreement that multicultural education should reach everyone regardless of language, religion, ethnicity, and race (Banks et al., 2005; Clayton, 2003; Corderio, Reagen & Martinez, 1994; Pai, 2005).

To apply multicultural education, schools should be conceptualized as a social system. All components of schools should be adapted in line with the critical multiculturalism perspective. This perspective should penetrate all school aspects such as curriculum, teachers, settings, or assessment (Clayton, 2003). However, the success in curriculum, settings, materials, or assessment cannot be achieved without the agents; in other words, teachers (Savage, 2011).

2.3 Culturally Responsive Teaching

The definition of effective teachers has been adapted with the necessities of the culturally diverse societies, and teachers are expected to respond to cultural diversity. However, cultural responsiveness is beyond having information about the existence of several cultures, languages, or ethnicities. Being culturally responsive means the ability to reflect the appreciation of other cultures on teaching practices. Cultural responsiveness is multidimensional. It can be achieved when it affects all components of teaching (Gay, 2010). Teacher education, curriculum, classroom settings, teaching material, or assessment methods are some of these components. Culturally responsive teaching should offer an unbiased and open-minded learning environment for the students so that students voice their ideas. In such an environment, students are emancipated (Gay, 2010). A culturally responsive learning environment also challenges cultural stereotypes, biases, racism, and intolerances (Teel & Obidah, 2008; Walter, 2018).

Elimination of teachers' bias is necessary in order to offer culturally responsive teaching. The interaction between teachers from the dominant culture and immigrant students can be affected by the background of the students. Depending on the social or cultural capital of the students, teachers can regulate their interactions with their students from diverse backgrounds (Darmody, 2011). As Dolby (2012) and Kubota (2010) discussed, teachers may have some labels for their students from diverse backgrounds, which are based on socioeconomic status, migration background, cultural diversity, or use of language. Such labels may also affect the assessment by teachers. Teachers may evaluate the academic performance of their students based on the labels that they unknowingly apply to their students (Darder, 1991; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Assign-

ing expectations and roles to students based on their background is not part of multicultural education because it may harm the equity for educational opportunities (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006; Rothstein-Fisch, 2003).

Such biases can be defeated if the teachers are ready for self-reflection and judge their own biases, expectations, or ideas about cultural diversity. They should be ready to accept the necessary steps. As Banks (2001) suggested, to achieve this, teachers should have an attitude of considering the needs, cultures, and expectations of their students and a readiness to get information concerning the background of students; in other words, by cross-cultural awareness (Bennett, 2007; Diller & Moule, 2005; Rothstein-Fisch, 2003; Savage, 2011; Seeberg & Minick, 2012; Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

As Walter (2018) discussed, the failure to be culturally responsive in teaching, can be culturally oppressive teaching. With such a mentality, teachers consider the dominant culture in their context as the standard that should be shaping the learning and teaching settings. Such an approach to teaching considers teachers as gatekeepers of knowledge and does not encourage students to construct knowledge based on their experiences, studies, or research (Freire, 1970).

2.4 Teacher Education for Diversity

Teachers should be considered as role models in the schools and model acceptance of differences. As teachers are accepted as significant role models to their students, so the way teachers handle diversity will have an effect on the behavior of their students. The daily-transmitted behaviors form the root cause for the rejection of differences in society and affect the attitudes of students (Ruiz & Sanchez, 2011). Hence, teachers are important agents to prevent the rejection of cultural diversity.

Cultivating culturally responsive teachers requires teacher education that caters to the needs of a culturally diverse society. Apart from focusing on human rights, cultural, civic, legal, political, economic, environmental, historical, or social contemporary issues, teacher education should be tackling the changing cultural profile of the societies (May & Sleeter, 2010). The effect that cultural diversity has on curriculum, education policies, or community links is expected to exist on teacher education as well. It is significant to construct teacher education that supports teacher candidates with a full understanding of differences among cultures to become better prepared to teach in an increasingly culturally diverse society (Gay, 2010). A failure in teacher education to respond to the needs of culturally diverse societies may result in problematic practices in schools (Smith, 2009).

As Pickett and York (2011) suggested, multicultural education should focus on the improvement of teaching staff and should invest in appropriate teacher education. It should go beyond subject knowledge, assessment, classroom management, lesson planning, or pedagogical skills (Hayward, 2010). Teacher education programs should help teachers gain the knowledge and behaviors that are needed to work effectively with students from diverse groups (Merryfield, 2000; Moule, 2004). Several studies with teachers or teacher candidates (Estupinan, 2010; Owen, 2010; Walker & Stone, 2011) showed that once completed, the inclusion of culturally responsive teaching in teacher training has positive outcomes for teachers. However, the number of teacher education programs that do not handle teacher education for culturally diverse classrooms effectively is still very high (Castro et al., 2012; Gay 2010; Premier & Miller, 2010). Many teacher education programs do not go beyond content integration in their teacher-training curriculum.

2.5 Migration and Integration

Global migration is a phenomenon that affects individuals and societies, regardless of being so-called 'developed or developing country' (Ruiz & Sanchez, 2011). Due to global immigration in the world, all components of our lives, behaviors, religions, traditions, or values, do change. Uniformity and homogeneity are replaced with complexity and variety in all levels, cultural, social, political, or economic (Cohen, 2006).

As the speed of immigration to new countries has increased in recent years, the efforts for the integration of the immigrants into society has gone through a similar acceleration. However, immigration is not welcomed all the time. In many countries, immigrants face anti-immigrant movements that are driven by the understanding that immigrants are a threat to the unity of society (Ngo, 2017). This perception in the host countries shifted the focus from forming a multicultural society to the necessity of integrating the immigrants into the host country. The multicultural profile of the societies called for multicultural policies. However, several governments could not achieve the implementation of such policies. As such these policies resulted in integration policies targeting the social integration of immigrants (Lentin, 2014). Another reason for stepping back from multicultural policies was mainly based on the claim that immigrants are rarely fully integrated through multicultural policies, and should be exposed to integration policies (Ngo, 2017).

Integration policies originally aim to foster social integration for immigrants by encouraging them to adapt to the receiving country or to identify with the receiving country (Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). These policies cover a wide range of issues, so the goal is to build cultural, social, political, or educational rights and opportunities for immigrants. However, such a focus mainly expects immigrants to identify themselves as members of the host country and take steps towards integration (Wright & Bloemraad, 2012).

The term integration as used in these policies is one to explain the necessities of the changing face of the society by putting the responsibility on the immigrants. Sometimes it is identified as assimilation which pushes immigrants to adopt the language, lifestyles, values, and behaviors of the host country. In this way, immigrants are expected to be "one of ours" and stop being themselves (Ruiz & Sanchez, 2011, p. 1). This type of integration brings a burden on the immigrants to understand the host society with its culture and history.

Integration is discussed in several ways with several dimensions. Not all understand the term 'integration' in the same way. The metaphor that Ruiz and Sanchez (2011) used for integration is an effective way to explain the term. They discussed that integration is not a page that has been already written, nor a blank page. It should be considered as a page which is being written, or as a page where everyone, immigrants or natives, can write something. Such an understanding was also explained by Habermas (1998) that immigrants should be aware of the minimum common political culture in the host country but should not give up on their way of living. In other words, immigrants should accept the constitutional principles but not necessarily adopt the lifestyles or values of the host country totally.

2.6 Immigrants and Education

The profile of society changes due to global migration movements. A parallel change is expected in education. However, immigrant students are often disadvantaged in schools in host countries (Heckmann, 2011), although Article 29a of Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF,

1990, p. 9) ensured the right for education as "the education of the child shall be directed to the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential".

Immigrants, as just discussed, are expected to become integrated by adopting the host country values and lifestyle and feel attached to the host country. Similarly, immigrant students are expected to become the citizens of the receiving country by developing sentiments. However, as OECD (2010) reported, immigrants feel more marginalized in the host countries, and they imagine themselves as members of their parents' countries. An important reason can be the incompetence of schools as institutions of the host country.

Formal education is accused of historically maintaining inequalities in society (Bernstein, 1971; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). However, as Darmody (2011) suggested, the contemporary situation of education is not different in terms of perpetuating the structural inequities among various groups. A way to reproduce the inequalities, as suggested by Gomolla & Radtke (2009), is using prescribed collective or individual attributes. In other words, when all parents are treated in an equal way, although they have uneven prerequisites to help with the homework of their students about the host country, schools preserve the discriminatory practices. This fallback of formal education makes it difficult for immigrants to settle.

Internalizing the social norms that are embedded in the institutionalized integration policies in schools are expected from students (Choi & Cha, 2019). Empirical research has shown that successful integration policies could narrow the gap between immigrant and native peers in terms of educational achievement (Yang & Ham, 2017). However, studies mainly provided evidence about the effect of integration policies on educational gaps but not about socio-political identity (Choi & Cha, 2019; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). Socio-political integration is a crucial factor that shows the level of integration. The social integration of immigrant students should not be perceived as challenging the cultural identity of these students. Attachment to the host country and social integration should not mean assimilation or conflicting identity (Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). On the contrary, failure in social integration would mean detachment and conflict, as students would not develop trust for the institutions and society (Putnam, 2007). On the other hand, failure in social integration would bring fracturing in society (Banks, 2004). Hence, pedagogy should come up with a new perspective matching today's reality (Ruiz & Sanchez, 2011). The priority of contemporary education is the transmission of knowledge and skills. However, education does not mean only academic learning, but it means any type of learning of a person (Ruiz & Sanchez, 2011). Education cannot stop once leaving the classroom or school. In line with the necessities of our world, education should teach acceptance of one another, and it should promote integration for everyone. Education should go beyond the understanding of the existence of cultural diversity (Ruiz & Sanchez, 2011).

2.7 Educational Equity

Education is one of the key elements that strengthen societies and minimize inequities. Several declarations, conventions, or international developments targeted educational equity for all students as "equity in education pays off" (OECD, 2012, p. 14). As tackled by several international policy recommendations, educational equity can eliminate the discrepancies in educational access and achievement for disadvantaged students. OECD (2018) explained educational equity as:

> Equity in education means that schools and education systems provide equal learning opportunities to all students. As a result, students of different socio-economic status, gender or immigrant and family background achieve similar levels of academic performance in key cognitive domains, such as reading, mathematics and science, and similar levels of social and emotional well-being in areas such as life satisfaction, self-confidence and social integration, during their education. (p. 13)

Disadvantages and discrepancies in academic achievement are still problems. Lower educational performance among immigrant children is still reported in several countries (OECD, 2012; 2018). As Heckman (2011) explained, a large proportion of children in the world are born into disadvantaged families and settings, and many are from minority and immigrant families. Although the recent findings show that inequalities in student performance between immigrants and natives have narrowed, gender and immigrant background are still sources of inequality in educational opportunities (Nielsen, 2013). Students who have migration background and speak another language at home, still have lower academic achievement in several countries (OECD, 2018).

For guaranteeing the participation and achievement of all students, regardless of their origin or background, all education systems need policies that address the disadvantages faced by students such as ethnic minorities, immigrants, or persons with disabilities. The issue of equity is not only a common concern in developing countries but also in the so-called 'developed world'. According to UNESCO (2017), while the situation of equity is more acute in the countries of the developing world, there is a growing inequity in richer countries especially the ones affected by globalization and international migration. On the other hand, what the governments have done so far seems to be little help for the marginalized and vulnerable groups (Berhanu & Dyson, 2012).

Among the many indicators of educational equity, the high probability of attending special education schools (Nielsen, 2013) is the point that this study tackles. The overrepresentation in special education of the second biggest immigrant group, people originally from Turkey, is an important topic for educational equity discussion in Austria.

3 Context

This chapter discusses the research context, the diversity in Austria and the historical background of the education system, and the current education system. This chapter goes on with the intercultural learning principle and the research about this principle in Austria. Later, special education and referral to special education follow. The last part tackles teacher training in Austria.

3.1 Diversity in Austria

Austria, a member state of the European Union since 1995, has a population of 8,678,600 (Statistik Austria, 2019a). The ranking of the country in the Human Development Index was 20th (UNDP, 2019), while GDP per capita was 56,273 US Dollars in 2018 (OECD, 2019). It has a federal parliamentary system, and the chancellor is the head of the government. Federal parliament represents the nine states: Vienna, Salzburg, Burgenland, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Styria, Vorarlberg, Tyrol, and Carinthia. The official language of the country is German while several other minority languages are spoken in the country.
Austria is a country populated with a considerable amount of people with a migration background. According to the Austria Statistics Institute (Statistik Austria, 2019b), 2,022,200 of the population is regarded as the population with a migration background, which forms the 23,3% of the whole population.
'People with a migration background' are the people whose parents were born outside Austria. In this case, a person can be a first-generation or a second-generation migrant. A first-generation migrant person is a person whose both parents and himself/herself were born outside Austria. A second-generation migrant is a person whose both parents were born outside Austria, and himself/herself was born in Austria. The table below shows the distribution of people with a migration background over the states of Austria.

Table 3.1: Population with a Migration Background in 2018

State	Total population	Population with a migration Background			
		together	1. Generation	2. Generation	in %
Austria	**8.678,6**	**2.022,2**	**1.492,5**	**529,7**	**23,3**
Burgenland	288,6	37,3	28,6	8,7	12,9
Carinthia	551,1	77,1	60,5	16,6	14,0
Lower Austria	1.649,4	253,5	180,6	72,9	15,4
Upper Austria	1.450,1	258,6	187,5	71,1	17,8
Salzburg	542,6	125,5	90,0	35,5	23,1
Styria	1.218,9	174,1	130,1	44,0	14,3
Tyrol	737,9	155,2	119,7	35,4	21,0
Vorarlberg	386,9	101,2	73,6	27,6	26,2
Vienna	1.853,1	839,8	622,0	217,9	45,3

Source: Statistik Austria (2019b)

Austria, the former Austrian-Hungarian Empire, has been a multinational country. The diversity and migration have been familiar terms in the country. By the end of the 18th century, half of the population in the capital city were immigrants mainly from neighboring regions such as Moravia or Bohemia. However, the contemporary term of diversity mainly refers to the people who arrived in the country in the last decades after the foundation of the second republic.
The diversity in the country started to increase due to labor immigration. In the 1960s, Austria started getting immigrants to respond to the lack of laborers. The immigrant workers were mainly from former Yugoslavian countries or Turkey. Labor agreements were not the only source of immigration for Austria, though. The country took many refugees from former Soviet communist countries as well. In the later years, Austria was a host for the immigrants affected by the Yugoslavian War and the recent Syrian Crisis. The table below shows the changes in the number of the population with a migration background since 2008.

Table 3.2: Population with a Migration Background since 2008

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Population in private household	**8.210,7**	**8.229,3**	**8.245,5**	**8.269,2**	**8.302,9**	**8.350,2**	**8.415,1**	**8.491,0**	**8.599,2**	**8.645,8**	**8.678,6**
Without migration background	6.784,3	6.769,9	6.717,3	6.721,2	6.739,8	6.727,8	6.700,5	6.678,1	6.701,1	6.675,5	6.656,3
With a migration background	1.426,4	1.459,4	1.528,2	1.548,0	1.563,0	1.622,4	1.714,6	1.812,9	1.898,0	1.970,3	2.022,2
1. Generation	1.063,1	1.072,9	1.123,9	1.132,0	1.151,2	1.192,8	1.254,4	1.334,3	1.414,9	1.469,5	1.492,5
2. Generation	363,3	386,5	404,4	416,0	411,9	429,5 in %	460,2	478,7	483,1	500,8	529,7
Population in private household	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**
Without migration background	82,6	82,3	81,5	81,3	81,2	80,6	79,6	78,6	77,9	77,2	76,7
With a migration background	17,4	17,7	18,5	18,7	18,8	19,4	20,4	21,4	22,1	22,8	23,3
1. Generation	74,5	73,5	73,5	73,1	73,6	73,5	73,2	73,6	74,5	74,6	73,8
2. Generation	25,5	26,5	26,5	26,9	26,4	26,5	26,8	26,4	25,5	25,4	26,2

Source: Statistik Austria (2019b)

As in Table 3.2, there has been a steady increase in the number of the population with a migration background in Austria.

3.1.1 Religious Diversity

Throughout history, the religious face of Austria was shaped by Christianity and mainly by the Catholic Church. Other denominations and religions were barely influential in social life or in the political arena. Jewish confession in Austria did exist for a long time under the oppression of the Catholic Church, and the history of the Jewish was remarked by the sufferings, intolerance and executions. With the recognition of the other religions and religious communities in the late decades of the 19th century, the hegemony of the Catholic Church started to decline. On the other hand, the Muslim community in Austria is not recent, either. The interaction of Austrians with Muslims dates to the 17th century, which resulted in the official recognition of Islam in 1874 by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (Kroissenbrunner, 2002) and later in the issuing of Law on Islam in 1912. Today, in Austria, among the recognized religious communities are Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Oriental churches, Islamic religious community, Buddhist and Jewish communities. In addition, almost a million describe themselves with no religion (Austrian Federal Chancellery, 2011).

3.1.2 Immigrants in Austria

2,022,200 of all 8,678,600 residents are considered to be immigrants in Austria where the decision is based on the birthplace of the person or that of his/her parents'. Among all of these immigrants, 529,700 are the second-generation immigrants who were born in Austria, but whose parents were not. This means that citizenship is not the criterion to differentiate between the two groups of migrants in Austria.

The second most populated immigrant group is the immigrants from Turkey who started to step in Austria after the Manpower Agreement between Austria and Turkey in 1964 (Soytürk, 2012). However, the immigration of Turkish people is also a result of asylum-seeking, educational immigration, family reunion and illegal immigration. The number of Austria residents that hold Turkish citizenship is 117,231 (Statistik Austria, 2019c). However, the first generation Turkish people who got citizenship through neutralization and the Turkish people who were born with Austrian citizenship are not included in this number. When all people with a Turkish background are taken into account, the number is expected to be around 270,000 (Statistik Austria, 2019c).

People with Turkish background have considerably less income and lower living standards than Austrians and achieve less in German language (Potganski, 2010). To illustrate, 53% of the population from a Turkish background and only 5% of women with Turkish background can speak German at an advanced level while 61% of people with Turkish background only finished compulsory education (Integration Fond, 2017).

Similarly, at the end of her research with second-generation Turkish immigrants, Pasztor (2011) found that Turkish immigrants still face labor market discrimination in Austria. This study also showed that saving the required capital with the intention of going back to Turkey is not visible among the Turkish immigrants anymore. Turkish immigrants explained their intentions for long-term educational investments and integration.

According to the numbers provided by the Austrian Statistic Agency (Statistik Austria, 2016), 17,9% of the whole population in Austria hold a post-secondary degree. When native Austrians and immigrants are compared, it is seen that 20% of immigrants have a post-secondary degree while it is 17% among native Austrians. However, holding a post-secondary degree varies drastically among various immigrant groups. This rate reaches up to 29% for immigrants from other EU countries while it stays at 7% for immigrants from former Yugoslavian countries or 4% for Turkey descendants.

The latest statistics about yearly earning show that an Austrian's net yearly salary was 24,568 Euro while it was 19,233 Euro for a non-Austrian in 2016. However, even in this calculation, the origin has a big impact as the yearly take-home salary for an immigrant from another EU country was 23,839 Euro while it was so low as 18,967 Euro for an immigrant from Turkey (Integration Fond, 2017).
A similar trend is to observe also in the unemployment statistics. Austria has a relatively low unemployment rate when compared to other European countries (9,1% in 2016). The unemployment rate for Austrians was calculated by 8% in 2016 while by 14,3% for former Yugoslavians and 19,9% for Turkey descendants. In the earlier years of the immigration, 1960's and 1970's, the employability of the immigrants was easier when compared to now. In these years, immigrants were employed mainly as unskilled or semi-skilled workers (Pastzor, 2008). However, it is clear that the labor market has changed since then and such jobs have become scarcer.
The statistical yearbook of the Integration Fond (2017) also showed that the employment rate was 71% for native Austrian women while it was 58% in 2016 for all immigrant women and 42% for immigrants from a Turkish background. This is considered to result in a higher risk of poverty for immigrant families. The risk of poverty is calculated by 14% for native Austrians while 36% for immigrants who were born abroad. Detailed calculations show a higher unemployment rate among immigrant mothers than among native Austrian mothers.

3.2 Education in Austria

The Austrian education system is under the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Research (BMBWF). On the other hand, the Federal Ministry for Sustainability and Tourism (BMNT) is responsible for schools that have a focus on agriculture, natural environment or tourism. The language of education is German. However, bilingual primary and secondary education in Slovenian, Hungarian and Croatian exist in the country. There are also private schools in foreign languages such as English or French.

3.2.1 Historical Background of Education

The Austrian education system has undergone several changes affected by the political situation of the country, wars and social changes. A big part of education was the responsibility of the churches in Austria until the 18th century. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Austria, who were mainly in charge of education, the monarchy came up with the Common School Act. Compulsory schooling was introduced in 1774 by Empress Maria Theresa. Upon this act, the public schools were established. They included three types of primary schools: primary schools in cities, primary schools in rural areas, primary schools in urban places (Ebenberger, 2015).
Losing the battle of Königgrätz in 1866 brought independence to Hungarians, and the Austrian emperor was forced to give more rights to people (Ebenberger, 215). The Primary School Act (Reichsvolksschulgesetz) introduced different subjects to teach, and education became the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The primary school law was put into effect in 1869. This law ensured that the state took over the charge for the primary school from the churches. With this law, the duration of compulsory school was also extended from six to eight years (Scheipl & Seel, 1987). Male and female students were schooled in separate classrooms and they entered the buildings by using separate entrances. Access to university education did not happen until 1887 for women.

Although the school was mandatory for all with a duration of eight years, the transition to the second cycle upon completion of the first five years was not common. Only a specific group could get access to academically more challenging schools after the first five years.

After World War I, the monarch went on with the practice of tracking the students into different types of secondary schools at the age of 11. This created social inequality in society. Children of the poor, farmers or workers pursued their education in secondary school with lower academic expectations and achievements while the children of middle-class or rich people could attend more academically challenging and achieving schools.

Upon signing the treaty of St. Germain in 1920, Austria had to offer protection to the ethnic minority groups and education in their minority language. The Minority School Act gave the right of education in minority languages to specific groups of minorities such as Slovenians, Croatians and Hungarians. They could attend either bilingual schools or schools in their minority languages. However, education in several minority languages was not possible at the secondary school level due to financial sources for teachers who could teach in these languages.

After the annexation by National Socialist Germany, the number of ethnic minorities decreased due to executions, emigration or expels. As Luciak and Biewer (2011) discussed, the hostility against ethnic minorities increased, and the segregation started becoming visible. The educational settings were segregated for ethnic minorities until they were totally banned from attending schools. Upon the end of World War II, Austria became independent in 1955. With regulations made in 1962 and 1969, compulsory education became nine years and parents were given the right to choose between sending their children to school and homeschooling.

With the introduction of the Secondary School Act in 1927, the second type of secondary school was developed. This school was an extension of Gymnasium, which was mainly private and not easy to afford. Offering a parallel four-year lower secondary school to Gymnasiums started the discussion of attending different secondary schools based on social background, which is still a discussion in the country (Ebenberger, 2015).

The discussion about this inequality started at the end of the 1920s. However, since then, the different types of secondary schools exist, and the placement is done based on grades and teacher suggestions. There have been efforts for changing the old education system that was considered as not student-centered. These efforts concentrated on offering more individualization and more focus on social and personal skills. These attempts ended up in different types of lower secondary schools (Ebenberger, 2015). Non-academic lower secondary schools and Gymnasiums started accepting students based on their grades on specific subjects such as Math, German and foreign language.

To form a common secondary school for all children, New Middle Schools were introduced in 2012. The aim was to provide all students with the same quality of education and merge different types of secondary schools. After piloting, the New Middle Schools replaced old lower secondary schools in 2012. However, the lower secondary cycle of Gymnasiums still exists and the political discussion goes on (Ebenberger, 2015).

The education of immigrants started in the early years of immigration in the 1960s. The assumption that immigrants were only guest workers and they would go back to their countries was common in Austria. The children of immigrants who came to Austria with work purposes were educated in their languages with the aim of easing their integration to education in their own countries upon returning. However, due to increasing immigration to the country, it became clear that most of these workers would not go back to their countries. These students were offered German as a second language as well as education in their first language.

3.2.2 School System in Austria

The Austrian education system is public and free. Compulsory education starts at the age of six and lasts for nine school years or until the age of 15. The current school system is based on three important legal acts: School Organization Act (Schulorganisationsgesetz), Compulsory Education Act (Schulpflichtgesetz), and School Education Act (Schulunterrichtsgesetz). Federal and state-level division of the responsibilities with regard to schools and education exists as well. The federal level is mainly responsible for general legislative matters, curriculum development, teacher education or educational research while the state level is responsible for the implementation of national laws, teacher recruitment and the organization of the schools.

Pre-school children can attend crèches, playgroups, nurseries or kindergartens up to the age of six. The last year of the kindergarten, which is at the age of five, is free, compulsory and funded by the states in the state kindergartens. However, this year is not considered a school year while calculating compulsory education. After kindergarten, children start primary school if they are ready for formal education. For the ones who are not ready to start primary education, there is one year of pre-school.

The first four years of compulsory education take place in primary schools. Children mainly start primary school at the age of six. However, in case of readiness for primary level education, children can be accepted before completion of the age of six. Primary education is conducted with a holistic perspective by the teachers who are graduates of teacher training colleges. For some specific subjects, different teachers can also be involved in the primary level; however; the class teacher is mainly responsible for the bigger part of the teaching at the primary level.

After the completion of primary school, there are different pathways for students. At this point, students are directed to different lower secondary schools based on their interests and grades on math, German and English. The new comprehensive school, (new middle school) was launched in 2012, and it replaced the non-academic lower secondary schools in the 2018-2019 school year. Lower secondary schools last for four years.

The curriculum of the new middle school targets the quality of academic secondary schools (gymnasiums) with new teaching and learning culture. These schools provide two teachers in the classrooms for some subjects at the same time. They guide students to realize their talents, potentials and interests. However, the evaluation of new middle schools showed that new middle schools did not increase the academic achievement of students significantly when compared to the older version of lower secondary schools (Feller, 2015). On the other hand, these schools could not compensate for the educational inequality for disadvantaged students.

Another option for the lower secondary is the academic lower secondary schools; in other words, the first cycle of Gymnasiums. This cycle lasts for four years and accepts students only with good or very good grades at math, German and foreign language (mainly English). These schools diverge into various orientations either at the beginning of the lower cycle or at the end of the lower cycle. Some of them have a focus on humanities, languages or arts while others on math and natural sciences. Another focus is on economics and life skills.

After lower secondary, students can choose between upper secondary schools, pre-vocational schools, technical schools or they can exit from the education system if they are already 15 years old. Upper secondary schools end with a school-leaving exam (Matura). The main aim of the academic upper secondary schools is to prepare students for university-level or more specialized vocational/technical tertiary-level colleges.

Upper secondary schools are not limited to the upper cycle of academic secondary schools. For the students with disabilities or disadvantages, the pre-vocational year offers orientation for the

labor market. This year provides students with information and insight about possible job areas and vocational possibilities. Apart from students with disabilities, for the ones who do not want to go to an upper secondary school and who are younger than 15, this pre-vocational year can be the last year of compulsory schooling. Students can go on their career with an apprenticeship or subsequent type of vocational school. The apprenticeship lasts 2-4 years and ends with a practical exam in front of a committee of experts. When doing an apprenticeship, students spend about 20-25 % of the time in school to get theoretical knowledge and the rest of the time in vocational training.

Another option for the vocational secondary schools is intermediate vocational schools. These schools last 1-4 years. Attending 1-2 years will bring a partial vocational training while finishing 3-4 years with a final exam will bring a completed vocational training. After completion, students can get employed in their area, get extra courses for university preparation, go on their education in post-secondary vocational colleges, do an apprenticeship or attend an applied sciences university by proving enough professional practice.

The last option of the upper secondary is vocational colleges that last for five years and end with a school-leaving examination (Matura). Graduates can start practicing their profession, they can be registered in the relevant departments of the university, or they can take preparatory courses for another specialization in another tertiary level institution.

Tertiary education institutions can be divided into two. The short tertiary education institutions include mainly post-secondary vocational courses, continuing education for adults, or industrial master college for craftspersons. The short tertiary education lasts mainly 4-6 semesters. On the other hand, tertiary education takes place in universities, teacher training colleges or universities of applied sciences. Depending on the area, the duration of studies can change.

The detailed chart for the Austrian education system can be found in Appendix A.

3.2.3 Diversity in Schools

The total number of the students enrolled in schools (primary, lower secondary, upper secondary) was 1,132,367 for the 2017-2018 school year in Austria. Among this number, 289,652 students are defined as students with a mother tongue other than German, which makes up to 26 % (Statistik Austria, 2019d). As Fase (1994) and Bacher (2006) suggested, Austria accepts the mother tongue as the criterion in defining the students with a migration background. Yet, as Luciak and Biewer (2011) pointed, such definitions may not present the actual number of students with a migration background because German can be reported as the colloquial language of an immigrant family. However, the relevant uses this calculation, and in this study, students with a migration background and students with a mother tongue other than German are used interchangeably.

The percentage of students with a mother tongue other than German varies from one state to another. The highest rate was in Vienna (51,9 %) while the lowest rate was in Carinthia (15, 4%) in 2018. Table 3.3 presents the numbers and the percentages of the students with a migration background (students who have a mother tongue other than German) in different states for the year 2018.

Another point is the distribution of students with a migration background over different school types. According to the statistics in the 2017-2018 school year, while the percentage of students with a migration background was 30,1% in special education schools, it was 20,2 % in all school types; and in the capital, students with a migration background constituted 45,1 % of all students and 55,6 % of the students in special education schools. The detailed numbers are presented in Table 3.4 for Vienna and in Appendix B for the other states.

The tables below show that more than half of the students in the capital city have migration background; in other words, reported another mother tongue other than German.

Table 3.3: Students with Mother Tongue Other Than German in 2018 (N = 289,662)

State	*f*	*%*
Vienna	122,672	51,9
Vorarlberg	14,385	26,4
Salzburg	16,642	21,9
Upper Austria	42,822	21,9
Burgenland	5,900	17,1
Tyrol	17,036	17,6
Lower Austria	34,280	17,0
Carinthia	10,886	15,4
Total	289,652	26,0

Source: Statistik Austria (2019d)

Table 3.4: Distribution of Students with a Migration Background to School Types in Vienna in 2018

School type	*f*	*% of all*
Total	122,672	51,9
Primary	42,624	58.8
Non-academic secondary	56	71,8
New middle school	23,500	74,5
Special education schools	2,009	61,8
Polytechnic schools	1,874	72,5
Academic secondary	24,456	39,5
Vocational schools	9,395	47,4
Vocational colleges	10,424	37,0

Source: Statistik Austria (2019d)

3.2.4 Intercultural Learning Principle

These figures show that the schools in Austria are populated with students from different cultures. Given this fact, Austria has a focus on educational equity since the earlier years of migration. Among the educational concerns of the Federal Ministry for Education (BMBWF), the statement "all students in a class, regardless of their linguistic, geographical origin, and their German skills have right for education" is emphasized (BMBWF, 2019a). The intercultural education principle was introduced in the 1990s with the aim of harmonizing all cultural backgrounds existing in the country. This principle did not target only the immigrants but all students. The Federal Ministry of Education builds the efforts of multicultural education on the 'intercultural learning' principle (BMBWF, 2018). The ministry regards this principle as a principle that requires teacher competencies.

According to the explanation provided by the ministry, intercultural learning should be achieved to contribute to mutual understanding, to eliminate prejudices and to recognize differences and similarities. It is also indicated in the website of the ministry that intercultural learning is for encouraging students to bring their mother tongue and culture in the class. This principle is supported by over 150 projects across the nation and programs among schools under the title of "Interculturality and Multiculturalism". The Federal Law Newspaper (2017) explained this principle as:

> Intercultural learning is not limited only to learning about other cultures. Rather, it is the common learning, understanding, and experience and it helps shape cultural values. However, it is also important to arouse interest and curiosity about cultural differences to make not only cultural unity, but also diversity as something valuable.

On the other hand, the ministry lists the promotion of "multilingualism and linguistic diversity in Austria" among the educational concerns. The reason for this promotion is explained as a necessity for social peace, social cohesion and global competitiveness.

However, about two decades ago, Jaksche (1998) came up with two important deficiencies in the Austrian research community in terms of research on interculturalism. The first one was the lack of research on the topic while the second one was the limited exchange between researchers. The limited existing research suggests a very limited actualization of this principle. Luciak and Khan-Svik (2008) discussed that the principle of intercultural learning has a very limited implementation in school settings. They also discuss that this principle has very little existence in textbooks.

In addition, the literature on intercultural education in Austrian teacher education does not rely on research with pre-service teachers. The literature is limited to a few studies with teachers and dates back to the early years of the 2000s. In her study with teachers, Furch (2005) indicated that teachers have a partial understanding of the intercultural learning principle. She found that teachers show familiarity with the diversity of cultures because of the diverse profile of their classrooms. However, they keep the tendency to stereotyping or highlighting culture and background when talking about students. In her study, around three-thirds of the interviewed teachers were teaching classrooms with a culturally and linguistically diverse profile.

Another small-scale study by Strohmeier and Fricker (2007) with teachers showed that the understanding of intercultural principle is subject to teachers' personal attitudes. Teachers mainly refer to their personal understandings about immigrants or students with a migration background based on their experiences, attitudes or perceptions. The intercultural principle was not considered as a principle to tackle as a necessary step in providing intercultural education by teachers. These results had been already found out in a similar study at an earlier time. Binder and Daryabegi (2003) indicated that the teachers' implementation of intercultural principle is limited to the personal interest of teachers and to their understanding the of term 'culture'.

3.2.5 Educational Statistics

In Austria, the research and statistics indicate an academic achievement gap between students with a migration background and their native peers. The academic performance of the students with a migration background is lower than their native peers' performance. Students with a migration background are overrepresented in low achieving schools and underrepresented in academic schools that lead to university level (Biedermann, Weber, Herzog-Punzenberger & Nagel, 2016; Biffl & Skrivanek, 2014; Kainz, 2007).

National Education Report of the Bifie (Federal Institute for Educational Research, Innovation and Development of Austrian Education) can be considered as the most comprehensive educational report in the Austrian context. The report is a collaboration of the Austrian Ministry of Education and Bifie. Published every three years, the report gives detailed information about school structure, educational attainment, several indicators and their effect on academic success as well as information about access to education, dropouts, and teachers. In this section, a summary of the most recent National Education Report from 2018 is included to depict a picture of the country context.

According to Bifie National Education Report (Bifie, 2019), the possibility of going to school at a higher level is affected by socioeconomic status, however not limited to it. In a similar way, having migration background cannot explain lower academic achievement alone. The report indicated clearly that socio-economic status and the migration background intersect in terms of academic achievement.

As well as the first generation, the second-generation students with a migration background are overrepresented among the students who could not achieve the targeted education standards. While only 10% of native peers fail in reading skills, this goes up to 25% for the students with a migration background although born in Austria. Similarly, the failure from Math is 9% for the native peers while 23% for the second-generation immigrant students. Bifie concludes that migration and the language spoken home have both effect on these failure rates. However, the exact number of students who speak only German, German and their first language or only their language cannot be calculated as this indicator is based on the reporting of the families at the beginning of the school year. Hence, these numbers may not reflect the real situation.

In the eighth grade, which is the last year of lower secondary, around half of the students with a migration background did not show the required skills in reading and math. This goes up to 66% for the first-generation immigrant students. Bifie agreed that Austrian schools do not close the gap for the students who come to Austria at the school age.

Another conclusion of the report showed how the failure rate increases through the school years. The failure in 8th grade was higher than the failure rate in 4th grade for the students with a migration background. In addition, among the students who achieved higher than national standards are there only a few students who come from uneducated families, immigrant families or families who speak no German.

Finally, when compared to other countries, Austria fails to defeat the influence of several factors on educational achievement. In Austria, social background, having migration background and the language spoken in the family affect the academic competences and account for 28% of the variance in academic achievement. This rate is 21% in Germany, 18% in Canada, while 19% in Australia.

3.2.6 Students with a Turkish Background

That certain ethnic groups achieve less in Austria is widely known. Especially, immigrants and their children from former Yugoslavian countries and Turkey as well as the Roma are the most visible low achievers in Austria (Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008). The study of Strohmeier and Spiel (2009) indicated that Turkish students are lonelier in schools with less number of friends, and they experience more rejection in school settings. In her comparative study, Pasztor (2008) looked for the educational performance of the Turkish descendant students in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. With her research, she indicated that in three countries, students with Turkish migration background profited from educational integration less than their peers did.

When compared to other students with a migration background, students with Turkish background seem to have a higher risk to be placed in special education schools in Austria. Luciak

and Biewer (2011) as well as Herzog-Punzenberger and Unterwurzacher (2009) and Bacher (2006) reported this high risk in Austria for Turkish along with former Yugoslavian immigrant students. Herzog-Punzenberger and Unterwurzacher (2009) concluded that Turkish immigrant students have 2.3 times higher risk of being diagnosed with special education needs than their native peers in Austria.

3.2.7 Integration and Education

Austria is a country that ensures cultural and religious freedom and the neutrality of the legal system by law. However, the debate about the integration of immigrants has been all the time on the agenda of the country. As several scholars suggested (Bauböck & Perchinig, 2006; Heine, 2005; Rosenberger, 2006), the lack of integration is reflected mainly on the immigrant groups although Austrian law and society show a lack of effort in terms of welcoming integration. Integration is mostly considered as adopting the host culture; in other words, being assimilated (Luciak & Biewer, 2011). There is a common public understanding that immigrants do not regard Austria as their country. However, the study of Weiss (2007) found that most of the second-generation immigrants consider Austria as their home country.

Furthermore, liberal parties argue that the differences in educational attainments are not because of the education system. They mainly criticize immigrants and minorities of being unwilling to get integrated into the country, which considers integration as a one-sided effort (Luciak & Biewer, 2011). The discussion of segregating children at different schools at an early age has been a political battle among the political parties. Switching to comprehensive schooling, or keeping the current system has created tension between the two biggest political parties, the Christian Conservative People's Party and the Social Democrats. Social democrats, along with the Austrian Green Party, advocate for a comprehensive education system. The lack of comprehensive schooling and the low performance of new middle schools sustain the educational inequity for the immigrants. This situation also challenges the concept of inclusion.

On the other hand, the discussion about the consequences of immigration has focused on the burden on the economy. Especially with the latest refugee influxes, the Austrian government and society are concerned with the financial consequences and the integration of the newcomers. Integration is mainly discussed in the frame of employability and the possibility of the integration of the newcomers into the job market.

According to the Civil Courage and Anti-Racism Work (2018), the discriminatory actions in Austria are to find commonly in daily life including the media language, internet, public transport, social services, political arena or election campaigns. Especially, the recent refugee movements, the rise of the far-right party and the media news that give a special focus on the immigrant background of criminals are only some of the reasons why immigrants are the topic of hot debates. The Racism Report of Civil Courage and Anti-Racism Work (2018), indicated that immigrants regularly face discrimination and prejudice in their social life as well as the labor market. In addition, there is a visible increase in the number of attacks against immigrates in recent years.

3.3 Special Education in Austria

This part gives information about special education practices in Austria. Firstly, the historical background of special education is discussed. Following, the part goes on with the current special education in the country. The different pathways for special education are presented as well.

3.3.1 Historical Background of Special Education in Austria

The history of teaching students with disabilities can be considered slow but steady in Austria. It took a long time to come up with the consideration that children with disabilities can be educated. The discussion of the educability of children with sensory impairments came to life at the end of the 18th century. In the development of this discussion, the Enlightenment thinkers were the pioneers. The first step was establishing schools for children with sensory impairment. The initial teaching for students with disabilities targeted blind as well as deaf students in specialized schools (Biewer, 2017). These schools were funded by public finance. However, the institutions for children with intellectual impairments were relying on private or church support.

The students with disabilities were educated with an approach that combined medical and pedagogical approaches. This trend was followed until the annexation from National Socialist Germany in 1938. Under the Nazi Germany regime, remedial education started to fade in the country (Luciak & Biewer, 2011). Apart from ethnic minorities, people with disabilities were also the victims of the National Socialist ideology.

The special education schools were reviewed after the 1950s. The medical point of view, at that time, influenced the idea of special education as well as special education teachers. At the beginning of the 1990s, special education schools were the schools for learning disabilities, physical, mental retardation, and sensory impairment. The special education in Austria was established as highly specialized, which brought challenges to integrative efforts as well as inclusive developments. So-called inclusive education was provided only because of limited sources in rural areas. The argument that special education creates marginalization and stigmatization was started by parents, mainly upper- or middle-class parents with disabled children. Because of this systematic ask for change, an integration movement started in the earlier years of the 1980s (Luciak & Biewer, 2011). Integration was not welcomed easily by the government or social administration in Austria. On the first establishment of the first integrated class in 1984, there was the impact of teachers, mass media, education scientists and activists.

In 1993, the first integrated classrooms were introduced in the country, and in the same year, parents got the right of choosing between special education school and integrative school settings. The integrated classrooms were established in the country, and a series of steps were taken to ensure integrative classroom settings.

3.3.2 Current Special Education in Austria

Students with special education needs (SEN) can attend several levels of schools in Austria including kindergarten, primary school, new middle school, academic lower secondary school, pre-vocational school, one-year vocation school, or homeschooling. Attending the upper cycle of academic secondary schools is challenging for SEN students in Austria. Their attendance in academic secondary schools is limited to a small number of schools that offer integrative settings for the students with SEN and who are academically successful. Special education in Austria mainly aims to provide SEN students with basic education to cope with the requirements of vocational training or to attend a higher level of education, as suggested in Compulsory School Act (BMBWF, 2019b). Students who are diagnosed with special education needs in Austria can be schooled in several types of classrooms, too. Special education schools, special education classrooms in mainstream schools, integrative classrooms or inclusive classrooms (only in the model regions for the pilot project).

The first possibility is the special education schools that provide education for eight years. Students with SEN can spend a maximum of 12 years in a special education school with the approval of the school authority. Special education schools can have their own curriculum or can follow the curriculum of other schools, including primary, secondary or polytechnic schools. The special education schools that have their own curriculum are mainly the ones that provide education for severely disabled, blind, deaf students as well as the general special education school for learning disabilities (BMBWF, 2019c). Special education schools offer vocational orientation in the 7th and 8th years. This exercise targets the personal development of the students as well as guide them to follow their capabilities, interests with regard to vocational training. With this orientation, they get insights into daily life in society or in the workplace to function as an independent individual. The ninth year of special education can be pursued as a pre-vocational year. Upon completion of special education schools, if not 15 yet, students can attend the pre-vocational year and subsequently they can do an apprenticeship in the area of their training (BMBWF, 2019c).

The second possibility is to attend integrative classrooms. Integrative classrooms can be found in primary schools, new middle schools, the lower cycle of academic secondary, polytechnic schools, and one-year vocational school on the household economy. Based on the assessment of school authorities and the age, students with SEN can attend the upper secondary schools until the 12th grade (BMBWF, 2019d). Students with SEN can follow the curriculum for special education for certain subjects and the general national curriculum for some other subjects. Additional resources and support are allocated for SEN students who attend regular classrooms. Supporting teachers in the classrooms and fitting teaching materials are the components of the integrative system. Team-teaching and individualized resources are some of the integrative practices in the schools, as well. In addition, if needed, the regular number of classrooms, 25, is reduced in the case of students with SEN in the classroom (Besic, Palaczek, Krammer & Gasteiger-Klicpera, 2017). As the ministry (BMBWF, 2019d) suggested, integrative settings offer a common learning ground for the ones with or without disabilities. In some cases, the SEN diagnosis can be deleted if the student's academic achievement is considered enough by teachers. If a student finishes middle school without SEN diagnoses, despite having it before, he/she can follow the academic career as other students in the upper levels.

Inclusion, on the other hand, is a political debate in Austria. Political parties have different assumptions about the implementation of inclusion and that has an effect on the research, planning and implementation of inclusion. In 2015 (with the previous government), the Ministry of Education, in line with the international conventions, published a regulation about the pedagogical and organizational frame of inclusive education developments. To pilot the framework, three states were chosen as model regions. The first interim review of the pilot project from one model region gave information about teachers' attitudes toward inclusive practices as well as suggestions about classroom compositions. The study of Besic et al. (2017) showed that school administration and teachers had developed positive attitudes after working in inclusive settings. They improved their flexibility in trying new materials and teaching strategies. However, including the students with severe and multiple disabilities is still a source of worry for the teachers.

The table below presents the number of students who have special education needs (SEN) in the country in 2018. The table gives detailed information about the distribution of SEN students in different types of classrooms or schools.

Table 3.5: Students with Special Education Needs

States	Austria	Burgenland	Carinthia	Lower Austria	Upper Austria	Salzburg	Styria	Tyrol	Vorarlberg	Vienna
					All students					
School types	**577.404**	**18.047**	**34.066**	**111.053**	**107.023**	**38.013**	**75.178**	**52.281**	**31.827**	**109.916**
Primary schools	339.382	10.369	20.542	64.025	60.969	21.232	44.284	28.704	16.798	72.459
Non-academic lower secondary	1.993	-	-	2	859	655	189	-	210	78
New middle schools	205.905	6.963	12.621	40.122	40.729	13.450	28.193	20.477	11.806	31.544
Special education school	14.815	329	320	3.747	1.339	1.714	567	1.482	2.067	3.250
Polytechnic schools	15.309	386	583	3.157	3.127	962	1.945	1.618	946	2.585
					Students with special education needs (SEN)					
School types	30.364	838	1.988	5.828	2.380	2.974	1.924	2.217	1.924	6.578
Primary schools	5.454	119	587	1.569	239	682	124	34	124	1.450
Non-academic lower secondary	48	-	-	38	4	4	-	-	-	-
New middle schools	9-054	336	1000	2.446	373	1.565	264	113	113	1.735
Special education schools	14.815	329	320	1.339	1.714	567	1.482	2.067	2.067	3.250
Polytechnic schools	993	54	81	245	50	156	54	3	3	143
					Distribution of SEN students to different classroom types in %					
Classroom types	100%									
Special education schools	35,2	27,8	15,6	45,1	21,8	34,0	17,5	47,3	37,2	48,8
Integration in primary	23,4	18,3	29,9	19,0			24,0	16,1	20,6	22,4
Integration in non-academic lower secondary	0,3	-	-	-	0,8	1,1	0,1	-	0,3	-
Integration in new middle school	37,5	46,5	50,4	31,6	44,8	31,6	53,2	33,0	40,2	26,6
Integration in polytechnic schools	3,7	7,4	4,1	4,3	4,1	3,3	5,2	3,6	1,7	2,2

Source: Statistik Austria (2019e)

3.3.3 Disability Policy for Inclusion

The Austrian Federal Ministry for Labor, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection (BMASK) came up with a rehabilitation concept for the integration of people with disabilities in 1977. This concept was mainly dealing with rehabilitation, shelters or counseling. Upon the declarations of the United Nations, the Austrian government made decisions on the disability policy. In 1988, the 11th Amendment to the School Organization Act attempted to provide education for non-disabled and disabled students in mainstream settings (Austrian Federal Chancellery, 1992). After two years, the Federal Disability Act was put into effect that targeted more support, care and specialized help for people with disabilities. At the end of 1992, the Austrian Federal Government declared its disability concept. This concept was in the form of guidelines of educational integration employability of disabled people (Austrian Federal Chancellery, 1992). Upon the declaration of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2008, Austria adopted the convention in the same year. As a European Union member, Austria became a partner of the convention when the EU joined the UN Convention in 2009 (BMASK, 2012). In 2011, Austria began to develop a national action plan for people with disabilities in line with the EU Disability Strategy. This action plan was published in 2012, and it targeted the action plan for disability between the years 2012 and 2020 (BMASK, 2012). According to the first review of the action plan, 145 of the 250 steps were actualized, and the final review is planned by the end of 2020 (BMASK, 2015).

3.3.4 Referral to Special Education

According to school law, a student cannot be diagnosed with special education needs as long as he/she can achieve attending school despite the need for help to follow the instruction (Luciak & Biewer, 2011). On the other hand, with the law issued in 1993, parents have a say if their children with special education needs can go on education in special education schools or in integrative classes; and acceptance of this wish is limited to the availability of place in the concerned school or classroom (Education Council for Vienna, 2014).

Special education referral is bound to several rules but also exceptions. Any special education need is encouraged to be diagnosed latest by the first two years of primary or secondary level and avoided at the end of the primary level or secondary level. However, when intervention is a must, special education referral can happen in the third year of primary or secondary. The referral starts with the initiation of teachers who think that students may have special education needs. Teachers are expected to talk about this with other teachers and school directors. The agreement of school directors and teachers by relying on a valid reason is needed to proceed. When needed, special education centers/schools can be contacted to get support in case the school has no special education teacher. If the school has already integration classes, it has special education teachers who can be engaged in the process with their expertise and suggestions. After discussing the possible necessity for special education referrals within the school, parents are invited to schools. Parents' agreement is required to proceed with the psychological evaluation.

After a discussion with the parents and getting the consent to start the process of assessment, the school psychologists from responsible regional center observes and evaluates the pupil with a standardized test and tasks. When school psychologists identify special education needs, the parents are invited to the school to be informed. At this point, parents have the right to engage external psychologists and get a consultation. All the test findings, school grades, medical reports etc. are discussed collectively in a commission including school inspectors, school psy-

chologists, and special education experts from special education centers. Parents are not included in the decision-making during the commission; however, before or after the commission they can get a consultation, also in their mother tongue if needed. The last decision is to be given by school inspectors based on the all evaluation submitted to the commission. Special education referral should include definitely a justification and should be based on the categories suggested by the guidelines. According to the guidelines, the decision should be based at least on one of the 10 disability categories; autism, learning disabilities, physical disabilities, mental disabilities, hearing impairment, visual impairment, speech disabilities, severe multi-disabilities, blindness, deafness. With regard to severity or type of special education needs, a student can be schooled in a new classroom, a new school or can be assigned with a simplified curriculum in the same classroom (Education Council, 2014). In addition, special education referral has a quota that decides how many students can be referred to special education in a given school or school district. Hence, a special education referral is sometimes bound to the limitations beyond the specific needs of students.

Although the process is explained by the Education Council in a very detailed way, the practice can have alterations; and as Altrichter and Feyerer (2011) suggested, special education referrals are ambiguous and lack conformity and unity across the country.

The referral process to special education has been regulated by the Vienna Education Board (Former Education Council for Vienna) recently in terms of giving parents more autonomy and having more monitoring on the process. This regulation was put into effect on January 1 in 2019. As the regulation is very recent, there is not any review or research about it.

The relevant pages of the latest guidelines for special education, integration and inclusion published by the Education Council for Vienna (now Vienna Education Board) in 2014 can be found in Appendix C.

3.3.5 School Inspectors and School Psychologists in Austria

As they are participants in this study, it is important to discuss the position and peculiarities of these two groups. Apart from teachers, school directors and parents are important parts of the special education referral process.

School inspectors are considered as regional quality managers who work with the school directors collaboratively. The duties of school inspectors are mainly related to achieving the educational goals at the state and federal level. They support and consult the school directors and assure the legal conformity of the steps taken (Vienna Education Board, 2019). When needed, they are asked for conflict management or crisis intervention as well. School inspectors are generally responsible for several school districts. For instance, in the capital city, there are 19school inspectors. Sixteen of them are responsible for 23 school districts, which means some of them have more than one school district. On the other hand, one school inspector is responsible only for special education, one for polytechnic schools, and one for special education for specific education directions. A school inspector who is responsible for special education is a member of the commission that decides about special education needs.

School psychology in Austria has been a practice for five decades as an integrated part of the school system (Vienna Education Board, 2019). It is considered as a consultation program about the whole school life in relation to diagnostic and therapeutic knowledge. School psychologists are consultants in several orientations including, violence prevention, addiction prevention, crisis intervention, conflict management, parental consultation, teacher consultation, psychological consultation, cooperation with clinics or magistrate for children and youth (Vienna Educa-

tion Board, 2019). According to the numbers from 2018, a school psychologist is responsible for the consultation of around 10.000 students, their parents and around 900 teachers. In the capital city, there are 25 consultation offices in total. School psychologists are graduates of the psychology department and are employed by the Federal Ministry of Education. School psychologists are the ones who are invited to schools to test the students with standardized tests, evaluate the results, and inform the commission about the situation of the student in terms of special education needs.

3.4 Teacher Training in Austria

There are different pathways for teacher training in Austria. The duration, status, qualification or admission of teacher training varies according to school type to work. Teacher training generally is offered at the upper secondary level, non-university tertiary level and university level. The entry requirements for being accepted in any teacher education program are identified by the Federal Ministry for Education (BMBWF, 2019e) as;

- basic personal qualifications
- knowledge of the German language (written and spoken), speech and voice power
- musical and rhythmic qualification
- physical and motor qualification

Teacher training institutions are divided into different types; universities, teacher-training colleges, an educational institute for kindergarten pedagogy (Bildungsanstalten für Kindergartenpädagogik-BAKIP) and educational institute for social pedagogy (Bildungsanstalt für Sozialpädagogik – BASOP). These institutions train teachers for different levels of schools.
Parliament and the government take decisions about the structure and organization of teacher education in almost all aspects (institutions, duration of programs, course structures, exam regulations, and certificates). Teacher Training Colleges as well as Colleges of Vocational Teacher Training must follow national laws defined by the School Organization Act and defined structure, aims, subjects and content of teacher education programs. Although law guarantees academic freedom to universities, they also pursue national laws and defined the basic structure, aims and fields of study. Thus, all institutions of teacher education in Austria are similar in structure (Vlasceanu & Barrows, 2003).
Teacher-training colleges train teachers for primary school, special education school, academic lower secondary schools, new middle schools, and polytechnic schools. Applicants have to have a qualified school-leaving certificate (Matura) or an equivalent. The training for the primary is five years. This duration includes a bachelor's and an optional master's degree. The bachelor program lasts for eight semesters (240 ECTS) while the master program for two semesters (60 ECTS). For the secondary level, secondary special education schools, academic lower secondary, new middle schools or polytechnic schools, the duration is 12 semesters. In this study programs, an 8-semester bachelor (240 ECTS) and an optional 4-semester master program (120 ECTS) are embedded, as well. Teacher candidates study two subjects in teacher training colleges and complete teaching practice before starting their teaching career. Upon completion, the students are awarded the degree of Bachelor of Education and later with Master of Education. In Austria, there are 14 teacher-training colleges as of 2019.
BAKIP (Bildungsanstalten für Kindergartenpädagogik) trains students for kindergartens at the upper secondary school level. BAKIP is a program that consists of national upper secondary curriculum, professional training (pedagogy, educational psychology, and didactics), and prac-

tical training for nursery training. This pathway lasts for five years. After completion of BAKIP, students take written and oral exams in five subjects to obtain the school-leaving certificate (Matura), which also allows admission to higher education. Once passed, graduates can either apply for a job at a kindergarten right away or continue their education at higher education institutions.
BASOP (Bildungsanstalten für Sozialpädagogik) trains students with a focus on social pedagogy. The curriculum resembles that of BAKIP, and generally, BASOP institutions are located within the same institution with BAKIP. However, students are trained, especially for home education or social work. The admission requirements are the same as BAKIP and graduates can work as social workers. BASOP and BAKIP teacher training is non-tertiary level, but upper secondary level.
Finally, universities train teachers for secondary level schools. They offer programs for the secondary level as well as for the upper secondary level. Universities train teachers for academic secondary, new middle schools, secondary special education and polytechnic schools. A school-leaving certificate (Matura) is the admission requirement for the entrance exam for teacher training at the university level. The duration of the study is 12 semesters and students are trained in a concurrent model where components of the curriculum are studied in a parallel way. These 12 semesters include an embedded system of a bachelor and an optional master level. Bachelor level lasts for 8 semesters while the master level for four semesters. The entrance exam is a two-step exam that includes an online assessment test and a written exam. In case of failure in the written exam, individual consultation and interviews are offered to students who would like to be registered but should compensate for the failure in the written exam. The bachelor level is achieved upon completion of 240 ECTS. Students can choose two subjects among a total of 28 subjects offered. For each subject, 100 ECTS should be achieved while the rest 40 ECTS are allocated for the pedagogy courses. On the other hand, the master level requires the completion of 120 ECTS. For the Master level, each subject requires the achievement of 35 ECTS. The remaining 20 ECTS are allocated for pedagogy courses while the rest 30 ECTS for the master thesis.
In addition, other teacher training institutions such as sports academies, art teaching or forestry also exist in Austria.

3.4.1 Teacher Training for Special Education

Teacher education for special education is offered by teacher training colleges and universities. Since 2016, with the efforts for a more inclusive education system, special education teaching program has been abandoned. The teacher education for inclusion was introduced at several teacher training colleges and universities. This change has replaced special education focus with an inclusive education focus. The program duration is mainly 12 semesters (8 Semesters Bachelor + 4 Semesters Masters). After graduation, teachers for inclusive education have several possibilities. They can either work in special education schools for specific disabilities, in integrative classrooms, in inclusive settings or in primary or secondary schools as support teachers. However, there no graduates from the new system yet. The new program targets teacher training for secondary level; however, the inclusive focus in primary level teaching training is planned to be introduced as well. The new teacher training targets to prepare teachers for the planned transition to inclusive settings gradually, as suggested by the national action plan for inclusion. The graduates can also work in special education centers that support teachers, offer consultation to parents and monitor the implementation of inclusion (Feyerer, Niedermair, Tuschel, 2008). These teachers can also pursue a career as private counselors or speech therapists.

4 Methodology and Epistemology

The methodological approach and the epistemological stance that guided this methodology are described in this chapter. This chapter starts with a short restatement of the research purpose. Later, a detailed discussion about qualitative methodology, grounded theory, and constructivist grounded theory can be found. The assumptions of qualitative methodology and grounded theory as well as the components of grounded theory are discussed. How constructivist grounded theory diverges from other types of grounded theory and its peculiarities are discussed to understand the match between the research goals and research design of this study.

4.1 Restatement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to develop an understanding of the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish background in special education in Austria. This qualitative study used interviews to reach the experiences and thoughts of the people who are involved in this referral process. Constructivist grounded theory guided the collection and analysis of the data to generate a substantive theory. This study adopted an innovative perspective to come up with sophisticated research. Interaction of various contributors and nation/culture specificity as well as social group norms were components of this innovative understanding. A thick description of the context, recruitment of various data sources and the support of subordinate data collection instruments aimed at the transferability of the study to other contexts. In accordance with the constructivist ground-theory method, data were collected by:

- interviews with participants who have firsthand experiences about the referral process to special education
- conducting a constant comparative analysis of the collected data
- allowing the collected data to lead the process of generating categories and a theory that is grounded in the data

4.2 Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative research has suffered from the impression that it cannot result in authentic and genuine knowledge because it is non-experimental. Such a misconception has its roots in the idea that qualitative research does not recruit numbers. However, qualitative research includes quantification in its nature, especially in the descriptive phase of the inquiry (Parker, 2018). The general view that qualitative research can generate hypotheses, but never test them to provide explanations is a cliché that creates the belief that qualitative research can only answer descriptive questions (Parker, 2018). The qualitative inquiry should not be seen only as a set of techniques or a toolbox. It can form a basis to re-conceptualize our life as a form of inquiry in social sciences. As Flick (2018) summarized, "qualitative research is no longer just simply not quantitative research" (p. x).

Qualitative design especially fits the explorative purposes in an area of study where research is either lacking or where theory does not relate to the concepts that research has been derived from. Qualitative research tries to understand the world by analyzing experiences, interactions, communications or documents (Flick, 2018). Through qualitative methods, a researcher can

recognize the inconsistencies in the words of interview respondents. Qualitative methods also allow the interpreters to observe their inconsistencies and to attend to them (Feeler, 2012).
Qualitative inquiry, with its all types, is dependent on the ones who conduct it, as the researchers are not passive spectators (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978). The fieldwork in the natural world, subjective reality, the interpretation of researcher and research-act are essential components to pursue qualitative research. Therefore, researchers can bring their statuses, knowledge, values to research and they can be reflexive in this process about what to do and how to do.
As Marshall and Rossman (1999) explained, in qualitative research, a researcher does not look for prefigured ideas, but a qualitative researcher would be interested in new knowledge. When proceeding in qualitative research, a researcher does not follow the path to come up with the external reality presented objectively. Researchers engage the power of their interpretation to shape the reality that will emerge, which makes them an interpreter during the research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

4.2.1 Assumptions of Qualitative Research

In this section, the assumptions of the qualitative design that guided the research are summarized. Starting with Creswell's quote (1994) "qualitative research is interpretative research" (p. 147), It is believed that that interpretation is needed for doing qualitative research and individual perception is essential to achieve that. As Feeler (2012) summarized, a qualitative researcher collects data with the purpose of interpretation through an inductive process. Data embed the language and words of participants; and researchers use their notes or memos to build their meaning. By doing so, we assure that meanings and categories are grounded in the data and worked through an inductive process. Qualitative research also values what is being said by participants. By doing qualitative research, we are attentive to the personal voice and informal speech that we collect.
During qualitative research, we can bring new knowledge to the research, and we can shape and adapt the process even in the late steps of the research. The flexibility that qualitative inquiry gives us should be considered as an advantage. However, it is a valid and reliable research methodology sticking to data and the perceptions of participants loyally (Feeler, 2012). Among the other important assumptions that guided this study, there are not imposing bias on data or forcing data into preconceived ideas, relying on narratives to discover meaning, using constant comparative analysis for generation of concepts.

4.3 Grounded Theory Research

Grounded theory, as a widely accepted qualitative approach, was developed more than five decades ago and has evolved since then in different directions. It is accounted for one of the most popular research designs that are the topic of thousands of publications and several books and seminal texts (Birks & Mills, 2015). The method has its roots in the work of sociologists Glaser and Strauss (1967) who defended the discovery nature embedded in this method and the power it gives to the researcher to uncover something that already exists. However, grounded theory did not stay limited to sociology and had an outreach to other social sciences, including health, nursing, education, or social work.
As Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggested, grounded theory's spread in various geographies and fields showed that there was great interest and need for theory generation grounded in data and also an increased desire for the use of qualitative research.

The procedures and methods of grounded theory are one of the most common and effective ways of doing qualitative research especially if theory generation is the main purpose of researcher (Charmaz, 2014; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Glaser and Strauss (1967) described their method as having an effort to enhance the discovery process and to come up with a theory that evolves from the data, which aims to link the data and the theory as closely as possible. The purpose of this stance was to maximize the discovery nature of the method and to improve qualitative research.

Grounded theory research does not recruit a linear research design and does not prescribe methods to pursue. The practitioners of grounded theory vary in the emphasis that they give to different aspects, but they share some commonalities. Charmaz (2014) explained grounded theory as "a craft that researchers pursue" (p. 18). The design of grounded theory should be considered as a set of flexible guidelines, rather than recipes, requirements or rules to follow.

Grounded theory distinguishes itself from many other qualitative approaches regarding the way it serves. To locate the difference of the grounded theory among the other qualitative designs, Birks and Mills (2015) suggested that grounded theory does not only describe and explore a phenomenon but explains and elaborates on the phenomenon being studied. The grounded theory explains the phenomenon by making use of systematic strategies of data collection and analysis, and it ends with a theory that is abstracted from and grounded in the data collected. The appropriate situations to use grounded theory are the times when:

- knowledge about the topic studied is very little
- we aim to generate a theory that has an explanatory effect
- it is likely to explain the research topic with grounded theory methods

Grounded theory can be considered as a comprehensive way of research that has a specific understanding of the research process, material selection and producing qualitative data (Flick, 2018).

Grounded theory consists of two components. The first one is a set of methodological strategies that should be adopted to conduct research and to analyze inductive data distinctively. The second one is the product of the process after a theoretical analysis of these inductive data (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010). The focus point of the grounded theory is mainly on the method and the product by which we illuminate our research interest.

The strategies that are recruited during grounded theory research can be considered systematic, but at the same time, flexible. They act as guidelines to gather data, to code, synthesize, categorize and integrate the emerging concept to generate a substantive theory. Grounded theory is not "a lock-step" approach, as Rich (2012, p. 4) reminded. The researcher can move to the next stage before completing the previous stage. It is important to keep in mind that grounded theory is not a linear process but repetitive and circular. Grounded theory researchers engage themselves in a continual process where they collect and analyze the data simultaneously. The data analysis guides the data collection process that is used to monitor emerging ideas.

The main points of grounded theory can be summarized as the emphasis on:

- generating emergent theories with new ideas
- considering qualitative research to generate theories
- viewing grounded theory as a rigorous and systematic method
- applying comparative methods throughout the process
- intention to construct theory via specific tools
- theoretical sampling that does not aim to represent the population
- memo writing to sort, define, and refine the categories

4.3.1 Classic Grounded Theory

Grounded theory was regarded as being the discovery of theory from data by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their book titled as The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. The book, when analyzed thoroughly, is a work that is displaying qualitative research as no less rigorous than quantitative research. In their work, we can see the effort to make qualitative research more rigorous and less descriptive (Charmaz, 2014). They tried to draw attention to the significance of qualitative inquiry, and with their book, they reproached the understanding that left qualitative inquiry in a marginalized position.

As Charmaz and Bryant (2010) explained, the work of Glaser and Strauss came at a time where quantitative methods were trusted more and qualitative researchers had to advocate for the qualitative methods by emphasizing the accuracy of their work to convince quantitative researchers about their reliability and validity. The inferiority of qualitative research created the image of quantitative research as being more legitimate, important, precise, reliable and valid. As understood from their work, Glaser and Strauss (1967) aimed to introduce the potential of qualitative research to be rigorous through systematic methods and to defeat the image of being a subordinate to quantitative research. The creators introduced analytic strategies to reach a theory emerging from the data. Hence, the theory rises from data but is not imposed on the data (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010).

Both of the originators emphasized the need to construct theories with new ideas and the power of qualitative research to generate these theories. Glaser and Strauss recognized grounded theory as a rigorous method that can construct theory by comparative methods and specific tools, in a time where the qualitative design was losing its importance in social sciences (Charmaz, 2014). The intention was to create systematic theories that could be of use for researchers, practitioners and also policymakers.

For classical grounded theory approach, the generation of grounded theory means reaching a theory that suits its users. A theory should allow predicting and explaining human behaviors so that the practitioner can use such prediction and explanation to have control over the situation. Only after that can a theory be helpful in the practical application (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). With a theory, we can deal with data and provide concepts to describe and explain the behaviors under study, which also requires the generation of categories that are indicated in the data and are relevant to the behaviors we want to explain. When the theory is discovered from the data systematically, the theory will fulfill such a duty.

For classical grounded theory, when a theory is based on the data, it is very unusual to refute it completely by replacing it with another theory or by exposing more data on it. As the theory is linked to the data so closely, it would survive in spite of modifications. Furthermore, the theory generation process could give research participants an explanation about the social process that affects them (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

It is implicitly visible that both of the creators brought their school of thought and background to grounded theory research where they merged on several main points. The classical grounded theory included the prints of positivism and pragmatism that its creators brought with them. Among the criticism of the classic grounded theory, we can find codifying qualitative methods, emphasis on discoveries, its language that calls quantitative methods and unpassionate empiricism (Charmaz, 2014).

4.3.2 Straussian Grounded Theory

Classic grounded theory as developed by Glaser and Strauss was depicted mainly as a set of techniques and strategies and less as a methodology based on philosophy (Amsteus, 2014). This lack

of discussion about philosophical underpinnings of grounded theory, as Birks and Mills (2015) suggested, created a gap in the ontological and epistemological understanding of grounded theory. To fill this gap, Strauss and Corbin (1998) included philosophies that build the methods of their understanding of grounded theory, which were symbolic interactionism and pragmatism. The diverged grounded theory, as developed by Strauss and his student Corbin had a mixed epistemological stance and calibrated into the direction of post-positivism. It included objectivism that enables data collection without bias and social constructivism that accepts the engagement of researchers in the generation of the concept and theory. While Glaser insisted on the original comparative methods, Strauss and Corbin (1998) focused on specific paradigms as an axial coding paradigm or conditional matrix. Also, Straussian grounded theory accepts the role of researchers but also suggests the inclusion of literature review. Here, the initial literature review can be used without endangering the researcher's openness to data and theory generation.

4.3.3 Constructivist Grounded Theory

Constructivist grounded theory builds its discussion on the original grounded theory as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967) however, it is deviant both from classical grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978, 1992) and from the post-positivist version of grounded theory by Corbin and Strauss (2007) in terms of its epistemology and the assumptions it challenges (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010).

Charmaz and Bryant summarized the stance of constructivist grounded theory as "this theory adopts the grounded theory strategies without the positivist epistemological underpinnings of the original statement" (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010, p. 406). While the Glaser's work (1967, 1978, 1992) and Strauss and Corbin's work (1998) are considered to have a positivist epistemology, Charmaz (2000, 2006, 2007) and Bryant (2002) claimed that researchers could adopt grounded theory as their methodological guideline without having positivist assumptions. Both Charmaz and Bryant (2010) suggested that these guidelines can be adopted from various epistemological start points and theoretical approaches and they can guide the researchers' thinking and researching.

One of the most important assumptions of the constructivist grounded theory is that realities are multiple and layered, and they can change under various conditions (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010). Therefore, constructivist grounded theorists use their values to see these realities and to define them. The relativism we see in constructivist grounded theory contradicts with the objectivism we see in positivism. In a positivist approach, reality would be treated as unique and free of values. In positivist grounded theory, the aim would be to find objective facts, as they exist in external reality. Positivism emphasizes objectivity, verifiability, replicability, and generality. Hence, the research process requires an unprejudiced and passive researcher who only observes and collects the facts. From a positivist perspective, a researcher does not get involved in the creation of this external world. As Charmaz (2014) suggested, here we see the separation of values and facts and the existence of an independent reality on its own.

On the other hand, constructivists would adopt a subjective stance. Subjectivism can be visible in the choice of topic to study or in the choice of method to use. As Charmaz and Bryant (2010) pointed out "constructivists try to place subjectivity in its social locations and examine it reflexively" (p. 408). However, an objectivist would believe in the discovery of data and consider a researcher as a neutral observer who witnesses how data emerge in the field.

Constructivist grounded theory does not totally diverge from the traditional grounded theory, though. As Charmaz (2014) explained "constructivist grounded theory adopts the induc-

tive, comparative, emergent and open-ended approach of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) original statement" (p. 12). However, constructivist grounded theory gives more space to flexibility and stands against the systematic and mechanical conduction of the methods. Grounded theory offers guidelines, principles, and tools to guide rather than recipes or prescriptions. To construct a theory from data, grounded theorists can flexibly use systematic methods to collect and analyze their data. That grounded theory has systematic methods does not mean that grounded theory has no flexibility. Grounded theory starts with inductive logic, and during the research process, it allows going back and forth between data and analysis. Grounded theory researchers interact with data very often. Due to such interaction, researchers are likely to come across new ideas and surprises in the research process.

As they start with inductive logic, use rigorous comparative analysis, and aim to end up with a grounded theory, all grounded theory approaches offer valuable and helpful methods and strategies to make a qualitative inquiry. As we can summarize from leading work about constructivist grounded theory (Bryant, 2002; Charmaz, 2000, 2014; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007), constructivist grounded theory has the following features that characterize it. Constructivist grounded theory

- has a relativist epistemological standpoint
- challenges positivist assumptions
- finds itself as an interpretive inquiry
- uses grounded theory strategies as flexible guidelines
- accepts the researcher as a part of the research
- gives way to the engagement of reflexivity

4.3.3.1 Why Constructivist Grounded Theory?

In this study, a constructivist position in the style of Kathy Charmaz was followed (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2006, 2014). As Mills, Bonner and Francis (2006) suggested:

> To ensure a strong research design, researchers must choose a research paradigm that is congruent with their beliefs about the nature of reality. Consciously subjecting such beliefs to an ontological interrogation in the first stance will illuminate the epistemological and methodological possibilities that are available. (p. 2)

As the success of the research depends on the match between the research paradigm and the convictions of researchers about reality, from the beginning of the study the aim was to identify the philosophical position and beliefs.

Constructivist approach theorizes the interpretive work, but it also accepts that this theorization is an interpretation. As Charmaz (2014) suggested, constructivist grounded theory allows us to collect data to understand what is happening in the research site flexibly. It enables the constant interaction between the researcher and participants as well as the interaction between researcher and data (Charmaz, 2014).

For this study, grounded theory served as the best option. It is ideal for getting through the underlying processes (Charmaz, 2014). The purpose of developing an understanding of overrepresentation in special education required going through the underlying meanings. The diagnosis of special education needs is a sensitive process in nature. In the schools, such data are kept confidential, and both teachers and other school authorities approach the topic with caution. Hence, the topic guided the research and called for grounded theory method. The sensitivity of the topic and the confidentiality of the data would make it impossible to explain this overrepresentation explicitly, due to the limited accessibility. Hence, the implicit meanings of the people with experience were targeted without collecting explicit personal data.

The perspectives, priorities, experiences and interactions of researchers should be considered as a part of the research reality. I believe that social reality is not unique, and it can be constructed in multiple ways. As Clarke (2005) explained, research results from a specific situation, and it includes the way researchers and the participants find themselves in this situation, in other words, how they construct this situation. Hence, how to conduct research can be constructed other than prescribed. This increases a researcher's reflexivity in the decision-making process. In the constructivist approach, researchers do not have to delete their preconceptions or priorities before starting a research, but they should be aware of how their values can shape their analysis (Charmaz, 2014). For this study, I chose to go on with constructivist grounded theory as I agree with Charmaz (2014) that we construct the theories rather than discovering them. Our past, present, values, preconceptions, and interactions make us a part of the world that we study.

Grounded theorists can have a recession during their research, where they slow down or totally stop and start writing again (Charmaz, 2014). Whenever ideas occur to them, they resume and go on writing, which requires a period that will not put the researcher under stress to finish the study. During the research, some of the most important and best ideas can emerge late in the process, which directs us back to the research field. We may have to follow more than one path to collect rich and detailed data throughout our research, which requires time.

Grounded theory serves as a way to value the creativeness of people in social situations (Buroway, 1991). For this study, discussing the institutional and organizational principles that are applied during the referral to special education schools would leave us with differences in the real-life practices. As there are many stakeholders included in special school referrals, the rules of school councils or the ministry do not act as principles, but as guidelines. Hence, the acts of included people; teachers, school directors, parents, school psychologists etc. are vulnerable to how these people define or interpret the situation. Rather than examining the yearly-published reports or guidelines of the ministry, voicing how they are practiced within the attitudes of actors can give us a chance to understand the special school referral process.

Grounded theory is adopted generally as a methodological strategy and its potential to generate theory may not be fulfilled all the time. Charmaz (2014) explained this by pointing to the flexibility of grounded theory that serves as guidelines for the researchers. Researchers may adopt only some of the suggested steps and may not come up with necessarily a theory. In this study, the aim was also to bring new focus and to extend the theoretical understanding of special education referrals. I shifted the focus from locating the responsible social factor which leads to the overrepresentation of students with a migration background in special education to giving space to people's self-understanding and approach.

However, the aim is not to promise a breakthrough in the field or not to claim invariant laws. As Buroway (1991) suggested, what is done with grounded theory is always controversial to claim our generic statements or generalizations are granted as having a theoretical status. As Charmaz (2014) explained, we may consider when these generalizations are granted as theories or who grants them as theories and who does not. Hence, the expected outcome was to show how such a study can extend the current theoretical understanding by interpreting how and why participants share their ideas and meanings. We theorize this interpretation by asking how and to what extent their meanings are embedded in larger and hidden situations and positions (Charmaz, 2014).

Finally, as Flick (2018) suggested, grounded theory is suitable to conduct when there is enough time. We should avoid grounded theory when we need to come up with a quick analysis, as this method requires using the whole program.

4.3.4 Generalizations in Grounded Theory

Among the criticisms of grounded theory, we may find that grounded theory is facing the problem of silencing specific situations during generalizations. Buroway (1991) discussed this by "Grounded theory's claim to science lies in its ardent pursuit of generalizations, induced from comparisons across social situations. But in making those comparisons, grounded theory represses the specificity of each situation" (p. 275). Here, grounded theory is claimed to overpower each specific situation that data is grounded in. The effort of the objectivist approach to produce generic explanations to explain larger realities may result in decontextualization.
However, the constructivist elements that we find in grounded theory can give us the chance to context our data (Charmaz, 2014). The important point is to be aware of the necessity of contexting not to foster oversimplifications. In this study, a focus point was who knows what and to what extent. Several different important groups of actors who are active in the special education referral process were included. The differences regarding their expertise, familiarity, and embeddedness in the process were attended, which kept the data to its source and context.

4.3.5 Abstraction from Time and Space with Grounded Theory

Another discussion that Buroway (1991) introduced is grounded theory's challenge with the abstraction from time and space. He claimed that the discovery of empiric generalizations results in generic explanations that are abstracted from place and time. With an objectivist grounded theory method, which attends data as real and blurs the process of their production and deletes social context and researcher effect and which assumes an external reality waiting to be discovered, abstraction from space and time, as voiced by Buroway (1991), would be valid to some extent. However, in the constructivist method, before we transform our data to analysis, we ask the questions of how and when. We do not abstract our explanation from time and space as claimed by criticism against objectivist grounded theorists. We wait until we gain enough familiarity with the time and space where our data is located, and then we move to the analysis (Charmaz, 2014). In a traditional way where we would collect the data and start writing it up in our 'office', the data would lose its ties with the time and place where it was embedded. However, by researcher diary or writing memos, which are notes to comment on the data and its surroundings, and by not leaving the data collection site only with data but with intimate familiarity, I tried to bring the traces of time and place that data were located to the analysis.

4.3.6 Grounded Theory in Educational Research

Among many other disciplines, educational sciences have recruited grounded theory with adaptations. Educational researchers have adopted several grounded theory strategies, especially coding strategies. As Charmaz and Bryant (2010) suggested, grounded theory has a lot to offer to educational science researchers by making ethnography more analytic and interviews more in-depth and focused. By adopting constructivist grounded theory, researchers can find the position of their research in the literature, and they can show how their research leads to advancement in the already existing knowledge. Grounded theory suggests that researchers should be open to the empirical approach and test their theoretical knowledge rigorously. Educational researchers who recruit previous ideas in their area but want to tackle them with empirical inquiry can make use of grounded theory.

4.4 Research Design and Research Questions

In a study, research design can be considered as a blueprint that points to the philosophical and methodological stance and to the methods that would be employed during the research (Birks & Mills, 2015). Designing grounded theory research requires attention due to its emergent and iterative nature. The evolving essence of grounded theory can complicate the designing of grounded theory research. However, grounded theory offers some practical flexibility. The methods to be used can differ, and theoretical sampling can lead the data generation, location, or sources (Charmaz, 2014).

This study did not start with structured research design, and had an iterative and flexible nature. The non-linear stages in the planning phase were:

- Identifying the aim and research problem
- Reviewing literature
- Developing a loose research guide
- Identifying ethical and legal issues
- Identifying required sources
- Locating available sources
- Developing a timeline

As Charmaz (2014) suggested, the grounded theory adventure began as I entered the field and started gathering data. The research process took several different routes that could not be decided beforehand. The research steps that were followed through the research are discussed at the end of Chapter 6.

Scientific inquiry can be defined by specific design or methodology, but it should be considered as a way of asking questions. As Parker (2018) suggested, these questions should be significant questions that allow empirical investigation, the usage of relevant methods and counter-interpretations. The aim should be deciding the mode of the design according to the questions asked but not fitting the questions to a convenient or popular method or research design (Parker, 2018; Shavelson & Towne, 2004).

Research questions direct the research process in traditional research; however, in grounded theory research, the process generates the research questions (Birks & Mills, 2015). In grounded theory, the researcher enters the field with no narrow questions or hypotheses. Hence, the research questions are not fixed at the beginning of the research. The iterative research process in grounded theory progresses in line with emerging data. Glaser and Strauss (1967) claimed that even a research problem can emerge in grounded theory in progress, although Strauss later changed this position and suggested a research question that can limit the boundaries of the research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In most of the grounded theory research conducted by novice researchers, identifying a research problem prior to research is suggested. It should include a statement that shows the intention of the research.

In this study, as suggested by Birks and Mills (2015), a meeting point between the various grounded theory perspectives was found. The research questions were not fixed and narrow, but not too loose and without boundaries either. The research questions were formulated broadly so that the research would be problem-centered and engage people who have experience with this research problem. On the other hand, the research problem and its broad nature made it possible to be flexible during the research process.

The study started with some initial questions, and later, the questions got more focused by finding relevant or irrelevant concepts (Charmaz, 2014). The initial questions were:

- How is a referral to special education done for students with Turkish background?
- How do participants explain the referral to special education for students with Turkish background?
- How do participants make the meaning of their experiences that they had during the referral process to special education for students with Turkish background?

4.5 Methodology and Methods

One should differentiate between methodology and methods. A methodology should be considered as a set of ideas and principles guided by a philosophy to lead the design of the research study (Birks & Mills, 2015). On the other hand, to generate and analyze data, methods are used as a practical procedure. During the research, it is very normal to have interaction between the methodology and methods. The methodology affects how researchers engage themselves with participants, data and its analyses as well as theoretical contemplation. Hence, their philosophical beliefs, background and understanding of reality influence the position of researchers. Researchers can either take a distanced position or an inclusive position in the research (Birks & Mills, 2015).

To apply grounded theory, there is no right or wrong stance. Even though a grounded theory researcher can follow more than one genre of methodological positions, there is a necessity to apply a certain set of essential methods to come up with grounded theory as the product of study (Birks & Mills, 2015; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). These methods can be summarized as:

- Initial coding and categorization of data
- Concurrent data collection and analysis
- Writing memos
- Theoretical sampling
- Constant comparative analysis
- Theoretical sensitivity
- Intermediate coding
- Identifying a core category
- Advanced coding and theoretical integration
- Generating theory

How to apply these methods, on the other hand, is based on the decision of a methodological approach that is influenced by the beliefs of a researcher about the world, reality, and existence.

4.5.1 Reflexivity

Researchers who recruit grounded theory position themselves methodologically and philosophically in a way that affects their implementation of grounded theory methods (Birks & Mills, 2015). Hence, being a reflexive researcher is a crucial point for conducting grounded theory research successfully. Reflexivity can be understood as a process where the researcher develops insight into his/her work actively and systematically. It refers to the questioning that a researcher employs in terms of his/her representations and background in the research process (Kemp, 2012). Reflexivity should be maintained to have openness during the research and to recognize our assumptions about the research topic and research world that we are in. It requires awareness of one's past and its effect on the researcher's present and future.

As Birks (2014) suggested, each person has a unique understanding of reality and existence. Detachment from who we are and what we know cannot be possible as such preconceptions are inherently embedded in our experiences, thoughts, and values (Charmaz, 2006). Our past and present influence how we see the reality happening around us. Our philosophy is important as it decides what we see as real and how we learn the knowledge. Positioning one before the research journey starts may be helpful, though.

> All research is interpretive; it is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, only assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22)

This quote of Denzin and Lincoln emphasizes the importance of determination of a personal philosophical position before one starts a research study. As I agree that the construction of grounded theory is connected to previous and present experiences, I made it clear how my background assumptions interacted with the data. My previously gained knowledge appeared in memos, in analytic processes, and in theoretical sensitivity. I documented continuously how assumptions and knowledge had an impact on the study and on my role as the researcher. Researcher diary, field notes, and memos were written records of reflexivity.

4.5.2 Researcher Position

In grounded theory research, the role of a researcher is an important concern. As the researcher is actively engaged with participants in the constructivist approach, it is very important to be aware of one's biases, perspectives, and stance. So that the researcher can take the necessary steps to balance the effect of such pre-dispositions and decide to what extent and how to use them. Accepting that the researcher has a role not only in the interpretation phase of grounded theory but also in the preparation, implementation and the fieldwork would increase the trustworthiness of findings (Charmaz & Mitchell, 1996).

For instance, Birks and Mills (2015) summarized the interview as a process where researchers and participants generate knowledge together, which requires going deep in feelings and being reflexive. In such a process, both sides have a reciprocal relationship, which means interviews are not context-free or neutral (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006).

Researchers should be informed about their impact on the research process. They should be open through the research and should not be misled by preconceptions. They should not enter the field as a tabula rasa either. "Learn about the situation you will enter before you begin" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 59). As researchers conduct research in complex situations, having knowledge about related procedures, technical issues, key terms help to engage research participants. Furthermore, seeming knowledgeable about their worlds can have a positive impact on how participants see the researcher. This may affect the responses of participants and urge them to go deeper rather than sharing shallow information.

4.5.2.1 An Example of Researcher Positioning During Interviews

An example of my position is the experience with a single mother who has been seeking help desperately for a long time. When I met her for the interview, she considered me as a person who can help to get her child back in a mainstream school after being diagnosed with special education needs and placed in an integrative school for about a year ago. In the beginning, she accepted to talk with the hope that I have some connections that can be used to support her in that matter. Starting our first interview with such underlying targets affected the interview process in an undesired way. I was put in an informant position to guide her through that problem

rather than as a researcher. At that point, I had to cease the interview and tried to explain the aim and the possible outcomes of the study and as a researcher. Instead of interviews, we met several times over a coffee for some conversations to clarify our positions and power boundaries. After developing rapport and having a clear image of each other, we started our interview. During the interview, I used the female self, immigrant self and researcher self at the same time. I let her know my genuine interest in her experiences as a mother during the diagnoses and placement process of her child in a special education school and how she feels about it. The rudimentary aim was to get to her perspective and how she makes the meaning of these specific experiences. For these interviews, I did not present my teacher self so as not to make her hesitant while sharing her experiences. Although it took time to reach a level where our positions and aims were clear, the interview with this specific mother was very productive and rich in data. After the first interview, I met her for the second interview and filled all the gaps that came up in the first interview. After interviews, I stepped down from the researcher self and assisted her in getting some consultation about what to do and how to support her child in his new school. With the help of an NGO, she seemed to have relief and less frustration about the situation and to be more aware of how to support her child.

4.5.3 Theoretical Sensitivity

Having insight into what is meaningful and significant in the data requires an understanding of what we know when we start (Birks & Mills, 2015). Assessing what and to what extent we know when we start research is important to develop theoretical sensitivity. Hence, considering the existence of our multiple selves and how they affect our position in the research would identify a baseline to construct our theoretical sensitivity consciously. Developing theoretical sensitivity can lead to a more abstract and integrated theory grounded in the data.

To locate the gaps among emerging categories, the researcher should be alert to the theoretical considerations, and this requires theoretical sensitivity. Glaser and Strauss (1967) explained the necessity of theoretical sensitivity as follow:

> The sociologist should also be sufficiently theoretically sensitive so that he can conceptualize and formulate a theory as it emerges from the data… Theoretical sensitivity of a sociologist has two other characteristics. First, it involves his personal and temperamental bent. Second, it involves the sociologists' ability to have theoretical insight into his area of research, combined with an ability to make something of his insights. (p. 46)

For them, being theoretically sensitive means reflecting on personal inclinations as a researcher and also the competence to identify the meaningful aspects during research. As Corbin and Strauss (2008) added, theoretical sensitivity also employs researchers' experience and background. In this study, I was alert to the theoretical concepts, considerations, purpose, and relevance. Researcher insight on the research topic and immense engagement in the research process helped to be attentive and sensitive to emerging categories and emerging theory.

Furthermore, having theoretical sensitivity during an interview can transform an unexpected action or statement into a valuable theoretical development (Charmaz, 2014). While conducting the interview, with this sensitivity, I could pursue some statements or usage, although they were not meant during interviews by participants.

Although I have no firsthand experience of being diagnosed with special education needs or having a child or student experiencing this situation, I have five years of research and teaching experience on the topic and strong connections with almost all stakeholders of this phenom-

enon. I have worked closely with the people who have firsthand experiences, and I have had enough opportunity to observe this process.

During the research, as Reinharz (1997) explained, I had different selves. Knowing Turkish culture, the Turkish community and their participation in education as well as about Austrian educational discussions, school settings, and regular school operations allowed to have an insider perspective. Thanks to these various selves, I could attend to each group of participants in a way that is connected to their motivation. With my teacher self, I could be an insider while interviewing teachers and school directors also while selecting theoretically relevant knowledge to reflect on school settings and official operations. My Turkish immigrant self, on the other hand, helped to be sensitive to group norms while asking questions and raising issues, it made me culturally and linguistically aware and assisted to be attentive to exaggerated usages. My gender self was an assistant to me, especially when I interviewed female participants from the Turkish community. They could feel a more empathetic environment while sharing their experiences as an immigrant woman. Finally, my researcher self was my observant and guided throughout the study not to get too much immersed in the data either as a teacher or as an immigrant but as a mediator among the various types of perspectives and data.

My background served as the required subjectivity in constructivist grounded theory, as grounded theory tries to understand how a certain researcher's background knowledge, interpretation, and values influence the study in a positive way (Maxwell, 2005). I, born and raised in Turkey, have immense knowledge about Turkish culture and language. My cultural sensitivity could help develop a close relationship, familiarity and trust between researchers and participants that are needed in a constructivist approach (Charmaz, 2014; Mills et al., 2006).

I feel advantaged, in other words as Gal (2012) called "communicationally informed fieldworker" (p. 40), in terms of having a perspective to use linguistic practices of participants to learn about cultural categories, forms of knowledge, social lives and social relations, especially in the part with people with a Turkish background. I visited them in their houses, so being culturally sensitive to Turkish people and familiar with their household's practices was an advantage to establish rapport. On the other hand, as a researcher in the field since years and as a teacher offering university courses on the same topic, my knowledge has been relevant and abundant to raise the fitting questions to teachers, school directors, district inspectors and school psychologists and also to locate the relevant extant documents to analyze. My readings formed a researcher perspective, generated research questions as well as interview questions. Moreover, having teaching experience in a middle school where students with a migration background were overrepresented in the diagnoses of special education needs gave the required insight to understand the process in schools. Naturally, having experience as a middle school teacher increased sensitivity during the implementation of study design and especially during the interviews with participants from school settings.

I believe that my several selves; teacher, researcher, or immigrant, increased my possibility to come up with creative writing and theory generation. Since the beginning of the research, I paid extra attention to identifying my biases and weigh their possible influence on the data. By taking advantage of a preliminary literature review as well, I used my preliminary knowledge on the topic and my own experiences to be reflexive as much as possible with an open mind, but at the same time with the acceptance of self-identity and experiences.

As Glaser and Strauss (1967) explained, I did not start the research with a tabula rasa, but at the same time, I did not dictate the data to lead to a pre-convinced theory. That I shared a common

culture (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) with participants did not mean adding my own experiences to the data but helping add the experiences of participants to the data.
My experience, different selves, and knowledge were combined with the loyalty to the research and created the aspects that guided the research to the theory.

- experience from several sides of participants
- reflexivity
- using induction
- open-mindedness
- active relations with participants
- no ignorance of literature and existing knowledge
- no dictation to the data

4.5.4 The Use of Literature in Grounded Theory

The use of a literature review in grounded theory studies allows us to differentiate between grounded theory types. While Glaser (1992) insisted on avoiding a literature review, Strauss (1978) was willing to include a literature review before research. On the other hand, Thornberg (2012) saw the delay of the literature review as a problem and a sign of being out of date. In this section, omission or inclusion of a literature review is discussed. However, to be able to discuss the omission or addition of a literature review, we should bear in mind that there could be several forms of literature usage in a qualitative study. As Flick (2018, p. 12) summarized, there are four forms:

- Theoretical literature about the topic of the study
- Empirical literature about earlier research in the field of the study or similar fields
- Methodological literature about how to do research and how to use the methods that are chosen
- Theoretical and empirical literature to contextualize, compare and generalize the findings

Therefore, before deciding to omit or include literature in a grounded theory study, it is wise to decide the purpose of using or eliminating it.

4.5.4.1 The Case of Omitting Literature Review

Avoiding a literature review to keep the theory generation free of preconceived ideas is the consideration of the scholars who would omit literature review before their theory generation, as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Glaser (1992) outlined grounded theory research as free of an official literature review until the generation of categories. He claimed that researchers may not be able to eliminate the effect of the concepts or theories that they encounter during their literature review, which may lead to forcing the data to fit pre-existing ideas in the literature. The aim of deriving theory from data in grounded theory research urged many scholars to avoid literature review as it can eliminate to have the necessary open approach. Apart from Glaser, some other scholars agreed to avoid literature review until the end of category or theory generation. For instance, McGhee, Marland and Atkinson (2007), came up with some other reasons for not using literature review before theory generation. They suggested that a literature review can contaminate a researcher, can raise assumptions emerging from the literature not from the data and can impose the effect of other researchers on the researcher.

4.5.4.2 The Case of Using Literature Review

On the other hand, for many scholars, there was room for a prior literature review to set the stage for the study. Fetterman (1998) discussed researchers should have an open mind, not an

empty head and he urged many not to neglect a literature review. Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggested the use of a literature review to make use of literature in the stimulation of theoretical sensitivity and in guiding theoretical sampling. As explained by Breckenridge and Jones (2009), pre-existing knowledge can guide researchers to locate a starting point for their data collection. However, they called for being careful not to rely on the pre-existing knowledge until they are "validated or dismissed" (p. 119) by the theory that emerged from the data in hand. Another point to use a literature review is also the requirements for some review board during the funds or scholarship applications (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The applicants should provide a literature review to prove their immense knowledge of the necessity of research to be eligible for funding. Similarly, studies are expected to demonstrate awareness about the state of existing theories on the studied phenomenon and to declare their assumptions and theoretical frameworks (Elliott & Higgins, 2012).

In this study, a critical literature review was used to think rigorously, to map out what is known and to identify what can bring new insight to the research field, but not to impose assumptions on my study. Literature review helped to understand that grounded theory fits the best to study such a sensitive multi-facet topic where the real-life experiences are main data sources. However, reading the literature, previous knowledge or experience should not be understood as a contradiction to the inductive nature of grounded theory, but as the asked co-creation of a researcher. Having no critical stance while beginning the research is not fruitful as much as approaching the topic with various points of view and asking various questions to the data. As Thornberg (2012) suggested, reading the literature and having some theories in mind do not function as a filter while analyzing the data or do not dictate a framework on the study, but work as explorative tools to ask new questions and to adopt new perspectives to sharpen the research's awareness. The theoretical discussion of a study can be achieved after the grounded theory is developed and discussed within the relevant literature.

A literature review was used for several purposes. However, reading the literature did not target putting the research in a frame. Literature helped to identify a starting point and to explore what is already there. Reading the literature about that topic and many other relevant topics did not interfere with creativity. On the contrary, it urged to tackle the topic from the point of view that was adopted in the literature.

5 Data and Data Collection

The fifth chapter deals with the type of data collected, data sources and the way data sources were approached. The research site, settings, speech, population, access to participants are explained in detail. In this chapter, readers can find information about the process of recruitment, data collection procedures and tools. There is also a part where the importance of asking questions and encouraging narration is discussed.

5.1 Data and Data Collection in Grounded Theory

Grounded theory research, contrary to linear or theory-driven approaches, estimates data and study field as more prioritized than theoretical assumptions (Flick, 2018). Hence, the data to collect, the people to engage and the materials to study are selected according to their relevance. Our understanding of data is decided by the problem we study. Our problem also decides the methods that we should use to collect data and the kind of data to collect.
As long as related to the research topic, as Glaser (1992) summarized, all can be data. However, there are different approaches to data in grounded theory. Data may rise in the field, it may be collected, or it may be constructed. As the constructivist grounded theory guided this study, the constructivist perspective, which means data is constructed and produced by the researcher (Charmaz, 2014), was adopted in this study.
During constructivist grounded theory, a researcher is expected to get an insider's view about the research problem, research setting, and participants to be able to construct and to produce data. The richness of data gathered increases the chance of getting to participants' lives and worlds and their underlying meanings and actions (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010). These responsibilities naturally require engagement in the research setting and the lives of participants to gather rich data. The richness of data would increase the credibility of the research product. To gather rich data, a variety of materials and tools including documents, field notes, interviews, conversations, reports, newspaper articles, mass media notes, and records was used, although not all were treated as main data sources.
"Our data collection methods flow from the research question and where we go with it" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 27). In constructivist grounded theory, we consider methods as a tool that will help us to progress with our ideas and concepts. Hence, some tools are more useful than some other tools, and one data collection tool cannot lead the whole research (Charmaz, 2014), which requires a variety of methods. By adopting various data collection strategies and tools, the aim was to build a strong grounded theory. Therefore, the data gathered through certain tools acted as main data and some other as complementary data.

5.2 Research Site

Vienna was chosen for this research due to its logistic feasibility, as it provides the most number of people with a Turkish background. As Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggested, in grounded theory, experiences are the units we analyze. Hence, the research site was not considered as a unit of analysis for this study.
Vienna, the capital of Austria, has 1,853,100 (Statistik Austria, 2019a) residents distributed over 23 districts. In the city, 489,947 of all residents have non-Austrian citizenship or are state-

less, however when the immigrants holding Austrian citizenship are taken into account, 45.3 % of the city population has a migration background either as a second or first-generation immigrant. The second biggest non-European immigrant group, the community with a Turkish background, on the other hand, is represented with 76,523 residents in Vienna 45,838 of whom are Austrian citizens (Magistrate Vienna, 2017). The schools are places where this multicultural structure of the city is more visible. In the capital city, the 51.9% of students in schools have migration background regardless of their citizenship status, which accounts for 122,672 students, almost half of whom do not hold Austrian citizenship (61,893) (Statistik Austria, 2019f). The number of students with Turkish citizenship is 15,374 in the whole country; however, when the distribution trend of the Turkish community is considered, the big part of them are expected to be in Vienna. Students with a Turkish background are the second biggest group with a migration background. With this demographic structure, Vienna served as the best option to conduct this study.

5.3 Otherness versus Nativity

"After all, if the field is most appropriately a place that is not home, then some places will necessarily be more not home than others, and hence more appropriate, more field like" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997, p. 13).

Like the way Gupta and Ferguson (1997) discussed in this quote, the research site should have a balance between nativity and otherness. In this study, Vienna is not necessarily an exotic or a weird place to create otherness as I have been working with students with a migration background in Vienna and I witnessed such processes earlier. On the other hand, my immense knowledge of Turkish culture and familiarity and my experiences in the Austrian school system as a teacher decrease the 'otherness'. However, I am not a native, either. Being not an immigrant born or raised in Vienna, having no kin or other close relations to the Turkish or Austrian community in Vienna makes the city 'other' too. In this study, I positioned myself 'other' enough to have the distance for conducting valuable fieldwork (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997), and native enough to identify cultural categories, power relations, forms of knowledge by making use of my linguistic and cultural knowledge about Turkish people (Gal, 2012).

Another discussion is the otherness of the topic that I chose. The achievement gap between students with a migration background and native students is a hot topic that has been at the core of educational equity discussion. However, the extreme focus on the reasons for the achievement gap canalizes the attention to the quantitative genre. With this study, introducing a qualitative perspective, including people's ideas rather than degrading them to numbers can be considered as new and promising.

5.4 Research Settings

As for settings, participants' natural settings, either homes, schools, or any other place where teachers do not exercise power on parents and no school authority exercises power on teachers were chosen. Reaching participants in their settings, or like Barker (2012, p. 55) put "on their boats or in their fields", was advantageous to establish rapport and trust. Barker explained this advantage as the natural setting can provide ready illustrations to researchers about what is already discussed, and it can provide a thick description, which is the aim of researchers. However, when we define settings as the places where rituals are done, this study has some limitations

because being a part of the special education referral process is not possible for an external researcher. Hence, interviewing participants while they are involved in the immediate process was not possible in this study. The involvement of natural settings, as a result, was limited to the settings where participants feel comfortable by avoiding places such as the office of the researcher, or teachers-room in schools.

Another concern related to the research site is the issue of power embedded in the context. Buroway (1991) claimed that grounded theory "does not consider the dimension of power within the micro context; how, for instance, doctors exercise power over nurses and how both exercise power over patients" (p. 282). Similarly, school regulations may exercise power on teachers or parents. When I consider the profile of the participants, the power rises as an issue to be tackled. Getting rid of the effect of hierarchical relations in the school context or the implicit power exercised on teachers or parents may not be possible, however, may be decreased with the choice of the correct research setting and developing the trust relationship between participants and researcher. Choosing homes for parents served as a natural setting free from pressure. For teachers, schools were not the best suitable places due to the pressure of school authority or regulations. In this case, to minimize the settings' effect, teachers were interviewed in other settings such as coffee shops or public libraries. School directors, the school inspector, and school psychologists, on the other hand, preferred being interviewed in their workplace. One reason for this can be the fact that these participants have their office rooms where they can feel more comfortable.

5.5 Research Speech

Getting involved in the research process and the lives of participants would give an insider's perspective to recognize the differences and variations in the research process which is needed in constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010). Seeing the lives of participants from inside is very important because what we bring to the research and what we learn from the field are different than what our participants know (Charmaz, 2014). To achieve that apart from being engaged in their lives, constructivist researchers should pay attention also to the way participants use the language. It would be needed to understand the underlying meanings of participants.

The researcher was as Gal (2012) calls "communicationally informed fieldworker' (p. 40) with a perspective to use linguistic practices of participants and to learn about cultural categories, forms of knowledge, and social relations, especially with people with a Turkish background. As Gal (2012) suggested, we need a new perspective where we make use of our communicative skills to detect metacommunication during our interviews. Metacommunication can be considered as a simultaneous meta-message that instructs how to interpret any signal. The meta-message can be gestures or signaling of speech event or any other language use; in other words, meta-pragmatics. Hence, apart from referential modalities, we may need to be alert to non-referential modalities such as accent, intonation or gestures. These signals can point to the aspects of speech events, to the attitudes, identities or the roles of our participants.

Another important advantage of communicative skills is asking proper questions and attending to indexical means along with referentiality. To ask the correct questions, the awareness of the truthfulness, bias or trust problems that may occur during an interview and the specific ways of asking in each specific site was needed.

Sometimes researchers and interviewees may think they are engaged in different events. While the researcher thinks about an interview about an experience, participants may be thinking

about an interview where they can complain about the system. Also, during interviews, interviewees can perform their stereotyped images, they may overwhelm the research by conversation, or they may narrate unrelated debates (Gal, 2012) or as Robben (2007) suggested their traumatic experiences may result in exaggeration or misinformation. However, as suggested by Robben (2007), such discussions can be interfering with, but at the same time contributing to a greater understanding.

5.6 Population and Sampling

The population of this study was the people who had experiences with the referral of students with Turkish background to special education in Austria. The study targeted a population as diverse as possible to reach all stakeholders included in the referral process and to get a holistic view of the phenomenon.

5.6.1 Criteria for Participation

The first eligibility criterion for participation was the willingness to participate. The study did not recruit anyone who was not willing to be a part of it. The criteria for each group of participants were different. Teachers needed to have at least three years of teaching experience. As the aim of grounded theory is to see how participants make the meaning of their experiences (Charmaz, 2014), it was important to have teachers who have enough experiences. This criterion helped to eliminate the new teachers with less experience and who may ground their ideas not on their experiences but on their predispositions, biases or personal judgments. Another criterion for the teachers was being employed in primary or lower secondary schools, as referral to special education does not happen in the upper secondary level, and special education schools provide education until the end of the lower secondary level. School directors either were directors in special education school or lower secondary school, and the school inspector was responsible for these levels of schools. School psychologists were also the ones with experiences in these levels of schools.

The criteria for the parents were a little bit subtler. Defining the term 'students with a Turkish background' was not an easy process. The definition of the Turkish population was vulnerable in this term. The methodologies of different research may vary in including people with a migration background on citizenship criteria or colloquial language. However, in Austria, it is a bit complicated. In Austria, an immigrant is someone who was born in another country or someone who was born in Austria, but both of his/her parents are foreign-born. This is the criterion to get the number of people with a migration background in the country. Yet, this criterion is not used to get the number of students with a migration background in the schools. Austria accepts the mother tongue as the criterion in defining the students with a migration background. However, as Luciak and Biewer (2011) pointed, such definitions may not present the actual number of students with a migration background, because German can be reported as the colloquial language of an immigrant family although it may not be. In this study, to have a more comprehensible vision, parents with a Turkish background, regardless of citizenship or the reported colloquial language were included. The main criterion was that these people identify themselves as a person with a Turkish background.

The main criteria of sampling were also shaped by the country context about special education. In Austria, a pupil with special education needs can be schooled either in a special education school, in a special education classroom in a mainstream school or in a mainstream classroom

that can provide special education (Education Council for Vienna, 2014). However, national statistics explicitly show the overrepresentation in special education schools. Hence, I included participants who were affiliated with schooling in special education schools. Finally, according to the guidelines, the decision should rely at least on one of the eight disability categories; autism, learning disabilities, physical disabilities, mental disabilities, hearing impairment, visual impairment, speech disabilities, severe multi-disabilities, blindness, deafness. As convertible high incidence disabilities have the most controversial diagnoses processes (Sullivan & Bal, 2013), the parents of the students who were diagnosed with speech or learning disabilities and mild mental disabilities, in other words, high incidence disabilities were approached.

5.6.2 Sampling

The sampling had two stages in this study. The initial sampling started with an aim to reach a variety of participants that can reflect a variety of perspectives. Later, with the emergence of more focused domains and questions, theoretical sampling began for deeper and more focused analysis.

5.6.2.1 Initial Sampling

In grounded theory, initial sampling is the first stage to have preliminary data, and we need participants with experiences about the research problem. Hence, the initial participants for the study were chosen with purposive sampling by selecting information-rich cases (Patton, 1990). The initial data from the purposive sampling guided the generation of initial codes and categories. Later, the target was reaching data that can develop these categories. As well as purposive sampling, data-rich sources led to other data reach sources during the data collection process constituting a snowball sample. Reaching a new participant through another participant who was eligible to participate was an advantage of snowball sampling because by doing this there was the chance to reach some participants who may not be accessible by another sampling strategy (Mutepa, 2016). However, sampling did not mean, including whoever is "interested and interesting" (Flick, 2018, p. 85). As Morse (2007) suggested, the aim was to reach the best participants for the best data.

After a certain period, concurrent data collection and analysis revealed the parts to be elaborated on. This helped to focus on the missing parts and to do theoretical sampling to generate a theoretical understanding (Charmaz, 2014). The process of theoretical sampling is discussed in detail in the following pages.

5.6.2.2 Process of Recruitment

In this study, the initial participant recruitment was done through the guidelines of purposive sampling (Patton, 1990). Recruited participants were the ones who have knowledge and experience about the research problem and who are related to research questions. Parents who have experiences with special education referrals, teachers who have experiences with referring students to special education, school psychologists, school directors, and inspector, as well as special education teachers, were participants in this study. The researcher contacted all participants personally and assured anonymity and confidentiality during the first contact.

The first contact was mainly through phone calls. In the phone calls, I tried to be as clear as possible to explain the research purpose, researcher profile and the duties of the participants. Assurance of voluntary-based participation, anonymity, and confidentiality existed in every phone call. The phone calls were done at the time that suited the participants the best. Phone

calls sometimes took longer than expected, as there were many points and hesitations to clarify. Phone calls ended either with an agreement to take part in the research or with an agreement for another phone call to decide about the participation. Through the research, there was limited communication via e-mail. Mainly school directors and school inspectors wanted to communicate via e-mail instead of phone calls.

Before starting the actual data collection and interviewing phase, several informal talks with teachers, school directors and parents were conducted regardless of having specific experience on the topic. Such informal talks assisted in developing a holistic picture of the school settings, teacher-parent relations, reciprocal understandings, and so on. The main data during the research started to flow after spending about five months on informal talks and locating data-rich cases.

At the beginning of the research, I used gatekeepers to increase the credibility of the research (Sixsmith, Bineham & Goldring, 2003). To find parents, I contacted the union of Turkish teachers who offer a free consultation to Turkish parents about school problems. The head of the union confirmed their experiences with similar stories and their potential help to reach parents. After reaching two parents through this union, the first interviews were conducted. However, as Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden (2001) suggested, gatekeepers can also have an impact on the way the participants share their opinions. In my case, the teacher union, although to some extent, represented a school authority. For instance, participants felt the obligation to attend the research not to lose the connection with the teachers' union or they spoke only positively about their experiences with the union or teachers due to the fear of leakage from the researcher to the union. When the negative impact of the gatekeeper is considered, it was a better idea to go on the recruitment of parents through personal contact after the first interviews. Hence, these first interviews were not treated as the main data sources, but as an informal talk.

The info sheet about the research was another tool to reach participants. I prepared an info sheet and asked the teachers to distribute it to the eligible parents who fulfill the participation criteria. Before or after school hours, teachers distributed this info sheet to the parents that they met in the school building. The info sheet explained the study, confirmed anonymity and included the contact information of the researcher. The info sheets were prepared in Turkish and German language. However, distributing an information sheet that included the purpose of the research and how to contact the researcher did not fulfill the expectations. An info sheet distributed by the teachers to parents was still treated as an authority and parents were not willing to take part in the research although info sheets confirmed the anonymity and confidentiality in the Turkish language and German language. These info sheets can be retrieved in Appendix D and E.

At this point, I started asking parents and teachers that I know to suggest new potential participants. When the two cases compared, it was clear that parents that I reached through other parents were more relaxed, open and comfortable than the parents that I reached through teachers. Hence, to reach the thoughts free from any authority or external impact, the recruitment went on through personal contacts.

The first main data sources were two parents who know each other from the neighborhood and who have similar experiences with the special education referral process. One of them was kind of mentor to the other one, as she experienced the situation earlier and helped the other parent to understand what to do next. At the same time, the first data provider teacher was a special education teacher that I contacted personally. This teacher was interested in the research and provided not only time for an interview, but access to many other data-rich teachers and school-related participants. After the initial analysis of interviews, the second phase of recruitment was

shaped by the results of initial data analysis. At this point, theoretical sampling procedures were applied. These procedures are discussed in the following section.
The interviews with different groups of participants were conducted at the same time to have a holistic perspective on the topic. Conducting a teacher interview and a parent interview in the same week helped to come up with new interview questions or to make connections between teacher and parent experiences. Participant recruitment was a one-year procedure where I had to go back to the field and contact the participants again for clarifications or where I had to find new data sources. Having no time pressure eased the process of developing a rapport with the participants, and there were several informal gatherings, especially with the Turkish parents, before and after the intensive interviews were conducted.
I paid extra attention and effort not to make participants feel obliged to help me. I offered the possibility to stay in contact in the future and my readiness to assist them in any related question in my field even they do not want to take part in the study. However, through the whole data collection process, no participants wanted to withdraw from the research, and all gave their consent for future contact and possible collaboration.

5.6.2.3 Access to Turkish Female Participants

At the planning phase of this study, accessing mothers who cannot speak German was mentioned several times as an advantage and strength of the research. Several national and international experts agreed that reaching Turkish mothers is of great importance. Families, especially non-competent German-speaker mothers, can rarely be integrated into research conducted by non-Turkish speaker researchers. In this study, the data collected in Turkish was used by losing no meaning to an external translator or interpreter. My female self, on the other hand, was another advantage to reach out to Turkish mothers who do not feel comfortable with a male researcher. My being female was also an advantage for Turkish fathers' consent for their wives' being a part of a research. The majority of the Turkish community in Austria is men-driven, and Turkish mothers' German knowledge and naturally, social life integration are limited (Potganski, 2010). Finding volunteer mothers to talk about the decision of school with another person representing university would not be easy if I did not have a Turkish background. Being a female and Turkish eliminated many gender-related issues and helped to gain the trust of women as well as the permission of husbands. However, during interviews, some mothers sounded a bit hesitant. They mentioned that their husbands would not be happy if they use words such as racism, discrimination, or if they talk about the teacher of their child because this teacher can be identified later. As Owens (2006) pointed out, other people about the interview topic may silence women's responses. That issue emerged a few times during this study but was solved by restating the confidentiality and by the signed letter provided by the researcher.

5.7 Participants

The data collection started with initial purposive sampling to have preliminary data. In this process, data sources led to other data sources by creating a snowball sample. When the initial data collection ended, the second stage of sampling, theoretical sampling, started. As the data-sources were not homogenous regarding their expertise and experiences, the number of participants went up by the necessity of including new participants during theoretical sampling.
In this study, people who have experiences about the referral of students with a Turkish migration background in Austrian special education are considered as the target population. Namely,

the participants were parents with a Turkish background whose children experienced the referral process from regular schools to special education schools, teachers and school directors who are working in mainstream schools and in special education schools and have experiences with students who were referred to special education schools from mainstream schools. Furthermore, school inspectors and school psychologists who are included in the commission of the referral process were other data sources.

Participants were asked to provide some basic demographic information, including age, educational level and employment. On the other hand, parents were asked several other questions that can reveal their family structure and migration background. The migration history of the family, birthplace, the aim of immigration, the year of immigration, the existence of other immigrant relatives, the earlier years after immigration, the training or education experiences in Austria were some of the questions to understand the migration process of participants. In addition, to understand the family structure questions such as marital status, number of children, number of people in the household, language competence, family language, other languages spoken in the household, spare-time activities, family-habits, area of interests, and employment situation were also asked. Teachers were asked questions about their teacher training, years of experience, earlier workplaces, early-life experiences, and experiences and relations to the immigrant community. As the constructivist grounded theory and Charmaz (2014) suggested, a researcher should have a critical aspect of the context and the contextual influence. Hence, getting such background information could help the analysis.

The study could make use of the data from 25 participants. 12 of the participants were parents, while eight of them were teachers, two of them were school directors, two of them were school psychologists, and one of them was a school inspector. The majority of the parents were mothers, and only two fathers could be included in the study. The age of the parents fluctuated between 33 and 46. The educational level and the employment situation of them had a relatively wide range.

The teachers who participated in the study had a more heterogeneous picture in terms of gender. The study could include five female teachers and three male teachers whose ages ranged from 42 to 56. Three of the teachers were employed in special education schools, while four of them in middle school and one of them in a primary school. In addition, among the other participants were two school directors, two school psychologists and one school inspector who were all female. The demographic information of participants is included in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Research Participants (N = 25)

	Role	Age	Gender	Education Level	Employment
1	Parent	34	Female	Primary school	Housewife
2	Parent	44	Female	Secondary school	Hairdresser
3	Parent	42	Female	Primary school	Housewife
4	Parent	38	Female	University	Accountant
5	Parent	40	Female	High school	Housewife
6	Parent	41	Female	Primary school	Baker
7	Parent	36	Female	Secondary school	Shop assistant
8	Parent	34	Female	Primary school	Housewife
9	Parent	37	Female	High school	Housewife

	Role	Age	Gender	Education Level	Employment
10	Parent	33	Female	High school	Secretary
11	Parent	41	Male	Primary school	Construction worker
12	Parent	46	Male	Secondary school	Shop owner
13	Teacher	42	Female	Teacher training college	Special edu. school
14	Teacher	45	Female	Teacher training college	Special edu. school
15	Teacher	43	Female	Teacher training college	Special edu. school
16	Teacher	46	Female	University	Middle school
17	Teacher	52	Female	University	Middle school
18	Teacher	47	Male	Teacher training college	Middle school
19	Teacher	56	Male	Teacher training college	Middle school
20	Teacher	56	Male	University	Primary school
21	School Director	62	Female	Teacher training college	Special edu. school
22	School Director	60	Female	Teacher training college	Middle school
23	School Psychologist	37	Female	University	Consultation Office
24	School Psychologist	43	Female	University	Consultation Office
25	School Inspector	63	Female	Teacher training college	School Districts

5.8 Instrument

In grounded theory, as Glaser (1978) pointed, everything can be used as data, and the aim should be reaching thick and rich data. However, the research questions shape the data collection method and data type. In this study, the aim was to reach experiences. Hence, detailed narratives via intensive interviews were recruited as the main data collection tools. Such interviews provide an in-depth exploration of participants' experiences about the research problem (Charmaz, 2014). These interviews have a broad concept as a loose explanatory conversation, and they can be narrowed down to the participants' and researcher's concerns and interests in a semi-structured way, as Barker (2012) suggested.

Extant texts complement interviews, and they can be treated analytically as sources of data to justify a category drafted in the research (Charmaz, 2014). Apart from intensive interviews, supplementary analysis of extant texts such as educational statistics, newspaper articles, biographies or autobiographies, reports, school policy statements, records, etc. were used to increase the theoretical sensitivity. In addition to extant documents, one loosely structured focus group interview with parents was also included in data collection.

5.8.1 Intensive Interviews

> "– a gently-guided one-sided conversation that explores research participants' perspective on their personal experience with the research topic" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 56)

Intensive interviews, directed conversation (Lofland & Lofland, 1995), were recruited as the main data collection instrument. They allow an in-depth exploration of an experience or a topic. Intensive interviews were used in this study, as they are a useful method for interpretive inquiry that fits well with constructivist grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2014). In intensive interviews and in grounded theory methods, we find the open-ended nature. However, both of them,

in spite of open-ended nature, are directed and shaped. The intensive interview can allow the grounded theory to have more direct control over the data construction. Similarly, grounded theory methods give the responsibility of collecting data and data analysis to researchers, which increases the power of researchers on the material.

While interviewing, the researcher can have several names under which there are travelers and data miners (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018). Rather than a data miner who would dig to reach the facts in a discovery nature, I adopted the traveler mission during intensive interviews. A traveler grounded theory researcher would see an interview as a construction that is based on interpretation.

This type of interview is not framed with an explicit set of rules or questions but can be considered as an attitude to interview (Flick, 2018). With intensive interviews, participants are encouraged to interpret their own experiences, justification or concerns. This allows the researcher to understand the topic, to interpret the topic and to understand how participants interpret the topic. On the other hand, intensive interviewing fits well with some other data collection instruments such as document analysis (Charmaz, 2014).

With intensive interviews, it is important to require open-ended and non-judgmental questions to encourage statements and stories to emerge (Charmaz, 2014). However, the balance between the open-ended nature and focus on some significant points to elaborate is important to construct well-shaped interviews.

Intensive interviews have advantages both for the researcher as well as the research participants. According to Charmaz (2006), intensive interviews allow a researcher:

- Go beneath the surface of the described experience(s)
- Stop to explore a statement or topic
- Request more detail or explanation
- Ask about the participant's thoughts, feelings, and actions
- Keep the participant on the subject
- Come back to an earlier point
- Restate the participant's point to check for accuracy
- Slow or quicken the pace
- Shift the immediate topic
- Validate the participant's humanity, perspective, or action
- Use observational and social skills to further the discussion
- Respect the participant and express appreciation for participating

On the other hand, Charmaz (2006) listed the advantages for research participants during intensive interviews:

- Break silences and express their views
- Tell their stories and to give them a coherent frame
- Reflect on earlier events
- Be experts
- Choose what to tell and how to tell it
- Share significant experiences and teach the interviewer how to interpret them
- Express thoughts and feelings disallowed in other relationships and settings
- Receive affirmation and understanding

5.9 Data Collection Process

In this study, the data collection process included 25 participants and lasted for about a year. The data collection was performed through face to face meetings. The people recruited as data sources in this study were chosen based on their expertise in the research topic. Either as a parent, teacher or school psychologist, all included were data-rich sources and were aware that their inclusion resulted from their experiences. The main principle guided the data collection was prioritizing the participant. To "obtain juicy data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 30), participants were not forced, stimulated or discomforted. The interviews were not cut suddenly after getting enough information. All interviews ended with some closing comments in a positive manner.

The main data collection tools were intensive interviews, although not the only ones. Interviews targeted delving deeper into experiences, options, and discussion. However, the interviewing process was not only a process of asking questions and recording the answers but a process of collaboration between the researcher and participant in a "friendly talk" (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012, p. 219). During interviews, apart from listening or asking, researching and observing were the main components. Observing the differences in the tone of voice, body language or emotional intensity can function as artifacts for notes and memos (Feeler, 2012).

5.9.1 Conducting Intensive Interviews

An intensive interview can have various forms ranging from a loosely structured conversation to a semi-structured interview. However, in any case, there are some points to bear in mind for a fruitful and effective interview process. In this research, the guidelines of constructivist grounded theory as described and suggested by Charmaz were followed (2014).

To construct appropriate intensive interviews, carefully chosen questions may not be enough. Apart from choosing the questions and asking them, an interviewer should not forget that an interview is not an interrogation. As Charmaz (2014) suggested, questions should serve the aim of the research and at the same time, should fit the experience of the research participant. Questions should cover the experiences, but also should allow eliciting the specific experience that is shared by research participants.

By examining and studying the research done with grounded theory approach and intensive interviews, I adapted the interview questions recruited during interviews. With these interview questions, I tried to study the experiences of participants during the referral to special education. Intensive interviewing is mainly a guided and one-sided conversation that explores the perspective of participants about their own experiences (Charmaz, 2014). The steps that I followed in conducting intensive interviews can be summarized as:

- Finding participants with first-hand experiences
- An in-depth exploration of their experiences
- Gathering detailed information through open-ended questions
- Appealing to participants' perspectives, thoughts, and meanings
- Delving into the underlying views
- Stepping back and forth during the interview for details
- Keeping participant on the topic
- Flexibility with the pace
- Checking for accuracy by restating
- Expressing respect and appreciation to the participants

Interviews were kept as informal and friendly as possible. However, having a list of questions on the side allowed sticking to the important points and not missing some important explorative points. Writing down all possible questions and topics before the interviews could prevent asking wrong questions, asking the same questions again and again, being anxious or asking imposed questions (Charmaz, 2014). Not to be lost in the intensity of the interview, I wrote many possible topics and sample questions in the interview guide. However, I did not follow any pattern or any list during the interviews. These questions helped to improvise new questions during the interviews and increased my confidence for not being dragged away with the flow of conversation. Some of the questions recruited during interviews were:

- Tell me about what happened during the diagnosis process?
- Tell me about what happened during placement in a special education school?
- Tell me about what happened when you/your student/your child was diagnosed with special education needs?
- What did you think when they said you/your child/your student should go to a special education school?
- How was it like when they said you/your student/your child should go to a special education school?
- Can you tell me how you felt when they called you to school for the test?
- Can you tell me what you thought when they called you to school for the test?
- How would you describe the diagnosis process?
- How would you describe the placement process?
- Who was involved in the diagnosis/placement process?
- What was your position during the diagnosis/placement process?
- What did you do after your child/your student was sent to a special education school?
- Etc...

Furthermore, intensive interviews can include a bit of informational interviewing strategies to gather some accurate data about the participants at the beginning of the interview. In this study, participants answered some questions targeting information such as teaching experience, child's school grade; child's birthplace, year of immigration, and so on. The detailed list of questions that parents answered is presented in Appendix F, and the ones that teachers, school directors, school inspector and school psychologists answered is presented in Appendix G.

As Charmaz (2014) suggested, researchers and research participants bring their priorities to the interview. It is possible to have incompatible knowledge, culture, questions or concerns from both sides. However, the important thing is to create an interactive space where research participants can portray their experiences and meanings they attribute to these experiences. During the interviews, I mainly listened and tried to learn while the participants did the talking. I tried to say very little about what I think and tried to be encouraging and non-judgmental in my questions. On the other hand, with body language, tone of voice and murmuring, I showed interest in what the participants were telling. I did not aim to direct the interview by asking the same questions to all participants, and I did not give arbitrary time limits that can curtail further explorations (Charmaz, 2014).

While conducting the interviews, I tried not to describe the participants in a pre-convinced frame. As Scheibelhofer (2008) found in her research, the participants may not describe themselves, situations or actions in the same way we describe them. Instead of this, we should explore the terms that interview participants use for themselves and appeal to them. The words 'Turkish'

or 'immigrant' or 'Turkish children' were descriptions that I avoided during the interviews until I could be sure that their usage did not disturb anyone. I was not sure if participants describe themselves as an immigrant, Turkish or Austrian, or their children as Turkish children, Austrian children or immigrant children. Hence, at the beginning of the research, I paid extra attention not to use such descriptions that may be unwelcoming.

Another point to take into consideration was the silences. "What people do not say can be as telling us what they do say" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 91). As a constructivist, I was interested not only in what is being said, but in the exploration and understanding of the experiences, which can also be explored with the tone, tempo, body language or silences. Silences may mean disturbance, effort to forget or to retrieve, or being uninterested. They bear valuable clues about the flow of interviews as well as situational details. Recoding the interviews rather than taking notes, on the other hand, aimed not to miss these valuable clues.

Intensive interviews can also have sensitive moments when participants get tense or sad. Here, I tried to be as respectful as possible, especially when parents got emotional about their children' being in special education schools. The fear and sadness due to a potential marginalization in the society were visible several times during interviews. Not to disrupt the flow of the interview and not to be disrespectful, I showed attention not to ask unfitting intrusive questions. This required improvising and being flexible to change the flow of the questions or giving up asking questions on this matter or postponing them. Hence, as Charmaz (2014) suggested, learning about the participants' and their cultural attitudes to being asked can be of help before conducting the interview. Here, my cultural background helped a lot to ask, in which tone and where to stop not to distress or disturb the participants.

In this study, a high amount of traumatic occasions that participants have experienced concerning the placement in special education schools was not expected. However, as a study by the Turkish Prime Ministry (2011) showed, almost 82% of Turkish parents living in Austria think their children are discriminated in educational settings in Austria. However, this research topic is considered to be a sensitive topic to discuss, and some participants in this schooling process feel stigmatized. In my study, some participants, under the effect of such an attitude to the Austrian school system, did exaggeration. This was also a point to take into consideration in data analysis.

Another issue during interviews can be power and status. The differences in power or status can have an impact on how participants and researchers go about interviews. Charmaz (2014) pointed out that when the differences between statuses, languages and world-views of both sides decrease, the distance between interviewer and interviewee can also decrease and the interviewer can be considered as an interested learner rather than a distant investigator. When approached parents with low socioeconomic status, being a university staff and a researcher had an impact on the attitude of some participants, and there was a visible hesitation. To eliminate the feeling of alienation, I made some small talk about my background as someone born and brought up in a village and not coming from a family that is very different from their families. To minimize power imbalances, another strategy was the control transfer. While planning the time and the place of the interview, I was flexible and reflexive, to be in an equal position of power, as Birks and Mills suggested (2015). This resulted in participants' understanding that they have more power over interviews.

For a young researcher, interviewing older teachers or school directors was sometimes challenging due to power relations. Powerful people may take over the conversation and decide the pace, timing or length of it by relying on their experiences, age or status (Charmaz, 2014). Some

of the participants tried to take charge of the interview and pointing some other issues rather than the questions asked. The image of being a young researcher was re-portrayed after some discussion. The knowledge about the process, terms, scientific literature as well as policy documents and regulations convinced them to develop trust and to reveal their views. One reason to start the data collection with purposive sampling was that issue. Starting with teachers and school directors to whom the researcher identity was already known and using their reference to reach further participants was very helpful to minimize the number of participants hesitating my competence.

Before the data collection began, a target group of participants was policymakers. Leading employees of the city council about special education were included in the data collection. However, as Kusow (2003) suggested, such powerful individuals may distrust the researchers or their study purpose or their affiliations. They often recite the policies and regulations the way they stand on the papers, and they do not express their personal views. These individuals were mainly talking about how the processes should be, and the referral process is being done the same across the country. After being advised about the contradicting study results about the lack of unity and transparency about the special education referral process, these individuals went on by stating that they are representing an institution but not themselves. Hence, these two interviews were taken out of data analysis, as they did not rely on experiences.

Interviews were conducted in a year. The number of interviews was not decided before the study had begun, as the number should be decided according to the analytic level that the researcher wants to achieve (Charmaz, 2014). The interviews went on until theoretical saturation was reached. This process is discussed in detail in the theoretical saturation part.

5.9.2 Individual Interviews

In this study, there were 27 interviews with 25 participants. The individual interviews were considered as tools not to explore reality or interrogate. The participants were not considered as a container of information, but as "constructors of knowledge in collaboration with interviewers" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 4). Hence, the locations they would feel comfortable were offered and preferred. Ten of 12 interviews with parents were conducted in the houses of the participants upon their invitation and four of them in coffee shops. The office of the researcher was also offered as a possibility, but the participants preferred other locations. Two of the teacher interviews were also conducted in the houses of the teachers, two in coffee shops and two in the public library. Two school directors, the school inspector, and school psychologists were interviewed in their office. The interviews in the houses took longer than the interviews conducted in coffee shops or public libraries. The longest interview took around two and a half hours and the shortest one 42 minutes.

5.9.3 Focus Group Meeting

A focus group meeting under the guidance of a researcher is a specified area where people with similar interests come together and engage in a conversation (Birks & Mills, 2015). In the focus group meeting, as Lambert and Loiselle (2008) explained, different perspectives and a wide range of experiences can be highlighted. In such meetings, participants are encouraged by the participation of other participants, and they reflect more on the blurry parts identified throughout the study (Morgan, 1997). This can be helpful, especially at the category-building phase. Group interviews are also a solution when a gender issue arises. Interviewing an opposite-sex participant face to face and privately may across some gender lines as put by Barker (2012).

In this study, a focus group meeting with five parents was conducted after all the individual interviews were done. Three mothers and two fathers attended the meeting. The mothers were already research participants through intensive interviews. The husbands, on the other hand, did not agree to have an intensive individual interview but agreed to be a part of the focus group meeting that was organized in the house of one couple in the evening. As Birks and Mills (2015) suggested, some participants may feel more comfortable during a focus group meeting than in a one to one interview. This was the case with two of these fathers as they were not willing to meet the researcher for a one to one correspondence. However, one of them sent an invitation to me and to the other couple who live in the same neighborhood to talk about the topic at their place.

Furthermore, I was given the liberty to bring other participants with me. One mother, who was a participant of the study, agreed to accompany me to the invitation. During the meeting, I followed the general interview principles. The meeting had a very informal nature, tough. The most valuable data from this meeting was the data produced from the interaction between the participants. As the two families know each other and are comfortable with each other, there was no big need for icebreakers. The mother who accompanied me could adjust to the setting very easily as well. There was no visible dominance during the discussion, and everyone had almost the equal share of a chance to talk about his or her experiences. However, there were also long irrelevant talks that were unavoidable in such a flexible open discussion. Later, these discussions had to be taken apart from the main discussion.

This meeting was recorded and took about two hours. I also wrote the exchange between the participants verbatim and jotted down the points where the sequence of the talk changed. The aim was not to analyze their conversation but to catch the important exchange during the arguments and conversations. Here, I acted as an ethnographer by paying attention also to silences and gestures. The data retrieved from focus group meeting was not used as the main source for data generation, but to assist the category generation.

5.10 Importance of Narration

Qualitative research depends on asking questions and on the responses of participants. Our respondents' words and telling form the backbone of qualitative studies where we recruit people as informants and interviews as tools.

In this study, intensive interviews served as the main data collection instruments. However, narratives had an important role, as well. As Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) suggested, there is no human experience that cannot be expressed in the form of a narrative; and narratives are infinite in their variety, and we find them everywhere. During the intensive interview, we ask our research participants to recall what has happened, and we want them to put their experiences into a sequence that produces narratives at the end. Barthes (1993) explained the vital position of narratives as:

> Narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting (think of Carpaccio's Saint Ursula), stained-glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation. Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative... Caring nothing for the division between good and bad literature, narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself. (p. 251)

As Elliot (2005) pointed out, narrations have been used intensively in social sciences. However, she listed two various perspectives; the naturalistic approach, which describes the people as they

exist and the constructivist approach, which focuses on how a sense of social order. She summarized the latter as:

> There is a distinction between qualitative researchers who understand interviews as a resource and those who see the interview itself as a topic for enquiry" and "while the naturalist view is that the social world is in some sense 'out there', an external reality available to be observed and described by the researcher, the constructivist view is that the social world is constantly 'in the making,' and therefore the emphasis is on understanding the production of that social world. (Elliot, 2005, p. 18)

In my study, with a constructivist approach, I asked 'what or how questions' and to collect stories from my research participants. Their stories were not the source to learn the truth; however, the stories themselves were means to understand the studied problem. Hence, I believe, stories and storytelling are universal in interviewing practices (Mishler, 1986). Mishler also explained the narration in interviews as:

> Various attempts to restructure the interviewer-interviewee relationship, to empower respondents, are designed to encourage them to find and speak in their own 'voices.' It is not surprising that when the interview situation is opened up in this way when the balance of power is shifted, respondents are likely to tell 'stories'. In sum, interviewing practices that empower respondents also produce narrative accounts. (p. 118)

Another scholar who emphasizes the universality of storytelling in communication is Schuetze. Schuetze (1977) described storytelling as a competence that is not dependent on education and language competence. He discussed that although while the language competence is not equally distributed in a population, storytelling competence is not or less so. An interview should be considered as a narrative process where our respondents narrate their experiences and stories. However, although a respondent can be considered as a storyteller, he/she should not be considered as someone making up stories and should not be encouraged to do so (Feeler, 2012).

After explaining the significant role of storytelling and narrations, I would like to go on with explaining the narrative interviews. Narrative interviews can encourage an interview setting where a research participant tells a story about some significant past events or experiences in the research participant's life (Bauer, 1996). The main idea of a narrative interview is to understand this significant event or experience from the perspective of participants. I think that although they do not serve as the main data collection instruments, narrative interviews are used in many studies in the social sciences even only for the initial open-ended questions about past experiences.

In my study, I also asked about research participants' past experiences, and I wanted them to tell what happened or what/how they felt, or what they did during such experiences. All of these questions produced narrations, where my research participants mostly told stories. These embedded small-scale narrations during intensive interviews helped to have a clearer picture. As Flick (2018) explained, such narrations can also be called as an episodic interview, which is a combination of situations and questions. Such narrative interviews have been recruited partially in my data collection to depict a situation about experiences.

According to Bauer (1996), the idea of narrative interviewing is motivated by a critique of the question-response-schema of most interviews. In a question-response approach, we impose structures either by selecting the theme and topics or by ordering questions, or by wording the questions in our language. Hence, data from the question-response approach reflects more about the interviewer's relevance structures than about the studied issues.

Such a control issue, unfortunately, exists in most of the interview methods, including intensive interviews. To be able to shift the control of the interviewer to the research participants, I tried

to include narrative interviews in my research. Especially, at the beginning of interviews, I raised some unstructured questions not to impose any control but to hear what happened during that experience.

As narrative interviews were not my main data collection instruments, I used them as supplementary interview methods to reach the stories of my research participants. I presented the research topic, the research aim, and then I raised the question to encourage my research participants to tell the past event or experience in a storytelling manner. In this phase, active listening and not disturbing was important (Bauer, 1996). When the narration came to its natural end, I included questions to elicit already uttered material and to reach new fresh material. After the narration, there was the phase of questioning and getting more to the point by asking theoretical questions and by following the outliers across interviews. I went on with intensive interview methods.

During an interview, a respondent narrates an interpretation of what happened by including emotions, expectations or changes since then. As Holstein and Gubrium (1995) suggested, respondents are researchers when asked for consulting to their own experiences or orientations. During the interviews, I encouraged my respondents to narrate their experiences about their children's being diagnosed with special education needs and placed in special education schools. Their narrations were a way of interpretation of their experiences. Hence, what was told did not necessarily happen this way. However, in this study, the aim was not reaching the facts, but understanding how the respondents make the meaning of their experiences. Long narrations about the experiences were targeted and could be achieved highly in this study.

5.11 Asking Questions

To reach usable narration, we should ask the correct questions that encourage narration. Our questions can be starting with 'describe, tell me ...' or they can ask for specific information 'can you rate ..., since how many years...' However, asking the right questions does not always mean giving a frame, but letting respondents speak for themselves. Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater (2012) suggested some tips for asking questions including, being ready for the unexpected, asking a few closed questions and asking more open questions. While asking questions, we should be clear enough about what we expect from our respondents, but at the same time, we should recognize if our respondents go off track (Feeler, 2012).

5.11.1 Closed Questions

Closed questions mainly require a yes or no answer, a simple information answer, an answer with a number or picking an answer from multiple choices. We can use closed questions to get specific information, to stop the conversation, or to change the direction of the conversation. By recruiting closed questions, we can gain information about the background or interests of our respondents, which can help us to start the interview in an appealing way to our interviewees (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012). I used closed questions in my interviews to collect background information about my respondents and to prepare fitting open questions to go deeper into the conversation. Sometimes closed questions helped to change the topic when there was no need for more elaboration on the present topic.

5.11.2 Open Questions

Open questions encourage respondents to take control and to communicate their perspectives and ideas in a free and flexible way. Such questions give an active role to respondents. In this

process, respondents are not only informants about the facts, but they construct, transform re-interpret the facts and details (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Open questions do need not only an active respondent but also an active listener. Asking open questions requires other skills such as good listening, eye contact, attention or body language, and so on. Verbal confirmation, attentiveness, nodding, or asking follow-up questions should be asked to encourage longer narrations. During the interviews, open questions were the main questions and used more often than closed questions. To make respondents as comfortable as possible, I tried to ask open questions in a conversational style. I avoided complex structures and technical language, especially while talking to parents. While interviewing teachers and school directors, on the other hand, I used some daily terms from school context or terminology familiar to them to show that I am knowledgeable about their daily context to some extent. By doing so, I eliminated their long descriptions or unnecessary explanations. With open questions, I invited the participants to explore their own experiences and to communicate the meanings they found. The questions were mainly 'tell me more..., describe the first time..., describe how you felt about ..., and tell me about the people...'. While asking these questions, I welcomed any idea and explained that what I need is their opinions.

5.12 Writing

Writing is an essential part of doing grounded theory for several scholars (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Halton & Walsh, 2017). In this study there were two research sites; the place where the data were collected and the place where the data were analyzed and written up. As Gupta and Ferguson (1997) described, this resulted in two different types of writing. The first one was done in the field that can be called as field notes/researcher diary, including detailed raw documented data about interviews, interviewees or settings. Later, another writing was done home in a more theoretical and reflective way in the form of memos. In this study, these two writing followed each other by not giving too much temporal interval.

5.12.1 Field Notes

I had a research diary throughout the research process, where I included field notes. Field notes can give details about the physical environment and the non-verbal behavior of participants that can be revealed via transcriptions of the interview records (Birks & Mills, 2015). This diary was not only about methodological directions or decisions but had a holistic view of all entities of the research process. It included information about interview partners, location or time, methodological dilemmas, issues and also my reflections on interviews. With this diary, I could be more engaged in the research field, could keep feelings and views about interviews fresh, could go back and forth between diary entries, and could form a base for memos. This diary was written in a notebook. However, several pieces of paper were added later to this compilation. While writing the diary, I also used the freewriting technique. With the help of a pen and paper, I wrote whatever came to my mind about a point in the research. Writing freely without attending to grammar or audience opened and liberated the mind. On the other hand, sometimes I focused the freewriting on addressing a category or a code, which led to memo writing about that code or category.

While writing the field notes or researcher diary, apart from freewriting, I tried to visualize my mental image via clustering. Clustering offers a diagram of connections and shows how the pieces are connected. We group and then conceptualize objects, data, people or events that have

similar characteristics (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014). I drew several clustering schemas by starting from various nucleus words (Charmaz, 2014). This helped to see how the pieces were fitting together in various ways and which way was the best. Drawing clusters gave control to put the ideas in an image before starting writing on them. However, as Miles et al. (2014) warned, I was careful to differentiate between clustering for sorting things that go together and clustering for subsuming the particulars into the general. When we move to higher levels of abstraction through clustering, we mainly move back and forth between data and more general categories "that evolve and develop through successive iterations until the category is saturated" (Miles et al. 2014, p. 286). This type of clustering was an analytic process that I used during focused coding and category generation.

5.12.2 Memos

Writing a memo is a crucial part of grounded theory as it helps to analyze the data and the codes at an earlier time of the research (Charmaz, 2014). Memos can be called analytic notes that the researcher takes about an idea popping up during the research process. Memos can be written through the study from the beginning. They can be about codes, categories, or comparisons. Memos can also include references to literature or the quotes of participants. Between data collection and writing drafts, the researchers make use of memos, which can be considered as the notes of a researcher to comment, judge, discuss or ask questions about the data and to generate new hypotheses and ideas (Charmaz, 2014; Glaser, 1978). Each memo can be linked to a certain set of data, and memos can be merged or chunked during the process.

On the other hand, memos can direct us to the new data collection. Different from field notes, memos do not include raw data, but the insight of researchers about the data and the analysis of these data (Birks & Mills, 2015). To keep involved in the research, I wrote consecutive memos throughout the research process, which helped to be more analytic with my data and to abstract my ideas. By writing memos, new ideas occurred, new questions arose, and my assumptions became more visible. Also, continuous writing about the research can help to go back and forth and increase the reflexivity (Flick, 2018).

Memos can create space where we can make comparisons between data and codes, between data and data, or between codes and codes (Charmaz, 2014), which is rudimentary in grounded theory. As Hallberg (2006, p. 141) suggested, "making the constant comparison is the core category of grounded theory." Hence, making use of memos for constant comparison assisted the process of reaching to categories and later to a core category.

Memos, on the other hand, helped to keep track of theory construction. As Lempert (2007), suggested, "memo writing is the methodological link, the distillation process, through which the researcher transforms data into theory" (p. 345). By taking data and codes apart, comparing them and linking them to each other, the memos got more theoretical and less tentative throughout the research. With fewer data and fewer codes at the beginning, the memos were less analytic but more descriptive. However, later, they developed and showed how I learned about the research world and how I improved my analytical thinking about the codes and categories.

In this study, I started memo writing at the beginning of the research. As Flick (2018) suggested, the study will benefit more if memo writing starts right away. These short memos were accompanied by field notes about the field, access, or participants. The memos helped to keep a record of the new ideas about a code, to comment on the data and to discuss the findings of codes in an integrative way. Furthermore, the memos were written to document the access to the field,

the work in the field, the process of using the material to develop and define categories and late to develop a theory (Flick, 2018). They included diagrams, the quotes of the participants, references to literature, and comments about codes or categories, comparisons. Some of the memos were formed visually with clusters. I started with the main idea and tried to connect everything to this concept by drawing lines.

While writing the memos, I did not pay attention to writing them in a formal grammatical language. I used personal language, including abbreviations and unofficial language. The aim was to write memos that make sense. The length and the style varied among the memos. As I wrote the memos almost everywhere on small pieces of papers or in several notebooks, I tried to put them in order and structure. Hence, all the memos were compiled in a memo bank, as Clarke (2005) calls them. Each memo was registered in the memo bank with a date and a self-explaining name and could be retrieved easily in case of need. However, while using the memos, I preferred mainly using the memos written on the papers.

5.13 Documents

Documents can provide important data and they have a wide range of forms including email messages, web pages, records, regulations, manuals, diaries, newspaper articles, blogs, movies, photographs, etc. (Plummer, 2001). The important thing is to connect the research questions to relevant documents, although these documents were not produced for research purposes (Charmaz, 2014). In this study, I used extant documents, the construction of which is not affected by the researcher or participants. The extant documents that were included in the research were organizational documents, mass media articles, literature, personal correspondence, government reports, and public records. In this study, documents were not treated as main data sources but supplementary tools to increase the familiarity in the area and to develop sensitivity.

While recruiting documents in the study, the four criteria, as suggested by Scott (1990), were applied. To decide whether to use a specific document or not, these four criteria were useful. Authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning of the documents were checked to assess the documents.

While working with documents, I used some of the questions as suggested by Charmaz (2014):

- What are the purposes of the document?
- How was the document produced? By whom?
- What is the structure of the document?
- Are there unintended meanings?
- How is the language used?
- Who benefits from the document?

The extant documents were recruited to get to know definitions regarding the topic and to visualize the edges of the research problem. Demographical reports about immigrants, Turkish immigrants, school visit of students with a migration background and their distribution in several school types, national and international academic achievement reports, and yearly national school year reports and statistics were analyzed to see how the overrepresentation of students with a migration background in low-promising schools is defined and discussed in the country. Moreover, newspaper articles or personal blogs of teachers and parents were also read prior to the study to gather the public perspective on the topic. I regularly read the newspaper articles tackling school settings and educational situation for immigrant students, teachers' perspective to work in culturally diverse schools, inclusive practices for all, etc. In other words, I tried to stay

knowledgeable about the national discussion on educational topics. However, I did not treat the newspaper articles as objective records, but as "dominant and elite voices in the public conversation about a social problem" as Bogard (2001, p. 431) did.
The other documents that helped to understand the referral process were policy documents and organizational documents. The guidelines for inclusion, integration and special education printed and distributed by Vienna School Council (Stadtschulrat) were also included in the research. These guidelines (Leitfaden für Inklusion, Integration und Sonderpädogogik in Wien), latest printed in 2014, are the regulations that schools should follow regarding special education diagnoses or referral process, learning plans, disability categories or inclusive practices. Some of the relevant pages of these guidelines can be retrieved in Appendix C. These guidelines created an image of how the referral process should be as described by the council. However, I did not consider these guidelines as objective sources of data either. As Coffrey (2014) suggested, documents do not present objective facts, but what their authors consider as objective facts. Hence, I considered these texts as support for analytic analysis but not as the truth.

5.14 Language

In this study, the collected data were in German and Turkish. The documents and literature were in German, Turkish and English. In the end, the research report was produced in English. Hence, the interview questions were in German and Turkish. During the research, both German and Turkish languages were used. The Turkish language was used to contact parents and to interview them. German, on the other hand, was used for interviewing teachers, school directors, the school inspector, and school psychologists. The contact and interviews with Turkish speaking participants included several times German entries. Parents preferred using German words related to the school context. These words were mainly about integration classrooms, school direction or special education schools. Some examples are integrtationsklasse, sonderschule, sonderschullehrerin, inklusion, direktion, nachmittagsbetreuung etc. Speaking both languages allowed flexibility to switch between the two languages when needed.
On the other hand, due to the multilingual nature of the study, memos were written in several languages. Furthermore, the field notes were also written by using several languages. The writing was done multilingual within a field note or memo by picking the most fitting explanation in any of the three languages of the researcher. It was possible to start a sentence in Turkish, go on with English and finish in German. This ended up in memos written in three languages. Every time I tried to use the word that most fitting to the situation and more meaningful to me. An example of a memo that was written in several languages is available in Appendix H.
However, this multilingual situation of the study did not require the employment of any assistant person or team. As a researcher, I could produce the required questions, comments, consent forms, or analyze the data in its original language. Hence, there was no need for translation. As Kruse, Bethmann, Niermann and Schmieder suggested (2012), translation can lead to subjective interpretations of translators. Collecting the data in the language of the participants and analyzing it in its original language eliminated many issues that could have raised due to translation.
As Charmaz (2014) suggested, the language in research has an effect not only on the on data collection, but also on data analysis. She explained this as "the characteristics of specific languages matter as do the character of cultural traditions and norms" (p. 331). While analyzing the data in this study, there was no need to translate. The analysis of Turkish interviews was done

in Turkish, and the codes were generated in Turkish, and the same procedure was followed for the data in German. The embedded culture in words (Kruse et al., 2012) was not lost as well.

5.15 Collected Data

The total length of the 27 interviews conducted for this study was about 30 hours. However, not all recordings could be used for data analysis. Recordings were cleared from irrelevant speeches that occurred in between. Some examples were greetings, offering tea, a ringing phone of a participant or a ringing bell. After getting rid of such unrelated parts, the length of the data that were transcribed was about 23 hours, which created 250 pages. The recording of the focused group interview was transcribed and coded relatively later than the rest of the data. The focused group interview produced 10 pages of transcribed data.

5.16 Ethical Consideration

For ethical consideration, participation in the study was voluntary. Extra sensitivity was shown not to harm participants while maximizing data. The boundaries of inquiry were kept at a level of respect.

All participants that I contacted either face to face or per telephone were informed about the confidentiality and anonymity of the study. In the first contact, I approached all participants in person and gave information about the research. I introduced myself, including my full name, academic position and affiliation and asked them if they want to pursue communication for further information about the research. During the research, there was no person who refused further communication at this phase. Then they were given more detailed information about the purpose of the study, procedures of the study and about how their anonymity and confidentiality are assured. I encouraged them to ask questions or to share their concerns. If the participant went on showing interest and if he/she is eligible to be a part of the study, a meeting place and time were scheduled. In this first contact, they were also informed about the recording of the interviews and their right to stop participating at any time they want. Sharing as much information as possible and being transparent helped to eliminate the mortality of the participants during the research (Frankel & Wallen, 2006). After all questions were answered and all concerned were explained, it was easy for the potential participants to decide between being a participant or not.

At the scheduled meeting, each participant got an information sheet about the study, the purpose as well as my affiliation and personal information. However, all were provided with a letter signed by the researcher stating the purpose and the procedure of the study, the right to withdraw from the study at any time and the confidentiality of the provided data. With this letter, I assured the anonymity and trustworthiness of the research. For this letter, I did not ask my participants to put their signature or name, and throughout our communication, they were never asked to provide personal information such as address or surname if they did not share voluntarily. This consent form is available in Appendix I both in German and Turkish.

The participants were given the right to choose a nickname if they did not want to be called with their real names. All of them were comfortable and stated that there is no need to find a nickname. However, many of them stated their wish about not being called by their surname, but only first name. During the interviews, there was no usage of family names. I informed the participants that they should also avoid using the names of the schools, parents or teachers. So that all identifying data were avoided from the research.

For this data collection, there was no need for official approval from any institution. All participants took part in representing their identities not any institution such as schools, school direction or ministry. Each participant was a source about himself/herself and represented his/her stance and opinion.
After the interview, the participants were given the right to choose the sentences that should not be included in the analysis. I transcribed all recorded interviews and used them only after the participants gave consent at the end of the interview. The digital files were kept in a computer that was secured with a password. To transcribe some of the interviews in the German language, a transcriber helped in the data analysis process. The transcriber signed a letter that ensures her obligation for non-disclosure and for deleting the data after she was done with transcribing. The professional secrecy statement that this transcriber signed is available in Appendix J.

5.17 Problems Encountered in the Data Collection Phase

This study was conducted in enough time, which made it possible to spend the required time on the research components. More time was given to the planning and reading before the field research started. One issue was the limited language competence of the researcher. As an important group of participants was interviewed in German, the language competence was important. On the other hand, grounded theory research cannot be considered as independent of its contextual situation (Charmaz, 2014). Hence, being able to speak and understand the language of the study context and setting was required. However, language rose as an issue after field research started. Especially, when participants talked too fast in a specific dialect of German, some points were repeated upon the request of the researcher. In addition, some German speaker participants paid extra attention to use simplified language to make it for the researcher possible to follow the topic. However, the participants were assured that there was no need to do this, as when needed, there would be assistance to transcribe the interviews.
The recruitment of participants is vulnerable to many practical and ethical issues that are not foreseen before the research begins. In this study, there were some issues during access to participants. One issue was reaching the parents who were not emotionally ready to talk about their experiences during special education diagnoses. Academic achievement is considered as an indicator of integration, on the other hand, being diagnosed with special education needs is considered as a low academic achievement, which makes parents hesitant and shy to share their experiences about special education referral of their children. Hence, reaching parents who are willing to take part in the research was not an easy process.
Another issue was the fear of sharing ideas about schools and teachers. Some parents were hesitant to talk about specific cases, and they preferred to keep the conversation at a formal level rather than an individual level. This issue was eliminated with the help of a signed letter that has the logo of the University of Vienna and the affiliation of the researcher and states the anonymity and the confidentiality of the study.
The hesitation, reluctance or sensitivity of the participants and dealing with gatekeepers, created some frictions and discouragement during the research. As such a study requires "an uphill battle" (Mutepa, 2016, p. 8), I was concerned about reaching credible and trustworthy research findings through data-rich sources. Hence, the diligent participation of the participants was very crucial. However, instead of feeling hopeless or exhausted, I motivated myself, and I kept appreciating my participants. Each group of participants had their worries and reasons to have hesitations. Teachers had a lot to do in the school and allocating time for an interview was not

very easy, especially for the ones with children. On the other hand, Turkish parents were worried because of the marginalization they experience in society. Being blamed for not integrating into the host society and for not supporting their children's education are common labels that Turkish parents get. I knew that they were dealing with their emotions, values on the one hand, and feeling uncomfortable talking about them on the other. Yet, all participants agreed to be a part of my research and to work with me, which I appreciate a lot.

6 Data Analysis and Quality Check

This chapter includes information about the data analysis process. The stance that guided data analysis, tools adopted, constant comparison, and data management are discussed. Furthermore, detailed information about grounded theory coding, the steps of grounded theory coding and how this coding gave way to categories are also included in this section. Special cases such as in vivo codes or outliers, and how they were a part of the data analysis are discussed. At the end of the chapter, there is a special discussion about the quality check and the presentation of the study.

6.1 Analysis in Grounded Theory

Constructivist grounded theory methods, as suggested by Charmaz (2014, 2006), were applied to "direct, manage and streamline the data collection and construct an original analysis" of the data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). The data were evaluated in terms of their:

- Usefulness for developing core category
- Suitability
- Sufficiency for depicting an empirical event

The data were evaluated based on these criteria and this evaluation resulted in different types of data. Some data were labeled as rich, some as substantial, some as supportive and some as relevant while some other less relevant or irrelevant. This sorting was an important step that increased the quality of data analysis.

During data analysis, the data were coded to interpret the meanings of the perspectives and values that participants attach to their experiences (Charmaz, 2014). Therefore, utmost importance was given to assure that the emerging analytic ideas were based on the data. The materials, the researcher's observation and interactions served as a base for data analysis.

Data analysis included a variety of tools, and several writing techniques and analytic idea generation techniques. These tools included a preliminary examination of the data, building categories, conducting further interviews for refinement purposes, generating new personal accounts, and comparing findings and these accounts. On the other hand, several writing tools and thinking activities such as mind-maps, notes, diagrams or clustering were recruited. For data analysis, no digital tools or software were used. As Morse (2007) summarized:

> In spite of the availability of computer programs to facilitate the management of qualitative data, the true essence of qualitative analysis is based on investigator insight. Computer programs, while invaluable, merely assist in placing data in the best possible position to aid the researcher's cognitive work; such programs cannot do the analysis for the researcher. (p. 223)

As Halton and Walsh (2017) explained, grounded theory is about sorting data to capture the theoretical ideas in them. Using qualitative software can urge the researcher to do mechanical coding and to sort the data without constant comparative engagement in the data. With the notion that such computer programs cannot replace the required researcher's insight in the data analysis, I did not include the aid of any qualitative analysis software in the study. However, as Birks and Mills (2015) suggested, a combination is the most effective way for novice researchers. I used a combination of manual coding and computer assistance to manage and organize the data.

6.2 Data Management and Analysis

Each interview was recorded and given a number. Later, all interviews were transcribed and transferred to an electronic format. The total transcribed data reached over 250 pages. Any identifying information about the participants was removed from the data, and an alternative description was used to comply with the anonymity of the research. For each interview, an interview protocol showing the date, time and location of the interview was filled. The analysis of the interviews was done manually without utilizing any software. However, the codes, categories or modelings were all kept in an electronic form that can be analyzed and reformulated easily. On the other hand, the memos and researcher diary that was written on pen and paper were transferred to the electronic system by taking pictures of them.

Data analysis and collection occurred concurrently in this study. This allowed deeper questions and analysis (Charmaz, 2014). The data analysis process started with the reading of the initial data. I read each interview several times before coding. During this holistic reading, I avoided highlighting parts of data not to prioritize any part during the coding. I just noted down some thoughts to reflect on them later in the coding process. For the analysis of intensive interviews, I coded the lines by asking questions to make sense of what is meant and suggested in the line and about what the line is. Data coding went on until no new categories emerged, in other words, until theoretical saturation was reached. The detailed data analysis is discussed in the following parts.

6.3 Grounded Theory Coding

The generic term 'coding' refers to a procedure that covers different approaches to analyze the data in grounded theory (Flick, 2018). We start with an open perspective and go narrower with a more structured and focused approach. While analyzing the data, we develop categories, properties, or relationships, and we stop with theoretical saturation when coding does not yield new theoretical insights.

In grounded theory, we code our data to further our understanding of the lives we study and to guide our next data gathering by asking analytic questions to our data. By doing grounded theory coding, we try to define what is happening, and we try to make the meaning of what is happening (Charmaz, 2014). The coding process should not be considered as an independent process from data collection, participants or materials. The questions we ask should be based on the source or type of material. In this process, coding acts as a link between data collection and developing a theory. For grounded theory coding, we need two phases: initial coding to name each line, word or incident and to study the fragments of data, and focused coding as a second phase that is a selective process to sort, synthesize or integrate our codes. Separation, synthesis, and sorting of the early data is done through qualitative coding in grounded theory. By asking questions to the data, we separate our data into various segments, and we compare the segments we come up with. Charmaz (2014) summarized the nature of grounded theory coding as below:

> Coding means naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes summarizes and accounts for each piece of data. With grounded theory coding, you move beyond concrete statements and observations. We aim to make an interpretive rendering that begins with coding and illuminates studied life. (p. 111)

In this study, three ways of coding, initial, focused, theoretical (Charmaz, 2014) were done. Initial coding started with the preliminary data collection, and focused coding followed to locate

the most important and significant initial codes. Later, theoretical coding theorized the focused codes. In the following section, these processes are described consecutively.

6.3.1 Initial Coding

We do initial coding to interpret and explore what is going on in the data (Flick, 2018). We try to come up with short, simple, precise and active codes that would compare data to data. With initial coding, we label the segments of data. Hence, the codes should account for the segments they represent. Charmaz (Charmaz, 2014) explained initial coding as:

> When grounded theorists conduct initial coding, we remain open to exploring whatever theoretical possibilities we can discern in the data. This initial step in coding moves us towards later decisions about defining our core conceptual categories. Through comparing data with data, we learn what our research participants view as problematic and begin to treat it analytically. (p. 116)

Initial codes are mainly comparative and provisional, and especially grounded in the data. While doing initial coding, we aim to be open to all possible guidance directed by the reading of the data. By using initial coding, we can realize the shadowed areas that we need to gather more data. On the other hand, it can also help to locate the sources to get new data. This nature creates concurrent analysis and data collection. Later, we locate and develop the significant codes resulting from initial coding and test them with larger amounts of data in focused coding.
In initial coding, it is suggested to code for actions. Coding the actions prevents the failure of coding the type of people (Charmaz, 2014). Coding types of people can shift our focus from the data itself and make us concentrate on the individuals and labeling them in an abstracted way from time and place. This harms the multidimensionality of the research participants. Coding for actions can also help to stay as close as possible to data, by means of which we avoid exposing pre-conceptions or pre-existing categories to data (Charmaz, 2014). As we code for actions, Glaser (1978) suggested to code with gerunds. When we code with gerunds, we can get the sense of the process and action. "Yet coding with gerunds and studying processes enable you to discern implicit connections-and, simultaneously, give you control over your data and emerging analysis" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 124).
Initial coding (Charmaz, 2014, p. 120), calls for:

- Remaining open
- Staying close to the data
- Keeping the codes simple and precise
- Constructing shortcodes
- Comparing data with data
- Moving quickly through the data

Initial coding can be done by word-by-word, line-by-line or incident-by-incident depending on the size of the data or research interest. In this study, the data were coded line-by-line.
Line-by-line coding is the first step of coding for many researchers. This type of coding can be considered as naming every line of the data (Glaser, 1978). Line-by-line coding helps to be attentive to each line, although every line is not a complete sentence or says nothing important. By coding every line, we pay attention to the data that we overlooked in our holistic reading. This coding can identify not only the explicit meanings but also implicit meanings hidden in the lines. Line-by-line coding also brings new ideas to follow. Once we are sparked with a new idea in a line, we can go back and look for it in the previous lines.

Initial coding started with the collection of the data. During this process, as Glaser (1978) suggested, the codes were active and alive, which made it possible to go back and forth in the data to make a constant comparison. In the initial phase of the data analysis, the data were analyzed with no preconceptions and categories; and the codes were fitted to the data. The collected data were coded line by line to ensure that all the data was included in the analysis (Glaser, 1978). Charmaz (2014) agreed that line-by-line coding fits well with the data collected via interviews, documents or autobiographies. The initial line-by-line coding allowed a close study of the data to develop conceptualizations about the data.

In this study, the line-by-line coding started by asking questions to each line. Some of the questions that I asked to the lines were: what is the process here? How can it be defined? How is it developed? Line-by-line coding could curb being immersed too much in the worlds of the participants and could allow concentrating only on what in this line is (Charmaz, 2014).

Line-by-line coding was an important process to compare the data with data and to decide what data to collect next. Furthermore, some of the initial codes during coding were adopted as focused codes in the succeeding coding. As Charmaz (2014) suggested, line-by-line coding can lead to some of the initial codes that are theoretical enough to serve as a focused code or a category.

I coded the lines by asking questions to make sense of what is meant and suggested in the line and about what the line is. This initial coding led to the first codes, and the emerging codes were compared and contrasted within and across the data sets to understand the relationships and differences between the codes and to locate the next data sources and data collection tools. The questions in this phase arose from the readings of the data. Here, the important point was not to impose questions on the data.

This process resulted in a preliminary list of codes. This preliminary list was studied in detail to locate the possible similarities and commonalities between the codes. When there was more than one code that repeats the same action, these codes were merged. However, to be able to merge the codes into one code, the lines of these codes were visited one more time. While examining the codes, the necessity to cluster the codes into relevant groups emerged. This did not mean any category generation. It was only a process to sort codes under similar themes such as emotions, fears or suggestions. This constant comparative nature of generating the initial codes formed a structured list of initial codes. Working on this list, going back to lines and comparing data with data and codes with codes urged to split, merge or reject some of the codes. As Charmaz (2014) discussed, it is very normal to move forward only with some of the initial codes. The repetitive study of the code list created a more refined list. During this process, the list was tabulated, printed out and adapted several times. Making a list with a pen and paper was tiring and made it difficult to keep the track. Hence, the initial coding was transformed into the computer and adapted as a soft copy several times. A list of preliminary initial codes can be found in Appendix K. This list includes only a part of the codes to protect the authenticity of the research.

To refine this list and to split or merge the codes, memoing was an important assistant. The comments and notes about some codes helped to see how the researcher's perspective was changing with time. When the analysis led to the same code, I opened the memos to see if there was already a note about the code. This helped to understand if the codes really reflected the same action. This was a good example of comparing data with data and going back and forth in the data.

Enough time to conduct the field research and analyze the data with no time pressure had many benefits, especially in the initial coding phase. The codes, topics or themes that emerged in the earlier times of the interviews were not ascribed to the succeeding interview data. There was enough time to give each set of data the attention required. By going on coding in a constant comparative way, all data and all lines could be coded by using no pre-formed coding list. Each interview was handled as a new source of data. Hence, the chance to come up with new fresh ideas increased. This yielded the visibility of the whole data in the list.

6.3.2 Constant Comparison

One of the most important aspects of grounded theory is its comparative method. Constant comparison is the process of collecting and analyzing data in a parallel way. In this process, the data are compared with data to find variations or similarities within the same interview or in different interviews (Charmaz, 2014). The later and earlier statements of the same person could also be compared if there was more than one interview with the same participant.

In grounded theory, we develop categories that are relatively constant during further data gathering and comparisons. By coming back to the data, developed codes and categories can be confirmed, or the necessity of collecting new data can be decided (Charmaz, 2014). The aim is to come up with a category that can be validated by the data. In case of a need to adapt the category due to some gaps, we direct ourselves to further data collection. All of these can be achieved with constant comparison.

On the other hand, constant comparison does not mean the same for all. Two researchers may not come up with the same results. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested, "since no proof is involved, the constant comparative method in contrast to analytic induction requires only saturation of data-not consideration of all available data, nor are the data restricted to one kind of clearly defined case" (p. 104). This idea can give some flexibility to the researcher who is theoretically sensitive and who brings his/her competence to the research. However, one should be careful that this flexibility does not mean freedom for doing anything. The steps to take are decided by the data, and the researcher follows where the data leads.

During the constant comparison, the researcher should be open to new emerging ideas and should not stop paying attention to the developing parts. Furthermore, during comparisons, researchers should not forget to compare their ideas and the statements of participants (Charmaz, 2014).

6.3.3 Focused Coding

At the end of rich data gathering and initial coding, we would need to sort and synthesize our large data. Focused coding helps to accelerate the process by relying on the initial analytically significant codes. After initial codes were identified, focused coding followed. Focused coding entails deciding which initial codes have a more analytic sense to categorize the data (Charmaz, 2014; Flick, 2018). In this process, rather than the most frequent codes, the most significant initial codes were used to organize and sort the data and to find the relation and connection between codes and to construct categories. By using focused coding, codes were not reduced to statistical significance, but they were handled in a way that asks "what they tell about the world they are embedded" (Buroway, 1991, p. 281) and were raised to the level of significant codes.

After the initial codes were located, comparing codes with data and codes with codes, asking what theoretical categories these codes indicate, making tentative decisions about which codes to pursue were the main steps of focused coding. These steps moved the analysis to a further

level by making use of theoretical sensitivity. In general, in this data analysis, focused codes were chosen from initial codes, and some others were derived from initial codes by adding to their abstraction.

Focused coding meant more than selecting the most interesting or repetitive codes, but selecting the significant codes. The initial codes are important in achieving the focused coding in grounded theory. During focused coding, we should be attentive to our initial codes to see how they account for our data. To decide if our initial codes are adequate and conceptually strong, we make comparisons between our initial codes and data and try to identify the initial codes that have greater analytic power (Charmaz, 2014). When engaged in the focused coding, we aim to spot the initial codes that may be more promising than the others, and that may be increased to a tentative category level.

To decide which initial codes can serve as focused codes, I adopted several questions as suggested by Charmaz (2014, p. 140). Some of these questions were:

- What do you find when you compare your initial codes with data?
- In which ways might your initial codes reveal patterns?
- Which of these codes best account for the data?
- Do your focused codes reveal a gap in the data?

By asking these questions, I tried to decide on some of the initial codes and go on the journey with them. These codes were more analytically powerful than the rest. They had more theoretical direction, value, or reach. The focused codes were also used to code the new data and to see if the chosen codes were related to the further data and if they can explain the reoccurring phenomena in the research. Further, these codes were easily connected to the memos. The quality and the adequacy of the focused codes were ensured by attending to the frequency of reoccurring, the relevance and connectedness to other codes and the capacity to explain the other codes and the themes.

Focused coding was not a straightforward process either. During focused coding, initial codes had to be changed and adapted. Focused coding also required studying the data one more time with a fresh mind to identify the points that were too implicit initially. As Charmaz (2014) suggested, unexpected ideas may also emerge. We may have to ask several new questions to reveal if there is more in our data than our initial codes. Charmaz (2006) explained this as:

> But moving to focused coding is not entirely a linear process. Some respondents or events will make explicit what was implicit in earlier statements or events. An 'Aha! Now I understand' experience may prompt you to study your earlier data afresh. Then you may return to earlier respondents and explore topics that had been glossed over, or that may have been too implicit to discern initially or unstated. (p. 58)

This results from the abductive reasoning that we use in grounded theory. As inductive logic may not be enough all the time to explain the inferences in grounded theory, we need abduction (Flick, 2018). As Charmaz (2008) explained, "grounded theory starts with an inductive logic but moves into abductive reasoning as the researcher seeks to understand emergent empirical findings. Abductive reasoning aims to account for surprises, anomalies, or puzzles in the collected data" (p. 157).

Below there is an example of initial and focused codes of the same interview excerpt. This excerpt is taken from an interview with a mother. The original interview and the codes were analyzed in the original language, Turkish. This excerpt was translated into English to be included here.

Table 6.1: Sample Coding

Initial Coding	Focused Coding	Excerpt 1, mother, 42 years old, housewife
Getting complaints Not being informed	Not being informed	We moved to Vienna, and my son started the 4th grade in school. After a while, his teacher said that he spoke German too bad, he wrote German too bad, and he read German too bad and also that he was naughty. He was a little bit active like a hyperactive child. But no one or doctors had said anything about hyperactivity before. So, in parent meetings and when we were in school, teachers were complaining about him. Later, one day, my husband went to school to speak to them. They said that they would give him a simplified curriculum that fits him better and that they would take it with him slowly. If they had said special education, my husband would have understood. And we were new in the city. My husband did not know what this simplified curriculum was. When they told him a slow and simplified curriculum, he accepted and signed. So, the process began like that… And later we took him to the new school an extremely different school. It was written special education. And it was a special education school. The children were everywhere, on the floor, naughty, disabled, children in a wheelchair. Oh God forgive me but children as if they were cursed. We asked 'what is happening?' Our child is not like that. 'Why our child is here?' Then we talked to the director and said we were regretful and we did not know. But, it did not work. After my son went to this school for one or two years and we saw that his grades were good. They made exams, and his grades were good. Then we told the teacher our son's grades are good to send him back to normal school. The teacher was regularly saying 'he cannot keep up with it. In normal schools the lessons are difficult, and he does not have this capacity'. I told her 'my son is going there. But I do not think he deserves it. My son is not for special education school. He does not have any mental handicaps. He understands everything. But the only problem that we cannot help him at home. Because we came new and our German is not so good. We do not know how to write and read properly'. Then we found a psychiatrist in the third district to understand if our son should really go to a special education school or not. For three months they did therapy. Once a week. Later the paper we got from this psychiatrist showed that yes! He did not deserve a special education school. We took this paper to the director and told him we could even go to court. When the director saw that we were determined, he let my son go. However, it was the last five-six months of middle school. It took a total of four years to get him back. In the last year of middle school, he was back in a normal school, but he could not achieve it, as he had not learned anything in the special education school…
Taking initiation Feeling fooled Agreeing to some extent	Feeling fooled	
Feeling summoned Feeling shocked Not understanding the reason Regretting Feeling guilty	Not understanding the reason	
Accepting the wrong decision Trying to reverse the process	Feeling guilty	
Trying to convince Not deserving Spe.Edu.	Trying to reverse the process	
Feeling incompetent as parents Justifying the incompetence Seeking help	Feeling incompetent as parents	
Feeling of success Having the power Feeling of achievement	Seeking help	
Justifying the failure Blaming Spe.Edu		

6.3.4 Theoretical Sampling

In qualitative research, by sampling, we do not try to find the best fitting case that represents a bigger population, but we try to find the right case to do informative observations or interviews (Flick, 2018). The sampling of grounded theory is not driven by the aim of substitution or generalization. Hence, sampling means more than only selection.

Theoretical sampling means to seek and collect related data to refine and elaborate on the tentative emerging, but incomplete categories (Charmaz, 2014). After having some tentative categories, theoretical sampling strategy is used to gather more data that focus on these categories. This strategy requires sampling to develop the existing categories until no new properties of these categories emerge. However, to understand what theoretical sampling is Charmaz (2014) warned us about what theoretical sampling is not. She explained that theoretical sampling that we do in constructivist grounded theory is not to address research questions, to reflect population distributions, to find negative cases or to saturate data until no new data emerge. As Hood suggested (2007), theoretical sampling should not be tackled as a process to make samples represent larger population distributions. As our aim with qualitative research is not to reach generalizations, doing theoretical sampling by forming a representational sample will result in collecting unnecessary data that is conceptually weak (Charmaz, 2014).

> Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his/her data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his/her theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45).

As understood from the excerpt of Glaser and Strauss, theoretical sampling requires having categories in hand. These scholars use the term 'emerging categories'. However, they should not be understood as categories independent of the constructivist grounded theorist. Here, emerging categories and sub-categories are used as categories that are co-constructed by the researcher.

Not to get stuck in an analysis that has no focus, the theoretical sampling strategy was adopted in this study. The criteria used for initial sampling varied from the ones for theoretical sampling. In initial sampling, the aim was to reach relevant people, or settings to start the research and the criteria were decided before entering the field. The aim was to maximize the possibilities to obtain data. However, in theoretical sampling, the aim was to develop the analysis in a theoretical way. This type of sampling was not used to answer the research questions or to reflect the population.

On the other hand, following the negative cases is another issue that emerges in theoretical sampling. Cases that contradict most of the data are considered as negative cases, however, what a negative case exactly is and whether sampling them fits grounded theory is not clear (Charmaz, 2014). Hence, how a researcher tackles negative cases or follows negative cases depends on the situation. In this study, the aim was to reach the experiences of people about the research topic, but not to reach a representative result for all people who are included in the special education referral process. Negative cases emerged a couple of times during constant comparative analysis. There was no implicit search for them, though. Their emergence showed the necessity to consider them. At this point, theoretical sampling was done to refine and elaborate on these negative cases.

Theoretical sampling, on the other hand, can be argumentative regarding data manipulation. Criticized by Buroway (1991) as "focusing on variables that can be manipulated within the immediate situation, it represses the broader macro forces that both limit change and create

domination in the microsphere" (p. 282), the decision process on the next participants can be righteous controversial. With theoretical sampling, we aim to understand the already analyzed data in a more detailed way and to find out what to ask and whom to ask next. Agreeing with Buroway, I keep that in mind that one must be careful regarding enlisting new participants to achieve confirmation of the initial data, but not a refutation.

The aim of theoretical sampling is not gathering data until the data reoccurs, but developing the categories. To achieve that, we can follow some steps. I conducted follow-up interviews. I revised the interview guide by adding a couple of questions that tackle emerging categories. Later, I coded the new data and compared the new codes with the emerging categories. While doing this, writing memos helped to make new comparisons and fill out the categories. Theoretical sampling was not used as a data collection tool, but as a tool to narrow the focus on the emerging categories. Therefore, interviewing or re-interviewing with a focus helped to fill in the gaps existing among these categories. To identify the gaps, constant comparative methods were needed when the categories did not account for the whole of the experiences. During theoretical sampling, I conducted interviews once again with two participants and also recruited three new participants to illuminate the categories. The questions asked in the theoretical sampling were more direct and focused questions and less unstructured.

6.3.5 Categories

As Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 37) defined, a category is a "conceptual element in a theory". Categories can be considered as developed forms of codes; hence, they carry bigger responsibilities such as explicating ideas, processes or events in our data. When they are considered as conceptual items, it is expected for categories to incorporate several codes and themes. Wording them precisely, giving them analytic direction and analytic power would make our categories as conceptual as needed (Charmaz, 2014).

With the help of categories, we can collect a large amount of data into smaller but significant units to analyze (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Categories are more conceptual than a theme or a code, and they aggregate similar themes and codes. Rather than diminishing the data into smaller and manageable units, categories also allow more focused data collection and analysis.

Categories embrace a group of codes that are related to each other. "Categories explicate ideas, events, or processes in your data-and do so in telling words. A category may subsume common themes and patterns in several codes" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 91). A category should be grounded in data, should have links to other categories, should facilitate an abstract analysis and should have clear boundaries (Charmaz, 2006).

6.3.5.1 Developing Categories

To develop categories, theoretical sensitivity is required. One needs the help of theoretical terms to be able to reflect on the empirical data (Kelle, 2005). On the other hand, the categories should be grounded on the data as all other products of the analysis, such as codes, networks, code-families, and so on. As categories are developed at the end of a close engagement with data, they embrace codes.

Categories in this study were created in several ways. I looked for similarities and differences among the data, used memos, clustered the codes and used visual drawing. As Kelle (2005) suggested, the categories were developed from the data itself and were not forced. A careful comparison of the already found categories, finding their properties and the relations of them helped to bring them into a larger structure. In the beginning, the emerging categories were identified

as tentative categories. After their relevance to the further data was ensured with constant comparison, they were treated as categories. In this process, memos and researcher diary assisted the process of defining an emergent category as a category.
While raising a code to the category level, the help of memos should be appreciated. While writing a memo about a code, we can treat a code as a conceptual and tentative category. So that we can develop some specific codes into potential categories. We can explain this process (Charmaz, 2006):

> Concentrate on analyzing a generic that you define in your codes; then you can raise relevant codes to theoretical categories that lead to explanations of the process and predictions concerning these categories. As you raise a code to a category, you begin to write narrative statements in memos that:
> – Define category
> – Explicate the properties of the category
> – Specify the conditions under which the category arises, is maintained, and changes
> – Describe its consequences
> – Show how this category relates to other categories (p. 92)

In this study, some of the categories were the codes that emerged in the initial or focused coding. The category generation and the properties of categories are explained in Chapter 7 in detail.

6.3.5.2 Raising to Core Category

Grounded theory concentrates on a general area of concern. By means of coding and memoing, grounded theory researcher starts to come up with an inherent pattern that is related to the main concern or the issue very closely (Halton & Walsh, 2017). Due to focused memoing around this concern, grounded theory researcher detects a core category that can explain this main concern with the most preciseness.
Grounded theory approaches differ in terms of the attention they give to selecting a core category. Identifying a core category is not explained and suggested by Charmaz explicitly. However, she did not suggest avoiding it either, but being attentive to several categories (Charmaz, 2014). Recognizing a core category, on the other hand, was a central idea in the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967). In this study, a core category was selected "when the researcher can trace connections between a frequently occurring variable and all of the other categories, sub-categories and their properties and dimensions" (Birks & Mills, 2015, p. 98).
As we try to explain a social phenomenon with grounded theory, we would expect our data analysis to lead us to the development of a central point. This central point should be explaining a bigger part of the data. As Charmaz (2014) suggested, we try to reveal the social process that we are studying. Hence, we can look for core domains that explain this phenomenon. However, insisting on one core category would restrict our ability to theorize about complex issues.
While trying to discern a core category, it is important to be alert not to confuse a core category with the main concern. Halton and Walsh (2017) called for attention and differentiate the two as "the main concern highlights the issue or problem that occupies much of the action and attention in the research setting, whereas the core category explains how that concern or problem is managed, processed, or resolved" (p. 88).
A core category can explain the relations between the concepts and can elaborate on these relationships. This gives way to theoretical integration. Glaser (1978) suggested that theoretical integration is the main function of a core category. Through theoretical integration, a core category can assure that the theory that is emerging is "both conceptually dense and theoretically

saturated through the increasing development of conceptual interrelationships that organize the theory" (Halton & Walsh, 2017, p. 88).

As Holton and Walsh (2017) suggested, more than one theoretical code may explain the emerging theory. In such a case, it is the responsibility of researchers to decide with which code to go on and to treat as the core category. They explain this as "one theoretical code always dominates, although sub-core relationships may require additional theoretical codes to fully explain the complexity inherent in some grounded theories" (p. 113).

Finding the properties and relevance of the other concepts for a category may take time. As Charmaz (2014) suggested, grounded theory researchers should judge what the category is about, how people construct meanings of theory experiences, and how these meanings are related to the category. Hence, the core category has generally a tentative definition at the early stages of coding. The researcher moves forward by looking for the relations of other already found codes to the tentative core category in hand. Hence, in this process, it is important to move back and forth in the data, to go back to memos and notes. In this study, this approach was adopted. Once a tentative core category emerged, I looked for the relevance of the other codes to the core category. Once a core category and its explanatory power were checked and guaranteed, further data collection or memoing was done in a direction that the core category yielded. Here, the selected core category was used as an orientation guide to decide the theoretical sampling as well. As Birks and Mills (2015) explain, theoretical sampling is bounded to the collection and generation of data that can saturate the core and related categories theoretically. This also assured that the core category was grounded in the data and was not forced on the data.

However, this did not mean that this process abandoned the constructivist point of view and treated the selected core category as the discovered truth. The identification of the core category was also affected by the co-construction, background and knowledge of the researcher. There was no eventual decision that this core category would encapsulate and explain the grounded theory completely. To keep the tentative and constructivist spirit as much as possible, the other related concepts and themes were also used in theoretical sampling.

The last point to discuss is being novice during that process. While Charmaz did not mention a concern about novice researchers and their ability to develop theories, Kelle (2007, p. 203) warned that the researchers with limited experience may have some challenges. He expressed this concern as:

> The emergence of theoretical categories which can adequately describe phenomena in the empirical field is always dependent on the researcher's theoretical sensitivity, their ability to grasp empirical phenomena in theoretical terms. This competence demands and extended training and a broad background in sociological theory.

Charmaz (2014), however, warned researchers not to consider the theoretical codes as objective results. She recommended using theoretical coding to strengthen our analysis but not to impose a framework. A measure to take is the recruitment of methodological strategies such as sorting, diagramming or integrating. These processes are explained in detail below.

6.3.6 Theoretical Coding

The last part of coding, theoretical coding, was done to raise the most meaningful categories to theoretical concepts that led to the construction of grounded theory. As Charmaz (2014) and Glaser (1978) suggested, the earlier analysis indicates which theoretical codes to adopt during theoretical coding. This process can be summarized, as "theoretical coding is a sophisticated level of coding that follows the codes you have selected in focused coding." (Charmaz, 2014, p. 150).

Theoretical codes help to make the analysis coherent and comprehensible via developed relationships between codes, focused codes, categories and subcategories. However, theoretical coding has a vague issue about being either an application or an emergent process, as Charmaz (2014) suggested. We may have an analytical application to have an abstraction of the data or we can consider the process as an emergent process where we conceptualize how the hypotheses relate to each other and can be integrated into a theory.

Hence, this ambiguity also creates another ambiguity for prior knowledge. In this process, prior knowledge can be of utmost importance as we need to theorize our data and already existing codes. On the other hand, if we consider this process as emergent, we may not know how our new emergent theoretical codes rely on prior knowledge. Here, a suggestion from Glaser (2005) can be very helpful to clear up the blurry air. As he discussed, grounded theory researchers should have prior knowledge about many theoretical codes to be able to realize the relationships in the data. Charmaz (2014), on the other hand, did not reject the use of already existing concepts from literature and theories.

On the other hand, the connection between the grounded theory researcher and the topic she/he chooses to study, the previous knowledge about the existing literature and theories can be put aside during the initial and focused coding process. However, they are needed during theoretical coding. Hence, although the theoretical coding also had an emergent nature in this study, the prior knowledge also affected the process while figuring out how the substantive codes were related. However, it did not mean that theoretical codes did not rely on the data, and they were prescribed. On the contrary, as Glaser (1978) explained, they earned their ways to the data.

The coding processes in this study created codes, families of codes, categories or sub-categories as well as links among these. Their interconnectedness was intensified with memos, researcher diary and the help of visual assistants such as clusters or diagrams. In the end, there were networks of related and connected codes, code-families, sub-categories or categories. These networks were complex and got refined by different levels of coding. The refinement of the networks led to theoretical codes and categories when the phenomena were grounded in the data enough. Some networks were abandoned when there was not a theoretical ground for the network phenomena at the data. The data analysis started initially with less amount of data and got more and more abstract at each step. The topics of the analysis got less superficial and more concrete over time. In this process, the close relationship of the researcher to the data was achieved by the constant comparison and moving back and forth in the data. The visual judgments of the networks, memos, code-lists, comments assisted the process of raising the codes to category level. The steps that were followed are summarized in Figure 6.1.

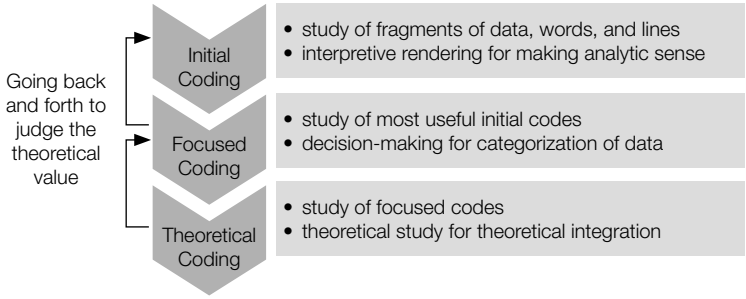

Figure 6.1: Coding Steps

6.3.7 Outliers

By focusing on the disparities among the data, outliers were taken into consideration in this study. As Charmaz (2014) suggested, an outlier can serve as an entry point in our research and help us to generate new questions to ask and to follow new data sources. So that we do not leave anomalies aside totally in grounded theory. On the other hand, it should not be considered as the following negative cases. When there was an outlier, I asked the question 'why do not the other data sources have such experiences?' Asking such questions encouraged asking more and more questions to the data.

6.3.8 In Vivos

The special terms of participants are referred to as in vivo codes in grounded theory. These codes help to keep the meaning of participants in coding. Attending to the in vivo codes allows reaching implicit meanings. Charmaz (2014) summarized four types of in vivo codes:

- Terms considered as if known by all
- An innovative term of a participant
- A term that reflects a group perspective
- Statements showing the pattern of actions or concerns of participants

In this study, some types of these in vivo codes were also used as organic material during coding. The in vivo codes that were used with the assumption that they are known to all as well as the in vivo codes that gave hints from an insider about a certain group helped to unpack the implicit meanings. In addition, when there were in vivos, which are the participants' special terms, they were preserved in the coding because they were helpful to have participants' views and actions in the coding. Keeping in vivo codes was a very fruitful idea as some of the codes were surprising and informative.

6.3.9 Theoretical Saturation

Deciding when to stop collecting and coding data is as important as beginning collecting and analyzing. Sometimes it can be very difficult to decide if we reached saturation. In grounded theory, theoretical saturation is different from the common usage of the term 'saturation.' The saturation in grounded theory is achieved when no new properties of the categories emerge, not nothing new (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2014). Glaser (2005) explained the grounded theory perspective for saturation as:

> Saturation is not seeing the same pattern over and over again. It is the conceptualization of comparisons of these incidents which yield different properties of the pattern, until no new properties of the pattern emerge. This yields the conceptual density that when integrated into hypotheses make up the body of the generated grounded theory with theoretical completeness. (p. 191)

Treating the categories theoretically will raise them into an abstract level but will keep them connected to the data. To decide if we reached saturation, we can ask the suggested questions by Charmaz (2014, p. 214):

- Which comparison do you make between data within and between categories?
- What sense do you make of these comparisons?
- Where do they lead you?
- How do your comparisons illuminate your theoretical categories?
- In what other directions, if any, do they take you?
- What new conceptual relationships, if any, might you see?

On the other hand, as Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Bowen (2008) discuss, reaching theoretical saturation shows the success of theoretical sampling. When we do theoretical sampling, we do not aim to reach generalizations or representations. We focus on sampling for adequacy more than on sample size. In this way, we concentrate more to see if there is no additional data emerging to develop new properties of the categories.
As Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested, changing the perspective and modification of categories is always possible. Hence, once the categories and subcategories can explain the bulk size of the data, data can be saturated. Data saturation was reached with theoretical saturation (Charmaz, 2014) rather than with the repetition of the same codes in this study. When gathering new data brought no new fresh theoretical insights and explained no new properties for the theoretical categories, the data gathering stopped.

6.3.10 Theoretical Sorting, Diagramming, Integrating

After developing categories through memoing and naming them as analytic as possible, we can start sorting them. Sorting in grounded theory means more than only organizing a written draft. It serves as a way of refining and creating theoretical links (Charmaz, 2014). By comparing the categories at an abstract level, we integrate them theoretically. A comparison of the memos about a category would reveal if we need to write a new memo or if we can reveal the relationships between memos. So that we can locate the related memos and we can cluster them until they form a set of fitting memos in a coherent order.
Sorting the materials, categories or memos about the categories assists the theory development. Glaser (1978) suggested sorting after reaching theoretical saturation. Sorting should be related to and promote the core categories, and it should encourage constant memoing.
In this study, I sorted the memos manually with no help from a computer. Halton and Walsh (2017) insisted on the hand-sorting of memos during this process, which would facilitate theoretical discrimination of the ideas. The written memos on a paper were shuffled several times on a table with several arrangements. All arrangements were treated as tentative in this process that took about two weeks. This sorting enabled analytic comparisons among the categories and a clear picture of the relationship among them. Once an arrangement was promising, I stopped and diagramed the relationship I found. Diagrams help to recognize the power, scope and direction of our categories and the relations among them (Charmaz, 2014) and they help to visualize the possible ways to model the emerging theory theoretically (Halton & Walsh, 2017). Deciding how the memos fit together required a sophisticated order.

6.3.11 Generating a Theory

> "A theory states relationships between abstract concepts and may aim for either explanation or understanding" (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2012, p. 41).

As Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggested, not all studies can end with a theory. However, the aim should be going beyond description to enhance what we know about the studied experiences. It is expected for grounded theory research to come up with a theory generation that is a product of advanced analytic strategies and theoretical integration. Theories that we construct through grounded theory aim to provide an understanding of phenomena (Birks & Mills, 2015). Hence, grounded theories are not generated only to produce knowledge but to inform sustainable

change. Although we may not apply the theory in total, it is important that a grounded theory sparks new ideas and thinking.

Different orientations drive to the different understandings of theories. Positivist orientations treat a theory as "a statement of relationships between abstract concepts that cover a wide range of empirical observations" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 229). In general, with a positivist understanding, we would be looking for a theory that shows causes and emphasizes universality and generality. However, with an interpretive understanding, our aim would be looking for a theory that accepts multiple realities. Interpretive theories explain how people construct the meanings of actions. Hence, such theories recognize the subjectivity of the actor as well as that of the researcher (Charmaz, 2006, 2014).

Theories, either from interpretive or positivist orientation, have some common characteristics such as answering questions, offering accounts for what is happening and how it is happening (Charmaz, 2014). Trying to answer the question of why it is happening takes the grounded theory approach one step further than most qualitative research because mainly they stick to what and how questions.

A constructivist approach theorizes with an interpretive approach. A constructivist grounded theory would theorize interpretive work but would not forget that theory itself is an interpretation (Bryant, 2002). With a constructivist approach, we try to learn how the experiences we study are embedded in larger contexts (Clarke, 2005). Hence, we should be alert to differences and similarities between people to recognize how their experiences relate to the hierarchies of communication, opportunity or power (Charmaz, 2014).

In light of this discussion, this grounded theory research aimed to reach a theory-driven by interpretive orientation to inform change and urge new thinking. However, as theorizing is not a mechanical process, the tools of theorizing were not planned at the beginning of the research. The suggestions that I adopted to ease the theorizing process were using gerunds, analyzing actions, seeing sequences, making connections, gaining theoretical sensitivity, memoing, making stops when required and thinking afresh.

The theory generation process is explained in Chapter 9 in detail after discussing category generation. Below, there is a summary of the processes that were followed in the data analysis, as presented in this chapter.

- Data sorting and managing
- Listening to the interviews for a holistic understanding
- Transcription of initial interviews
- Line-by-line coding and labeling data to break data down
- Memoing and commenting on emerging codes which results with a code list
- Grouping codes into categories with the help of constant comparison and memos
- Gathering fresh data through theoretical sampling
- Abstracting through theoretical coding
- Coding to relate codes to categories and using memos and diagrams
- Reaching theoretical saturation
- Mapping categories and identifying theoretical core categories
- Sorting and diagramming the theoretical categories
- Theoretical integration and reading literature about categories
- Building analytical framework
- Theory generation

Although presented as a linear list, the data analysis process included a series of overlapping steps. Figure 6.2 illustrates this non-linear process.

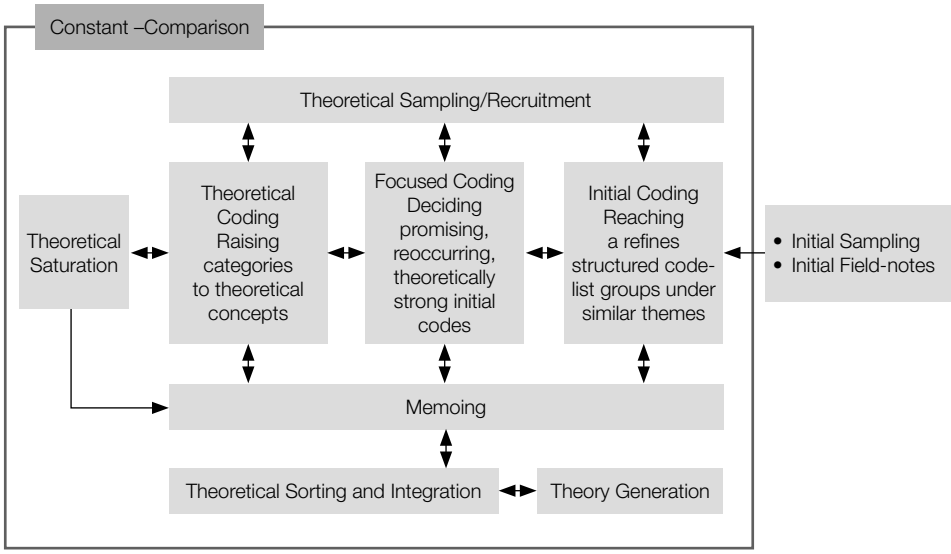

Figure 6.2: Data Analysis Process

6.4 Research Question Revisited

As stated previously, in grounded theory, it is common to start with an area of interest or research problem rather than a strict research question (Charmaz, 2014). The research questions were tentative questions that triggered the start of the research, but they were open to being changed, developed and elaborated. The initial research questions were:

- How is a referral to special education done for students with Turkish background?
- How do participants explain the referral to special education for students with Turkish background?
- How do participants make the meaning of their experiences that they had during the referral process to special education for students with Turkish background?

However, these research questions were revisited and refined during the research process due to the emergence of several questions, ideas, or concerns. The refined research questions were:

- In which ways do parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors and school psychologists understand and explain their experiences with special education referral process for the students with Turkish background?
- In which ways do parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors and school psychologists explain the underlying factors for the overrepresentation in special education for the students with Turkish background?

6.5 Research Design Revisited

Grounded theory research does not adopt the term research design in its vocabulary explicitly. The term is not very widespread generally in qualitative research either. In contrast, quantitative research recruits an explicit research design to control the bias. Research design in quantitative research is strongly connected to controlling and standardization. It aims to increase and assure the reliability and validity of a quantitative study and its outcomes. As Flick (2018) suggested, neither of these is the target of grounded theory.

Another reason that grounded theory has no explicit interest in research design can be a result of the idea that grounded theory is an emergent method. As Charmaz (2008) explained, grounded theory is inductive, open-ended and indeterminate. In grounded theory research, not only the findings but also the use of the methods are understood as emergent. Hence, research design in grounded theory is not a plan that should be applied in the field. It is developed in the process and affected by the conditions of the field and by the reflections of researchers (Flick, 2018).

This study began with the attitude that grounded theory is emergent, and a research design that is drawn and planned beforehand may harm this emergent nature. As discussed in the earlier sections, this study adopted the guidelines of grounded theory and mainly those of constructivist grounded theory. The steps to take were not decided before getting access to the field, and the process was shaped according to the directives of the data and the field. Figure 6.3 summarizes the design of this study as it emerged in the field.

6.6 Quality of the Study

The assessment of trustworthiness and authenticity can establish quality for constructivist inquiry (Shannon & Hambacher, 2014). However, different research paradigms call for different understandings about the quality of qualitative research. As there is no unified paradigm for qualitative research (Kemp, 2012; Rolfe, 2006), there is no unified way of checking the quality of qualitative research. The important point is to bear in mind that "philosophical underpinnings or theoretical orientations and special purposes for the qualitative inquiry will generate different criteria for judging quality and credibility" (Patton, 2002, p. 542).

Directed from the methodological underpinnings that are used for this study, the criteria that Charmaz (2014) suggested were used to assess the quality. However, the quality evaluation was not limited to those criteria. I utilized some other suggestions from the relevant literature.

Credibility, usefulness, resonance and originality are the four criteria that Charmaz (2006, 2014) suggested. The first criterion, credibility, is to evaluate if the interpretation of the data is believable and credible and if it represents the data collected from the participants. This evaluates not only the research process but also the confirmation of the findings (Bryman, 2008). Some of the questions to adopt while checking for the credibility, as recommended by Charmaz (2014, p. 337) are:

- Has the research achieved familiarity with the setting and topic?
- Are there strong logical links between the gathered data and argument and analysis?
- Has the research provided enough evidence for the claims to allow the reader to form an independent assessment-and agree with the claims?

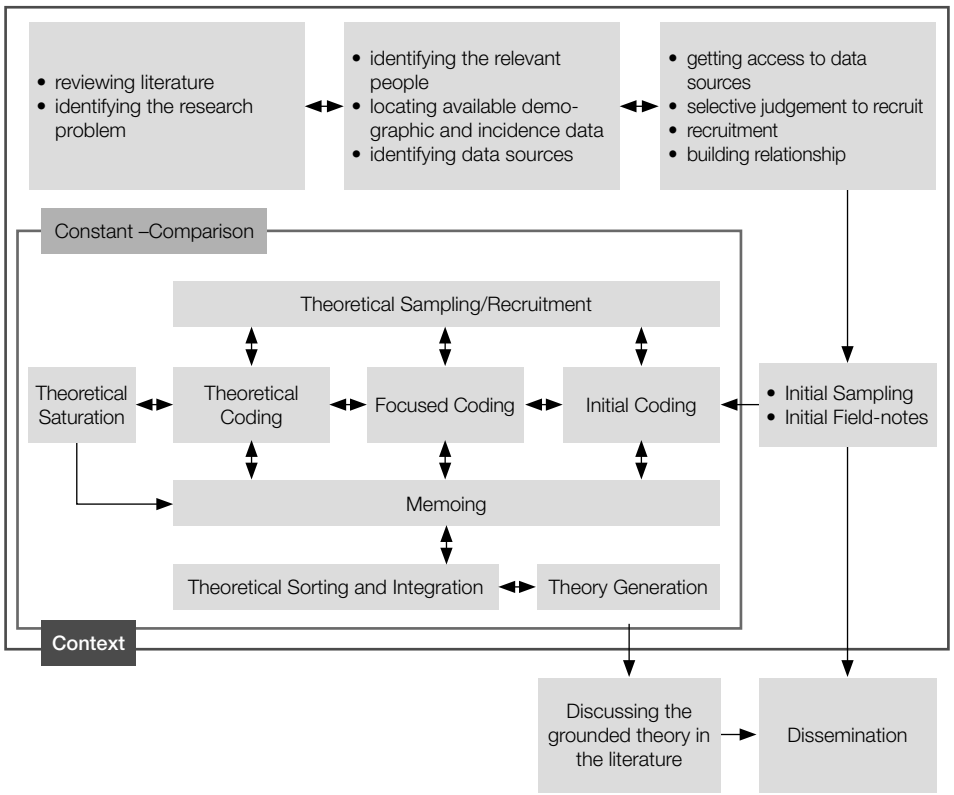

Figure.6.3: Overall Research Design

To make a study credible, the first step should be discussing the research process, setting and topic in detail. In this study, I tried to explain the processes that I used in a detailed way by explaining the steps in chronological order, by giving a thick description of the setting and by explaining the research topic in detail. For the credibility, making constant comparison was another help. Constant comparison increased the credibility of the emerging meanings and the concepts by constant checking. Apart from the constant comparison, theoretical sampling was another step that assisted assuring the credibility of the study. By doing theoretical sampling, there was a chance of following the hints, identifying the gaps, and saturating the categories (Charmaz, 2006).

For credibility, another recommendation that I followed was from Strauss and Corbin (1998). As they recommended, a grounded theory researcher should have some specific qualities to conduct a grounded theory with quality. These qualities are appropriateness, intuitiveness, receptivity, sensitivity and credibility. As discussed earlier, my position as a researcher was affected by my background. Being an immigrant, a teacher, an expert in the field and a researcher at the same time provided the qualities to conduct a grounded theory. I kept myself open to new emerging data, and I used memos to reflect on my assumptions to see how they interacted with the data.

Some of the systematic analysis strategies for the credibility suggested by Patton (2015) were also considered while enhancing the trustworthiness of the study. Although such strategies

overlap and have similarities with the criteria that Charmaz suggested, I include them here in a separate section. The five strategies that I adopted from Patton (2015, p. 660) were:

- Generate and assess alternative conclusions and rival explanations, by going back to data, looking for other ways of explaining, not settling quickly on an initial conclusion
- Search for and analyze negative and disconfirming evidence and cases, not to locate the outliers but to identify new entry points
- Make constant comparison your constant companion, comparing and contrasting the data to category or theme to the data
- Keep analysis connected to purpose and design, making sure that analysis is serving to the purpose of the inquiry
- Keep qualitative analysis qualitative, by avoiding quantizing, or doing quantization very thoughtfully and reluctantly

These strategies go hand in hand with the constructivist inquiry and grounded theory. Keeping them in mind and attending to them specifically helped a lot not to lose the track and to increase the trustworthiness.

The second criterion is originality. Originality can be understood as the evaluation of the research findings in terms of their including new conceptual frameworks, new theoretical or social significance. If the study provides new perspectives on a known area or new perspectives for a new area, it can be considered as original. Charmaz (2014, p. 377) suggested questions such as:

- Are your categories fresh? Do they offer new insights?
- Does your analysis provide a new conceptual rendering of the data?
- What is the social and theoretical significance of this work?

By going back to literature and comparing the research findings to the existing knowledge and theories, I tried to evaluate the originality of this study regarding reaching new insights. For the originality concern, Kemp (2012) made another claim and pointed to the necessity of making the researcher and the reader more knowledgeable about the topic as well as about their understanding. The aim was to urge new perspectives in the readers and to appreciate their understandings. During and after this study, I could reflect on my understanding of the topic, and I could welcome my new perspectives as well as those of the participants.

As the third criterion, Charmaz used resonance. She judged the categories in terms of portraying "the fullness of the studied experience" (2014, p. 337). She also asked if "the grounded theory makes sense" to the participants or people who are in a similar situation. To assure resonance, I tried to make sure that the theory makes meaning to all relevant people. Drawing links between the categories, institutions and people's lives provide insights about the worlds and lives of the relevant people. The theory generation and the efforts made to have a linkage between the theory and real-lives are presented in the theory generation chapter. On the other hand, resonance can also be evaluated by making the research available to a wider audience. During conference presentations and workshops, where several scholars and experts provided regular feedback about how to connect the theory to the relevant people.

Charmaz (2014) called the practical significance of research findings usefulness, which is the fourth criterion to check the quality of grounded theory. The usefulness of a study can be evaluated by deciding if the research findings offer direction for further studies and if they can develop practical recommendations. If the analysis "can spark further research", and if the "analytic categories suggest any generic processes" (p. 338) are two main questions to judge the usefulness

of the study. In this study, I tried to reach interpretations that can be used as implications for practitioners, as well as the recommendations for further research.

Fairness is another dimension to check the quality in qualitative inquiry (Mutepa, 2016; Shannon & Hambacher, 2014). With this dimension, we try to see if all viewpoints are represented fairly. By following the recommendations, I paid attention to show appreciation for every opinion, construction and position. As suggested by Mutepa (2016), I did not only let them emerge but also, I considered all of them seriously for their value. During data analysis, the input of every participant was taken into consideration for presentation in the research findings. Hence, the researcher should justify the ethical decisions that he/she made and how the trust relationship between participants and the researcher is maintained (Kemp, 2012). The techniques that I used were providing relevant information, not prioritizing my benefits, respecting privacy, holding to confidentiality and anonymity and getting informed consent.

The effort to present each participant's voice had another important aim. By doing this, I wanted to guarantee that all participants have an equal chance to be heard. Listening to the voices that are not heard mostly because of power relations (Mutepa, 2016) was a strength for this study. Silenced mothers in the families or silenced immigrants in the society had equal shares in the presentation of the research findings in this study.

Although Charmaz (2014) did not discuss the evaluation of grounded theory in detail, she provides important hints about the connectedness of these criteria. As suggested by her, when combined strongly, originality and credibility would increase the resonance and the usefulness of a study. The important point is to bear in mind that "a scholarly contribution requires a careful study of relevant literature, including those that go beyond disciplinary boundaries, and a clear positioning of your grounded theory" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 338). To enhance the quality of an evaluation, articulation with quality will be required (Birks & Mills, 2015). The following section discusses the presentation of the research findings and the aesthetic value of the presentation.

6.7 Presentation of the Research Findings

Grounded theory methods can make drastic changes in the understandings of people. However, to invoke this potential, the findings should be presented in an effective way (Sandelowski, 2004). The presentation should be appropriate and effective enough not only to attract the readers but also to reserve a place for the findings in the disciplinary knowledge. In other words, the findings should have an impact and this is possible with the correct way of presentation.

As different audiences require different levels of details and different modes of presentation (Birks & Mills, 2015), it is very important to define the audience. The understanding of the inquiry, the level of prior knowledge and the motivation of the audiences affect the way of presenting a grounded theory. While presenting this grounded theory research, the primary aim was to prove the competence to conduct grounded theory research. Nonetheless, expanding the understanding in the area and coming up with recommendations for implementations are among the main aims of the study as well.

The audience of this study are practitioners, policymakers and peer researchers. Presenting the process and findings in an appropriate way was needed to inform, provoke and convince the audience. I strived to show an understanding of the research area, theoretical knowledge, procedures and principles of methodology as well as consistent arguments.

Implications for methodological developments, methods, implications for local actions, analytical details and the discussion of the findings in relation to the theories and literature were included in the presentation. The amount of the analytical details was also decided according to the audience. Not only the core category and the formation of grounded theory but also categories, possible sub-categories, the dimensions and the properties of categories were also discussed in the presentation of research.

Similar to the content of the presentation, the language of the presentation and the writing style were chosen appropriately. The language used was plain and understandable. As Plummer (2009, para. 5) explained, using a complex language may dazzle our audience. He shared his thoughts as:

> Maybe it is the complexity of the ideas which require more complex narratives. Maybe it is the translations from some difficult work of the past... to make our understandings appear more scientific, deep, serious, truly profound- that we dress it all up in a language that obfuscates and obdurately masks what we see and say.

Not to mask the grounded theory findings with confusing terminology, I paid attention to make the research and the findings understandable to the readers. The language used was simple, while the ideas introduced were straightforward, which made the findings clearer.

To conclude, the aim of this grounded theory was to make the research and the findings understandable to the readers; hence, I tried to "balance the logic of exposition with the logic of the theorized experience" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 317).

7 Categories from Different Perspectives

This chapter starts with a summary of the research questions. Later, it gives detailed information about the participants of the study. After discussing the coding process and category generation, categories, sub-categories, and the properties of the categories are presented. This is achieved with the help of visuals such as tables and networks as well as some quotations from the data. Categories are grouped according to their sources, namely participants, beginning with categories from parents and then teachers. Next are the categories derived from psychologists, and finally from school directors and the school inspector.

7.1 Research Questions

This study tried to develop an understanding of the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish migration background in special education referrals. Through intensive interviews, the study recruited parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors, and school psychologists. The study adopted three tentative research questions at the beginning of the study. In a constructivist grounded theory, the research questions are modified and adapted by identifying the relevant and irrelevant concepts through the process (Charmaz, 2014).
After revising and refining the initial research questions, this study aimed to answer the following research questions:

- In which ways do parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors, and school psychologists understand and explain their experiences with the special education referral process for the students with Turkish background?
- In which ways do parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors, and school psychologists explain the underlying factors for the overrepresentation in special education for the students with Turkish background?

The first question about the experiences of the participants was a practical guide to collect firsthand data. Participants shared their experiences by using narration, storytelling, or interpretation. The aim was not to reach the truth but to see how the participants described their experiences and ideas. This question aimed to reach all related stages, situations, and attitudes.
The second question guided the analysis process rather than the data collection process. It directed the interpretation of the data. After collecting data about the experiences and the way these experiences are shared, the second question shifted the focus to a comparative interpretation to see if or how participants' way of sharing experiences varies. This question made it possible to compare experiences and to find similarities and differences among them.

7.2 Collected Data

The length of the relevant data was about 23 hours, which ended up in 250 pages of transcribed data. Additionally, the focus group interview produced 10 pages of transcribed data. As no coding software was used to code the data in this study, all transcripts were printed and manually coded. At the end of the data collection, there were different types of data: data in Turkish and data in German, data from parents, data from teachers, data from psychologists, data from the school inspector, data from school directors, data from interviews, data from focus group interview, data collected at the initial phase, data collected through theoretical sampling, relevant data, irrelevant data, etc.

7.3 Participants

The study included data from 25 participants. Twelve of the participants were parents, while eight were teachers, two were school directors, two were school psychologists, and one was a school inspector. The demographic information of research participants is included in Table 7.1. To ensure the anonymity of the study, the table also contains the pseudonyms that were assigned to the participants. While discussing the findings, these pseudonyms are used for the quotations. The details of the participants are presented for each group separately.

7.3.1 Parents

In this study, there were 10 mothers and two fathers. The age of the parents ranged between 33 and 46. The majority of the parents were born in Turkey while two of them were born in Austria. The ones who were born in Turkey came to Austria mainly through marriage in their early twenties. Only one mother and one father arrived in Austria with their parents as adolescents. However, only one of them attended school in Austria. The mother Gaye had a two-year apprenticeship in Vienna in a vocational school. The educational level of parents who were born in Turkey was mainly primary or secondary school level. The only university graduate parent was born in Austria. Five of the mothers are homemakers with no paid job while the rest of the parents are employed. One father runs his shop, while one mother runs her hair salon.
All of the families have 2-3 children. There was no family with only one child or more than three children. Families reside mainly in affordable rented flats that are provided by the local municipality. In none of the families does a child have his/her own room but has a shared bedroom with other siblings.

7.3.2 Teachers

Eight teachers participated in this study. The age of the teachers ranged from 42 to 56, while their teaching experience ranged from 8 to 31 years. Among the teachers, two teachers were born in Turkey. One of them arrived in Austria at the age of 10 and pursued a teacher-training career in the teacher training college. On the other hand, teacher Serkan came to Austria through marriage upon graduating from university in Turkey. Four were university graduates while the other four were graduates of teacher training college. Three had training as a special education teacher. One teacher (Mike) was a trained primary school teacher while the university graduates were trained as teachers with two subjects. Although university graduates mainly work in academic schools (Gymnasium), they can also teach in non-academic middle schools. All of the teachers have experience only in Vienna, the capital city. However, based on the teachers' experiences, it can be said that teachers did not teach all the time in culturally diverse classrooms. Cultural diversity became more visible in recent years. In some of the school districts, the cultural diversity is very limited, while in some of the districts the students with a migration background are the majority of the classroom. Therefore, although they work in culturally diverse schools now, not all teachers experienced this at the beginning of their teaching career, especially those who teaching longer than 20 years.

7.3.3 Psychologists

One of the two psychologists was born in Turkey while the other one in Austria. The Turkey-born school psychologist arrived in Austria at the age of 25 to study. Both school psychologists were university graduates. While Ebru had 14 years of experience, Helga had 8 years of

experience as a school psychologist. School psychologists pay regular visits to schools and have close relationships with teachers and school directors.

7.3.4 School Directors and School Inspector

The school directors and the school inspector have relatively longer years of experience when compared to the other groups of participants. While their experience ranged from 35 to 37 years, their ages ranged from 60 to 63. All of them were Austrian born and graduates of teacher training colleges. The director Monika became a director at the age of 47 and has been a director in the same school for 15 years. Angelika has been a school director for seven years. The school inspector, Silvia however, is responsible for school inspection in different school districts having worked for nine years.

Table 7.1: Research Participants (N = 25)

	Role	Age	Gender	Education Level	Employment	Pseudonym
1	Parent	34	Female	Primary school	Housewife	Ayse
2	Parent	44	Female	Secondary school	Hairdresser	Emel
3	Parent	42	Female	Primary school	Housewife	Semra
4	Parent	38	Female	University	Accountant	Gül
5	Parent	40	Female	High school	Housewife	Nazmiye
6	Parent	41	Female	Primary school	Baker	Filiz
7	Parent	36	Female	Secondary school	Shop assistant	Gaye
8	Parent	34	Female	Primary school	Housewife	Hava
9	Parent	37	Female	High school	Housewife	Zeynep
10	Parent	33	Female	High school	Secretary	Zehra
11	Parent	41	Male	Primary school	Construc. worker	Volkan
12	Parent	46	Male	Secondary school	Shop owner	Ahmet
13	Teacher	42	Female	Teacher training college	Special edu. sch.	Fatma
14	Teacher	45	Female	Teacher training college	Special edu. sch.	Michelle
15	Teacher	43	Female	Teacher training college	Special edu. sch.	Katharina
16	Teacher	46	Female	University	Middle school	Martina
17	Teacher	52	Female	University	Middle school	Maria
18	Teacher	47	Male	Teacher training college	Middle school	Serkan
19	Teacher	56	Male	Teacher training college	Primary school	Mike
20	Teacher	56	Male	University	Middle school	Reinhard
21	School dir.	62	Female	Teacher training college	Special edu. sch.	Angelika
22	School dir.	60	Female	Teacher training college	Middle school	Monika
23	School psy.	37	Female	University	Consultation office	Helga
24	School psy.	43	Female	University	Consultation office	Ebru
25	Sch. insp.	63	Female	Teacher training college	School districts	Silvia

edu: education
sch: school
dir.: director
psy.: psychologist
insp.: inspector

7.4 Initial Codes

The coding process in this study started at a very early stage with line-by-line coding. By coding every line, the coding process was attentive to every line of the data. Initial coding mainly targeted the actions not to expose pre-conceptions on the data. Coding the actions also helped to stay close to the data and not to code types of people. Charmaz (2014) suggested coding the types of people may result in labeling participants, which we would like to avoid in constructivist grounded theory. To code the actions, initially, mainly gerunds were used. Initial codes were comparative and provisional because they were used to compare the data with the rest of the data. This comparative nature of the initial codes demonstrated how the coding evolved through the process. With the help of initial codes that are open, simple, and precise, the blurry parts were identified. The first product of the initial coding was a preliminary list of codes. However, a long study of this list pointed to the need for refinement. By splitting, merging, or rejecting some of the codes, the preliminary list of codes was revised and sorted. This ended up as a more structured list of codes. During this refinement process, notes and memos about the codes were very helpful. The partial refined code list can be found in Appendix K.

7.5 Categorizing Process

To be able to categorize the data, focused coding followed the initial coding. By deciding which initial codes have more analytical significance, the codes were sorted and organized without being diminished to statistical significance. As we start forming the body of our analysis, focused coding should give way to the treatment of focused codes as tentative categories. Charmaz (2014) explained this as:

> Treating focused codes as tentative categories prompts you to develop and scrutinize them. Then you can evaluate these tentative categories and decide whether they are categories for this analysis. If you accept these codes as categories, clarify what they consist of and specify the relationships between them. (p. 189)

Hence, rather than the frequency of occurrence, the properties used to explain what is happening were the criteria to identify the focused codes. In this process, not the interesting or repetitive codes, but the promising initial codes were chosen and treated as potential codes that would lead to categories. With the help of memos and notes, some of the initial codes and some newly emerged focused codes were chosen as the best representatives of what was happening in the data. In this study, the coding process aimed to reach active and precise codes from the beginning to allow the transference of codes into the category level. After line-by-line coding, the data analysis created code lists. Because these codes mainly indicated the actions and what was happening in the data, it was a smooth process to treat them as potential categories. As Charmaz (2014) recommended, I shifted the focus from asking what the data indicate to asking what the codes indicate. By concentrating on the processes that are generic in the codes, I tried to raise the codes into categories. To create categories, some of the suggestions from Miles and Huberman (1994) were adopted. They encouraged looking for the similarities and the differences among the data collected from participants. This was done by comparing different peoples' experiences with each other and trying to identify recurring similarities and variations. In this process, a constant comparison method ensured the consistency in category generation.

While forming the categories, visual aids such as networks, were helpful to see how categories relate to each other. During categorizing, finding the properties of these categories and the con-

nections of the properties and their dimensions allowed the understanding of the characteristics for each category. With these properties, the aim was to show the underlying aspects of the sub-categories and the whole category. All sub-categories were related to the category through one or more dimensions of the properties. In other words, the actions of the participants and the way they expressed their experiences, could be explained with these implicit meanings.
Hence, at the end of each category, the network image was added to show the most significant properties of a category in a compact way. These properties were the aspects taken into consideration to locate the relevance between the category and the sub-categories. They were effective tools to use in coming up with a category that speaks for all sub-categories in a meaningful way.

7.6 Memoing

Memos were written to give information about the conditions, relations, and the properties of the categories. On the other hand, writing memos on focused codes allowed clarifying the categories and spotting the lines and overlaps between the categories. The review of focused codes through memoing and theorization ended up developing categories. However, some of these categories were not new to the data. The categories subsumed in vivo codes that were taken directly from participants as well as some initial substantive codes. As Charmaz (2014) explained, this is a very common occurrence, especially when the researchers are new to grounded theory.
To increase the strength of categories, attention was paid to the categories to ensure they were grounded in the data, had clear connections to other categories, were abstract, and they had precise boundaries (Charmaz, 2006). Theoretical sampling, on the other hand, was another process utilized in creating strong categories. Seeking and collecting data that are more relevant to a category helped to refine a category and its properties. Sampling to deepen and clarify the categories until no new properties emerged, saturated the categories.
There are two examples of memos that were written for a code during categorizing. This initial code was raised to a category level through memoing on it. The first early memo was written to see what was happening in the data and to encourage further data collection. The second memo was more advanced and showed how the data changed and emerged.

> Responsibility is a situation that one can accept or deny. Denying and pushing it away is possible; however, parents tend to take responsibility for the situation. That their children are diagnosed with special education needs is reflected many times as an issue resulting not only due to external factors but also due to not being able to respond to the needs of the child as a parent. While talking about responsibility, parents use words such as deserving, not deserving, accepting, or expecting this result, could not stop… Usage of the word 'deserving' is common. Deserving is used mainly to justify what happened. Parents use the subject 'we' and 'I' often while talking about deserving. They are in an active position. Many are ready to accept. Sometimes responsibility is shared between both parents while sometimes one parent is ready to take responsibility. There are also times where the parents talk on behalf of all parents and reflect the responsibility on all parents who have experiences about the same situation. This feeling sometimes comes at the very beginning and sometimes at the very end. There should be more information to see how responsibility comes to the surface in different ways among parents. Responsibility urges to take action for some parents. But how?

Box 7.1: Early Memo about the Code "Taking over the Responsibility"

The feeling of responsibility was visible often. Not only in words but also in the way those parents acted upon developing that feeling. Yet, taking over the responsibility does not yield actions all the time. Ayse, for example, preferred stepping as the responsible person and discussing the issue with the school director. She sought external help, as well. The moment she started thinking that she can be the reason for the diagnosis of special education needs, she wanted to do something. However, Zehra thinks she is responsible because she cannot do anything to reverse the situation. Hence, she did not take any action. Here, we see how taking over the responsibility happened in the different stages of the diagnosis process. Some accept the responsibility of the whole process, while some accept the responsibility partially. There is a connection between taking over the responsibility and trying to reverse the situation. Some seek help, some give up, some tried and achieved, and some tried and failed. With feeling responsibility, one can think she/he has control over something or someone. Some thought that they are responsible and have control over the situation. You can feel responsible for the situation but not the control over it. The urging responsibility concept can be related to the concept of blame or guilt. After careful identifying, taking over responsibility and feeling of the blame can be differentiated.

Box 7.2: Advanced Memo about the Code "Taking over the Responsibility"

7.7 Theoretical Codes

The next point to discuss is the theoretical codes. To raise the meaningful categories to theoretical concepts, concepts from literature and prior knowledge, and excessive reading on the topic were utilized to make some codes more theoretical. However, this did not mean forcing prior knowledge on the data. On the contrary, being alert to theoretical concepts, considerations and relevance has no harm on the emergent nature of grounded theory as long as it is avoided in the early stages of coding (Charmaz, 2014).

As Glaser (1978) discussed, grounded theorists can use theoretical codes to render the peculiarities and underlying meanings in the data. Hence, after initial and focused coding, theoretical sensitivity, and the theoretical concepts that are known to connect the codes and categories in a theoretical way were used. Some of them gained their way up to the sub-category level while some others were used only in earlier stages of the data analysis and subsequently omitted.

7.8 Categories

In total, 11 categories emerged at the end of the data analysis. The total number of sub-categories was 118. Table 7.2 includes all categories.

Table 7.2: List of Categories (N = 11)

Rejecting special education	An obscure journey	There to test
Taking over the responsibility	Regretful accomplice	Proving prominence
In a battlefield	Passing the ball	Prominent but neutral
Disassociation	Conditional Trust	

In the following parts, the categories are discussed with their sub-categories. For each category, a table summarizes the sub-categories. Later, these sub-categories are discussed in the same

order as they appear in the table. Some quotes accompany the discussion to demonstrate how the sub-categories and properties of the categories are grounded in the data. Also, diagrams are provided which indicate the relationships established through the properties of the categories. At the end of each participant group, a summary of the categories can be found.
Discussion of the categories does not include the existing literature at this stage. The search for the literature and the relevant prior publications follows the theory generation. By following the suggestion of Stern (2007), searching for literature comes with the construction of the theoretical framework. After the theory is developed, the reflections and connections to the existing literature will be done in Chapter 10.

7.9 Parents' Categories

The parents were the largest group of participants in this study. Twelve parents, two of whom were fathers, were distributed in a range of educational backgrounds and professions. While categorizing the data retrieved from the parents, the individual variedness due to background was taken into consideration. The unrecognizable ambiguities found during the interviews and that needed clarification were interpreted based on the gender, age, previous experiences, educational background, and migration story of the parents. In other words, the unclear parts were clarified through the data provided by the same data provider earlier.
During the analysis of the data collected from the parents, it became visible that parents concentrated not only on the experiences that they had during the diagnosis and referral process. They also included their experiences, actions, and thoughts related to the long-term factors that may have affected the diagnosis and referral. The data analysis for the parents generated 59 sub-categories distributed unevenly across four categories which were:

- Rejecting special education
- Taking over the responsibility
- In a battlefield
- Disassociation

The underlying perspective that was visible in all categories was that special education is inferior to mainstream education in terms of quality. The judgment about the necessity and the capacity of special education was a noticeable concern for the parents.
The unwanted diagnoses and referrals to special education made the parents think about their share in the diagnoses as well as about the external effects beyond individual factors. While considering their effect on the special education needs, parents were ready to accept their incompetence as a supporting parent to increase the academic achievement of their children. In the second category, they also expressed the precautions that they took to hinder the referral or to hinder the repetition of the referral in the family.
In the third category, the experiences during the referral itself, on the other hand, reminded of a battle between the parents and the schools. While talking about their experiences during the diagnosis and referral process, parents focused on the power embedded in the process, and how this power is distributed between school and parents. Having less power yielded seeing schools as authorities to bow down or as rivals to defeat.
Beyond the parental and family factors, there were also external factors suggested as related components of the phenomenon such as teachers, school systems, or unorganized parents. The fourth category centered itself mainly on the efforts of the parents to disassociate themselves from the referral and to show their limited influence on it.

7.9.1 Rejecting Special Education

The first category for parents, with 16 sub-categories, is 'rejecting special education'. The suspicion that special education is not as worthy as mainstream education was noticeable in the parents' rejections. Table 7.3 shows the sub-categories of the category 'rejecting special education'.

Table 7.3: Sub-Categories of 'Rejecting Special Education'

Sub-Categories	Category
Seeing arbitrariness in diagnoses	
Unclear categorization	
Suspecting the necessity of referral	
Focusing only on language	
Divergence from normality	
Detention center	
Deprivation from a good education	
Hindering integration	*Rejecting Special Education*
Segregation from Austrians	
Fear of future	
Wasting potential	
Loss of time	
Disgrace for family	
Being labeled	
Social group bias	
Hiding the truth	

A negative perspective towards special education was visible in this category. Special education was considered as a type of education that does not have the same value as mainstream education.

> "The school looked like a kindergarten. Children could take their break whenever they wanted. They made drawings all day long. Some were jumping on the floor" (Filiz, mother).

Special education schools and special education classrooms were considered as places that keep students away from several facilities and services. The first obvious concern about special education was related to the trustworthiness of the special education diagnosis process. The *arbitrariness in the diagnoses* based on the experiences of fellow parents, another child of the family, or the information from teachers did not seem convincing for many parents. The variedness across cases created an untrustworthy image of special education among the parents. On the other hand, the explanations that teachers gave about special education needs did not rely on tangible, understandable, and *clear categories* and the explanations were unclear for the parents. Several parents felt that teachers could not explain why the special education referral is suggested. Hence, this created *suspicion about the necessity* of the special education referral for the child. Another related point was the excessive *focus on language* competence when explaining the need for special education. Parents could not understand why the language was a reason for the referral while some other precautions could have solved the issue without referring to special education. Relying on the language too much did not convince parents most of the time.

> **Mother Emel:** shall I give you one example?
> **Researcher:** yes, please. I am listening.

Mother Emel: teacher asked my son to stand up and close the window. However, he did not do that. Because he is shy. He understood her, I am sure, but maybe he was shy. She called us to school for that reason.

The period after the referral was another concern for the parents. Being diagnosed with special education needs means for many as a *divergence from normality* or as a mark of abnormality. This feeling intensified the rejection of special education as well as the concerns about the beneficial parts of special education.

"It was an integration class including both normal children and the other children. Not all of them were abnormal" (Nazmiye, mother).

Special education was regarded as a *detention center* for the students where they are *deprived of a good education*. According to parents, special education is a *hindrance to integration* to the society which can be achieved with good education and is not provided by special education. With a high number of immigrants, special education offers a space where Austrians are underrepresented. This means *segregation from Austrians* and an interruption of the integration. For many, a failure to integrate into society would bring not only social exclusion but also exclusion from the labor market. With the suspected quality of special education and the hindrance to integration, students would end up unqualified for a good job. Driven by *the fear of the future*, parents judged the quality of special education to prepare students for a good profession. Special education was questioned in terms of its potential to increase academic achievement as well as its competence to develop vocational competencies. Hence, special education was depicted as a program that *wastes the potential* of students, and that creates a *loss of time* for many.

"Losing one year by repeating the class like a normal student is better than going to special education and losing whole life" (Volkan, father)

The divergence from normality with the diagnosis of special education needs was also considered as a reason for being labeled in society. Many considered having a child diagnosed with special education needs as a *disgrace for the family*. The disgrace was sometimes experienced due to *labeling*. Being labeled as abnormal or divergent was considered to have a long-term effect on the child as well as on the family.

"It is written very small in the transcript that he has special education needs, but I do not know, it will be visible all the time, and it will create issues in the future" (Gül, mother).

Another factor for feeling disgrace was being labeled through other people. The *social group bias* that families experience upon the disclosure of the diagnosis was a big concern for the families. Having a child labeled as abnormal and going to a school that will not educate him/her at the desired level for a good future was an obvious worry for the families. A way to deal with this worry was *hiding the truth* from the others. After the referral to special education, some families did not talk about it with other families or social groups.

Mother Gül: do you remember the neighbor we saw when we were entering the building?
Researcher: yes, the woman. (This woman is also with a Turkish background)
Mother Gül: yes, for example, she asked me about what happened in the school. She knew we were called to the school. I was not clear. I said something but meaningless. As if, I did not want to say. I told her they gave me a paper from school, but I did not see what is written in it. I left it in the car. However, I know what is in the paper.

Figure 7.1 shows the properties of this category with a network of the dimensions.

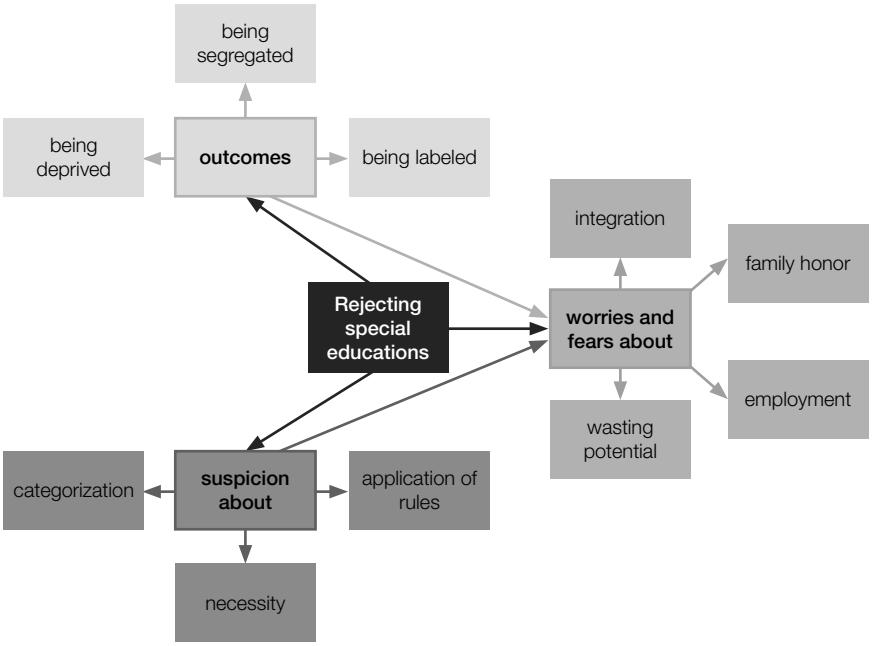

Figure 7.1: Network of the Properties for 'Rejecting Special Education'

The rejection of special education had visible connections with the concerns and suspicions of the parents. On the other hand, parents were certain about the incompetence of special education in certain aspects. The first property to discuss is the worries and fears that are results of other properties. There were various reasons for worrying or being afraid. The belief that special education curbs the integration in the society and not being integrated challenges finding a good job were two dimensions to discuss the worries and fears. Being labeled as abnormal or deviant through special education was another reason for the families to worry because it made them vulnerable to the bias and labels of their social groups. Finally, the lack of trust in the quality of special education was seen as a way of wasting the potential of the child, which was another reason to worry.

The lack of trust in special education put parents in a situation where they judged the certainty of several dimensions. Parents were not sure about the categorization of special education needs. Not having clear explanations from teachers left them in darkness about what their child's needs are. Hence, these suspicions made them doubt the necessity of special education. Another dimension of this property was the judgment of the correctness of the process. Parents were not convinced that teachers were following the official rules and guidelines during the process. According to them, teachers did not apply the steps of diagnoses and referral processes, and they rushed to the conclusion.

The last property to discuss in this category is the acceptance of some consequences of special education. Parents did not have hesitations about the unwanted results of the referral. They were sure that special education brings deprivation from several facilities, segregation from Austrian society, negative academic outcomes and leads to being labeled.

7.9.2 Taking over the Responsibility

The next category to discuss is 'taking over the responsibility' that has 14 sub-categories. After discussing the rejection of special education, it is wise to see what steps parents take upon judging the trustworthiness of the special education.

The category 'taking over the responsibility' was developed first as a code. The code evolved in relevance to the steps that parents took for hindering the referral process. Their efforts to compensate for the lack of academic support and resources at home were the preliminary codes in the same code-family. By coding more and more related codes, this specific code emerged as a more comprehensive code that could explain the other codes in the same code-family. With the help of memoing on the code, the code could be raised to a category level, and the properties of the category assured the connection to the sub-categories.

This category mainly includes the experiences of the families while trying to hinder the finalization of the diagnosis. Also, this category explains how parents justify that the diagnosis was expected when the family situation is considered. In this category, we see how parents try to explain their share on the diagnosis and special education referral by referring to themselves.

Table 7.4: Sub-Categories of 'Taking over the Responsibility'

Sub-Categories	Category
Feeling of regret	*Taking over the Responsibility*
Feeling guilty	
Lacking resources at home	
Lack of interest in education	
Lack of encouraging	
Lack of language	
Learning from mistakes	
Willing to change	
Trying harder as parent	
Motivating children to study	
Increased cooperation with families	
Increased cooperation with school	
Getting professional help	
Engaging family members	

Upon being informed about the necessity of special education needs for their children, parents mainly took offense and denied the need. However, when thinking about the reasons for this need, they considered their role as well. The *feeling of regret* for not being helpful to their children academically, or for not motivating the children, was visible during the interviews. Sometimes, this feeling was experienced bitterly, and the *guilty feeling,* or self-accusation was mentioned.

During the interviews, while reflecting on the family situation, parents considered the referral to special education as an outcome of *lacking resources at home*. The topic of resources was wide-ranging. Financial resources to get professional support from tutors, spatial resources to provide a healthy and fitting place to study, the resources related to the educational background of parents, and the resources related to the knowledge about education, were missing from the home. Here, being educated and knowledgeable as a parent was regarded as a resource, which showed the understanding of resources was beyond a materialistic view.

Lacking such resources was related to two other dimensions. Parents specified a *lack of interest in education* as a separate sub-category. Having a lack of interest in the education of their children was another aspect to explain how they contributed to the needs for special education. The lack of resources and the lack of interest in education were accomplices in terms of motivating the children. The *lack of encouragement* was another cause created by parents. Showing not enough attention to the educational attainment of their children and not encouraging them enough to achieve academically were two related sub-categories. Parents saw the lack of interest in education as a valid argument for the lack of encouragement. Also, the lack of interest was not limited to their families. They emphasized the lack of interest in education in their families as well as in other Turkish families.

> I am a graduate of primary school, my husband as well. We came here from a village. Struggling in life, we could not give too much time to our children's education. There was no one at home to help, to show. We wanted to get a tutor, but the financial situation matters. You cannot just bring good teachers to your home for free. (Gaye, mother)

In addition to a specific focus on the lack of interest and encouragement, parents gave specific attention to discuss the effect of their *language* competence. The language was considered as a tool to assist the children in their studies also as a tool to stand against the unfair treatment towards their children in the schools.

> "I try to help. We study together. I read, and he writes. I check the errors, but if there are punctuation or spelling mistakes, how can I know? What shall I do if I do not know?" (Semra, mother).

The language factor was not limited to the effect of language to support academic achievement. It was considered as a way of fighting back, protecting children when needed and raising the voice. Hence, the language was not considered as a resource at home but as a stand-alone factor for the parents.

> If you do not know German, you cannot talk to teachers. When you know German and talk to them, then it is different. They respect you. If they talk and talk and you do not understand after some time they give up and think you do not understand anyway. (Hava, mother).

Taking over the responsibility was not only related to blaming or feeling guilty. Apart from that, parents included the steps they took to compensate for their weaknesses. They engaged not only themselves but also some others. Stating that they *learned from their mistakes*, parents were *willing to change* as parents. By *trying harder as a parent*, they strived to reverse the referral or take precautions for the future.
Below there is a script from an interview with both parents at the same time:

Mother Nazmiye: do you have children?
Researcher: no, I do not have.
Mother Nazmiye: there is a bad feeling you get. You will also understand when you have children. Your heart breaks into pieces. There were many days and nights I cried.
Father Volkan: yes, she cried a lot. I was sad, but I did not understand what was happening to my child. For me, money was not important. We can take him to a doctor or psychologist, whatever needed.
Mother Nazmiye: we took him, and we took him many places.
Father Volkan: whatever it takes, whatever it takes we did.
Mother Nazmiye: even psychologist said we do not need to come anymore.

Some of the actions adopted were *motivating the children for more studying*, *cooperating with other families* and *increasing cooperation with the school*. They were ready to increase the cooperation with teachers and to *get professional help* if needed from private tutors. As well as external people such as teachers, other families or tutors, they also *engaged other family members* such as siblings, educated uncles or cousins, who could be a help to the children in their academic achievement.

Parents' denial and resistance to the referral to special education turned into a more self-blaming feeling. They told that the reactions they showed in the school and the way they talked to teachers or school directors changed over time. After talking to the spouse, or thinking silently and being honest with oneself, they started looking for other possible reasons for the situation. When they were asked about their experiences, the tension they had with the schools was visible. However, after some time, they accepted they had a contribution to the process. When they were talking about the steps they took after being informed about the referral, they expressed that these steps were to compensate for their failure. Going to school more often than before, trying to get information through personal contacts or NGOs were only some of the examples they gave. At this moment, it was not only related to the child and the parent visiting the school, but it was related to the whole family.

The underlying meanings of the sub-categories and the way they are related to the category are explained in Figure 7.2. As it is seen, there are three significant properties. The first property was about being aware of the deficiency of various aspects. Parents were aware of the deficiency of language, educational knowledge, and their motivational power on their children. Other aspects included the deficiency of materials such as money or space.

The second significant property was the understanding of various kinds of responsibility. Parents talked about responsibility to change as an individual or to accept their role in the referral to special education. On the other hand, responsibility was regarded as an urge to take action. Seeking help, within family or outside, was another type of responsibility that the parents talked about.

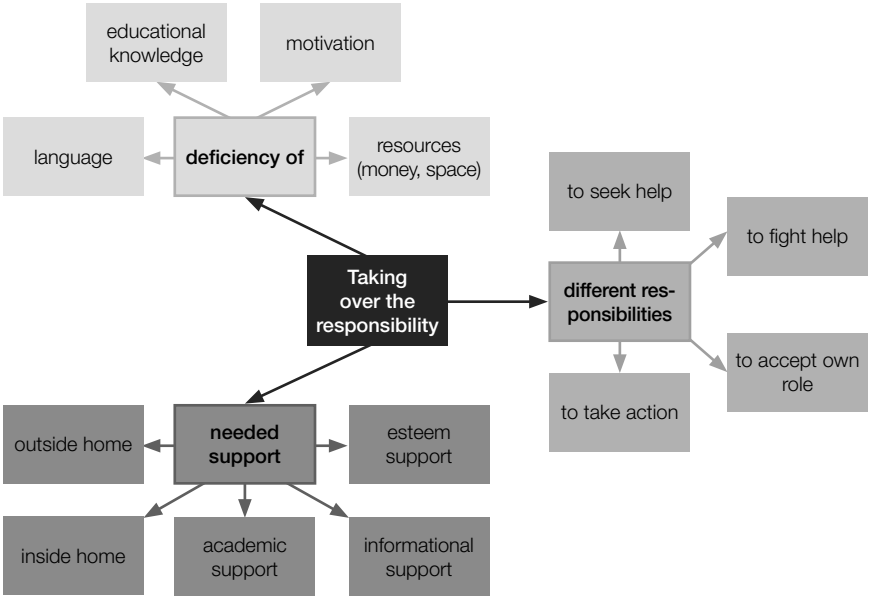

Figure 7.2: Network of the Properties for 'Taking over the Responsibility'

The third property was various support types that parents implied in the sub-categories. Support was conveyed as academic support through tutors or family members and as esteem support to increase the motivation. Also, parents felt the necessity of informational support for academic achievement. They looked for informational support by contacting teachers or families. Finally, support was discussed in terms of the place to find it. According to the parents, it can be found within the home as well as outside the home.

7.9.3 In a Battlefield

The category 'in a battlefield' with 17 sub-categories reflects on the strained relationship between parents and schools. Parents explained their relevant experiences by focusing on the process of fighting, losing, and winning. However, based on their explanations, it can be said that this atmosphere is not peculiar to the diagnosis or referral process but to the general relationship between schools and parents.

Table 7.5: Sub-Categories of 'In a Battlefield'

Sub-Categories	Category
We and they	
Being defeated	
Determination	
Frustration	
Fighting back	
Seeking allies	
Feeling helpless	
Feeling powerless	
Finding no way out	*In a Battlefield*
Giving up	
Non-supportive fellow parents	
Inferiority feeling	
Being forced	
Bowing down to authority	
Long-awaited victory	
Avoiding conflict with authority	
Exercised power	

When asked about the referral process, most of the parents started the conversation with an offensive reaction and negative connotations related to their memories. The first impression was that parents locate themselves and the school on two separate sides, in other words, in rival positions. *We and they* were formed after several codes had yielded positioning parents and school-related stakeholders as two sides competing or battling. The atmosphere of a battle or a competition created the feeling of winning or *being defeated*. To win, parents knew that they should show *determination*. One way of showing determination was the effort for *getting help*.
On the other hand, *frustration* was a dominant feeling that was experienced. Through this challenging and sometimes long process, parents suffered from frustration several times. This feeling at times resulted in *fighting back* or stepping back.
Most of the parents were *seeking allies* to help them to win the fight against the school. Looking for fellow parents, external psychologists, teachers from the Turkish Teacher Association, etc.

were steps taken by several parents. Seeking help was also a result of *feeling helpless and powerless* in the process. Several parents believed they would not be able to win the fight, and they contacted people to support them. They said that they tried to fight against the school alone, but they were unsuccessful. Hence, they had to get help from other people. The sub-category *finding no way out* was the experience of several parents. Either with or without the help of others, parents experienced this moment. This feeling pushed them to seek help or *give up*.

The help was not found all the time. The wish for being helped by the fellow parents ended with failure sometimes. *Non-supportive fellow parents* were seen as a reason for losing. The parents believe that an organized group of parents would be dissuasive for the school and would be backing them in their struggle against the school.

Another dominant feeling of the parents was the *feeling of inferiority* to the school. As the school is seen as an authority, many parents experienced the exercise of *power* over them by the school authority. Although many went into a battle with the schools, the general understanding that the school is an invincible authority was visible in the experiences of parents. Many parents justified *being forced* by the schools to accept the diagnosis and referral, as schools are impossible to defeat. The experience that some parents had was *bowing down to authority* at the end of their unsuccessful efforts. Considering the school as an authority hindered many from beginning a fight with the school at the beginning. *Avoiding the conflict with authority* was an experience for the ones who accepted the power exercised on them. They gave up on fighting at the very early stages of the process. A mother (Zeynep) experienced this feeling:

> Believe me, at that moment I wanted to go and throw things at the face of them. However, I could not do that. You cannot do that. You cannot be violent. Later, you would be in a very difficult position.

The last sub-category, *long-awaited victory,* was another proof for the consideration of the referral process as a battlefield. Thanks to their determination, or their fighting, sometimes the referral process was stopped or was reversed. With the happiness and the feeling of winning, parents explained this moment as a victory to celebrate. It was a justified achievement, for which they struggled greatly. Ayse (mother) explained this moment as:

> We took our child to a private psychotherapist in the third district to see if our child needs special education. He had there therapy sessions about three months long. I took him there once a week, I did not know what they were doing inside, and I was waiting outside. Later, they gave a paper saying that he does not deserve special education. Then we took this paper to the school director. He was shocked but did not step back. He said it is too late. We told him that we are determined to take this issue to court. When he saw that we are fighting back, he accepted. They put the child back in his previous classroom. When we came home, I cried out of happiness with my husband.

Figure 7.3 explains the network of the properties of the category and the connections of these properties to their dimensions. Being on a battlefield had four significant properties that had several dimensions. The first visible property was struggling. The situation of struggling was noticeable in many actions of parents. This property had the dimension of time. Parents struggled before going to the battle, during the battle, as well as after the battle. Avoiding the conflict with the school authority and giving up was an emotional struggle that they had to go through. Feeling helpless and hopeless, intensified their struggles as well. The challenging and sometimes long process that they experienced was, most of the time, the struggle itself. On the other hand, not being successful in stopping or reversing the process and the defeat that it brings was another period of struggle that was experienced after the referral and diagnoses.

The decision to go to battle was a moment that was experienced by some parents. While some of them decided to go on to this journey, some of them stepped back at the beginning or in between. Such a decision required being aware of the possibilities of winning. To judge their capacity to win, parents chose to rank the power of the sides engaged in a potential battle. By comparing their power to the power of the school, they had to consider if they should start the battle or not. Some of them felt powerless and preferred not to be a part of this battle at the beginning.

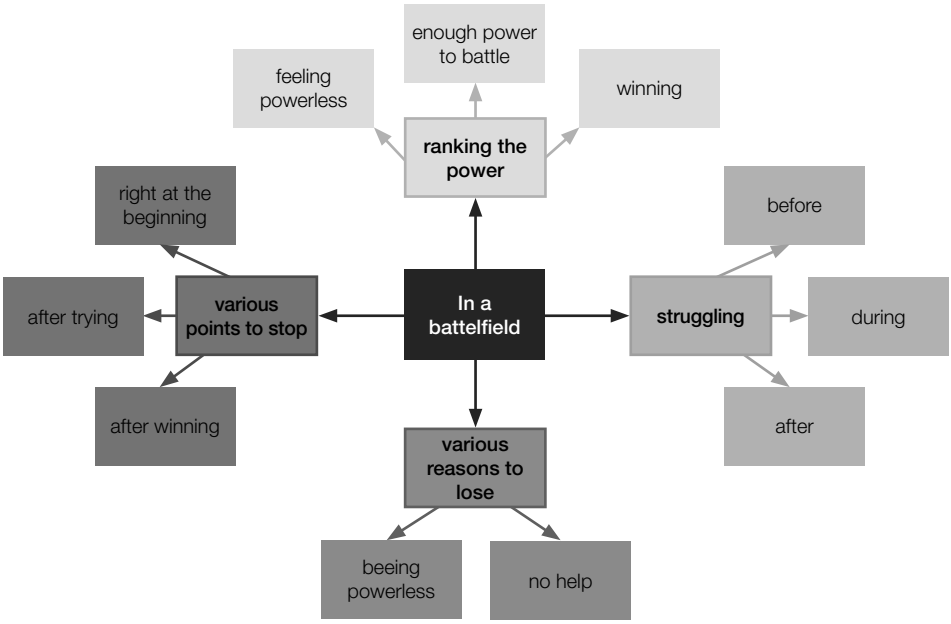

Figure 7.3: Network of the Properties for 'In a Battlefield'

Another connected property was the time parents stopped their fight with the school. Time was again a dimension for this property. Parents, regardless of feeling powerful or not, stopped fighting at several different stages. Right at the beginning, several parents gave up on fighting while some decided to at least try. Some of them, however, preferred going on until the victory and did not stop until the end.

In case of losing the fight or the battle, the justification that they made was different in terms of the reason to lose. As an individual factor, being powerless, was a reason for many, while some others thought that getting no help was the reason for not being successful in the battle. The support that they should have received from other parents, or allies, would be enough to win. However, they felt left alone and without support, which brought the defeat.

7.9.4 Disassociation

In the last category, parents included some factors that were beyond their reach. In other words, the reasons for the special education need, diagnosis, or the referral to special education, were related to macro-level aspects on which parents could have no impact. Hence, the category was named 'disassociation'.

Table 7.6: Sub-Categories of 'Disassociation'

Sub-Categories	Category
Indifference of teachers	*Disassociation*
Teacher education	
Feeling unwelcomed in schools	
Lack of cooperation with parents	
Informing parents late	
Selective school system	
Distrust of comparative evaluation	
Ambiguity in expectations from students	
Wish for homogeneity in schools	
Targeting the cultural group	
Fate of immigrants	
Lack of parental interest	

While asked about their experiences and the possible causes for the special education referral, parents preferred distancing themselves and reflecting on the external factors. Some of these factors were related to the teaching force, to schools, while some others to problems at a higher social level. The *indifference of teachers* was suggested as a valid reason for not following the needs of the students and being late to handle the problems. When students do not get the required help in a required way, their academic achievement goes down to a level that it can be pulled up through education. Hence, these students must receive special education. According to parents, if teachers were not indifferent to their students, there would be no need for special education and the students could receive their education in mainstream schools.

An argument made by the parents about the indifference of teachers referred to *teacher education*. The failure of teacher education programs to prepare motivated and interested teachers ends up in such situations in schools. Parents think that many teachers do not recognize the individual needs of students because they are not trained for it. Another point is that teacher education lacks training for multicultural classrooms. The teacher education programs do not pay attention to the multicultural profile of the classrooms, especially in Vienna, and does not provide teacher candidates with enough information about cultural differences is the reason of cultural conflicts in the schools.

After focusing on teacher-related aspects, parents shifted their focus to a wider level where they talked about the school atmosphere. Parents, during visits to schools, felt unwelcomed and unwanted. Their children also experienced the feeling of being unwelcomed. The unwelcoming attitude of schools towards students as well as towards parents had consequences yielding special education referrals. On the one hand, due to the feeling of being unwelcomed, parents did not go to school regularly to check on their children, and it also affected the connection with teachers. Parents could not develop the required rapport with the teachers, and this created *a lack of cooperation*.

> Children should like their teacher. I think children do not like their teachers. How can I say? There is not a warm environment in the classroom. They are scared. Okay, maybe they do not show violence but the way they look, the way they shout, or behave. Children do not like their teachers. If a child makes a mistake, he does not go and ask. He is shy or scared. The teacher does not welcome. (Hava, mother)

Having no good connection with teachers and feeling unwanted in the school resulted in being late to interfere with the falling academic achievement of students. Parents suggested that being

informed very late gave them no time to take some preventive steps and support their children. Teachers were accused of *informing* the parents in such a moment that parents did not have many options. Most of the parents assumed that if they had been informed on time, they would have been successful in supporting their children and do more to eliminate the need for special education.

Beyond teachers and the school, parents tackled aspects embedded in the macro level of the education system. They suggested that the *selective school system* and the pressure on students to achieve created such problems. The Austrian education system was considered as a selective system because students are distributed to academic and non-academic schools at the age of 10. Having this pressure at a very early age ended up in anxiety and failure for many students. Parents believed that although many students could have achieved being in an academic middle school, they could not go there because of the competitiveness of the school selection system. This brought another discussion, as many parents assume that such a selective system pushes teachers to compare students with each other. It was very easy to observe the *distrust of comparative evaluation*. Parents think that comparing students to each other, on the other hand, creates categorization. Most of the time, the students who are not as successful as the others, but are also not unsuccessful, are considered as being very weak. As a result, these students are directed to special education.

Mother Semra: not all of them are the same.
Researcher: yeah, I see.
Father Volkan: comparing is bringing our end. For example, there are 20 children. If 15 are like this (showing with hand), we do not like the other five. There are many issues here.
Mother Nazmiye: yes, not all of them are the same. They should evaluate each child individually. Without comparing.
(Script from focus group)

According to parents, the comparative evaluation and not following the standards make teachers have unclear expectations from students. Based on the average success level in the classroom and on the academic achievement of other students, students can be referred to special education, although they do not need it. Parents think that this *ambiguity in the expectations* puts more pressure on the children. Students cannot be sure about what is expected of them in terms of academic achievement. They can be successful or unsuccessful based on the fluctuations of success that they have in the classroom.

Apart from the aspects related to teachers, schools, or school systems, the parents also discussed the sub-categories related to a higher social level. The first one was *the wish for homogeneity*. This sub-category had its roots in the theoretical code 'wish for homogeneity in the school' as suggested by (Thomas & Loxley, 2001). With the help of theoretical sampling to elaborate on this code and memoing about the code, this code became a sub-category. The multicultural profile of the schools or classrooms, according to parents, is not desired by the Austrian society. As education until the age of 15 is compulsory, they think that the government and the society cannot prevent people with a migration background from attending the schools. However, they can refer them to special education schools, and they can have monocultural schools that host only Austrian natives or other European nations. Special education is seen as a platform where students with a migration background finish their compulsory education in a school where they are not integrated into Austrian society.

"Would you believe if I told you all children were Turkish in his class? (He means special education classroom) Is not it unbelievable? This is reality." (Volkan, father)

Related to the preceding sub-category, wish for homogeneity, parents took the discussion a step further and discussed the problem as an issue affecting all members of the cultural group, namely Turkish people. Having a Turkish background is considered a disadvantage not only in the school settings but also in other parts of daily life. *Targeting the cultural group* and labeling them were claimed to be common practices in Austrian society. Parents think that some teachers are biased against the people with a Turkish background and label them as low achievers. According to parents, teachers reflect the weaknesses of the students on the cultural group and think that the children with Turkish background have some limits in terms of academic achievement. Parents think that teacher education programs are not doing anything to challenge the bias against immigrant groups.

Rather than focusing only on the Turkish background, parents also expressed that being labeled with low academic achievement and being pushed away from education is the *fate of all immigrants.* Regardless of the country of origin, parents think that being an immigrant as a first or second-generation brings disadvantages in Austria. According to them, students are referred to special education not because of their low academic achievement, educational needs but because of being an immigrant. Here, parents were not suggesting that being an immigrant is the only reason to refer to special education. However, they think that being an immigrant affects the perspective of teachers. If a teacher has hesitations about the special education need, having a migration background accelerates the process.

The last sub-category to discuss is the *lack of parental interest*. As it is discussed in the category 'in a battlefield', parents think that non-supporting parents are a reason for losing the battle. In this category, other parents are discussed in terms of their indifference to education and their share in the creation of a negative image of Turkish parents. Parents, while sharing ideas about possible reasons, included several factors related to teachers, schools, or system. However, another important point was their accusations. The lack of interest of other Turkish parents causes teachers to generalize about all Turkish parents and children. Here, the parents stated and made it clear, that they are not like the other families, but are the victims of the generalizations.

> **Father Ahmet:** Let us go and ring every door of Turkish families. No one will be interested in talking to you. This is in our genes. You studied and became such an important person. (He talks to the researcher) I am proud of you that you came to my home. Because I can learn from you, however, some families will not listen to you.

The category of 'disassociation' had three properties to discuss. Sometimes parents distanced themselves as individuals by emphasizing that they are different from other parents. The cultural group, Turkish people, were sometimes distanced, as they are the victims of bias or generalizations about Turkish people. Finally, all immigrants were the third disassociated party. The non-culture specific bias or generalization targeted all immigrants, and there was nothing to do as an immigrant.

The second property was the level of disassociation. Parents, while distancing themselves, had different stances. Some of the sub-categories showed that parents position themselves in a place that has no intersection with the referral process. They regard themselves as totally unrelated to the factors that result in academic failure or diagnosis of special education needs. On the other hand, parents also included some factors that have a connection to them as parents. For instance, the lack of parental resisting is an aspect that relates to all parents. Here, parents distanced themselves partially and accepted that the lack of parental resisting is an issue, and they are a part of it as well.

The area of disassociation was another property to discuss. Disassociation happened in terms of being distanced in various aspects. Parents distanced themselves from the referral and emphasized that they were not informed on time, or they were included in the process to intervene.

Being schooled in special education was another aspect that parents tried to separate themselves from as a decision-maker. Having a child with special education needs was not in their hand because there are macro-level factors that immigrants cannot resist. Lastly, parents also included their ideas about being a low achiever regardless of school type. Low academic achievement, in general, was a dimension for this property.
Figure 7.4 shows the properties of this category.

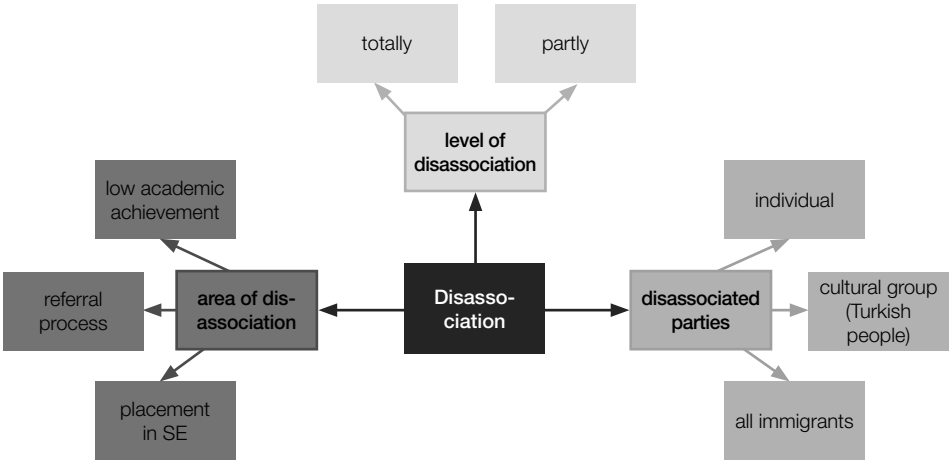

Figure 7.4: Network of the Properties for 'Disassociation'

7.9.5 Summary for the Meaning of the Special Education Referral for Parents

The special education referral process was a negative experience for parents most of the time. While sharing their ideas about their involvement in the process, parents had a tendency to connect the special education referral to other underlying factors apart from the academic attainment of their children. Special education is not seen as an educational facility or service but as a way of segregating students from Austrian peers, which will bring several negative outcomes such as a waste of potential, a disgrace for family, or no employment in the future. Teacher incompetence, a wish for homogeneity in schools, and the selective school system, are some of the reasons that parents claimed as evidence. In addition, parents' experiences showed that the relationship between schools and parents during the referral process is tense and frustrating. The referral process was reminiscent of a battle where parents decided to fight back, seek support, or accept the defeat. Finally, parents admitted their contribution to the academic failure of their children due to lack of resources, parental interest, or educational background. There was also a visible effort to compensate for these deficiencies individually or engage some other people such as family members, teachers, or tutors to assist the student.

7.10 Teachers' Categories

The data from teachers' interviews created four different categories. When compared to parents, teachers preferred referring to their general experiences about the schooling and education of all students with a migration background. After being reminded that the study targets collect-

ing experiences especially with students from a Turkish background, teachers focused on their experiences related to this specific group of students. However, most of the time, they felt the necessity of stating that whatever they are saying is also valid for the other immigrant groups and sometimes for all students. The categories from teachers were:

- An obscure journey
- Passing the ball
- Regretful accomplice
- Conditional trust

The first category was related to the diagnosis and referral process more than the other three categories. This category emerged from the sub-categories that talked about the experiences of teachers during the process. What they did, how they felt, how they communicated their ideas, etc., was in the scope of this category. The second and third categories were related to the reasons for special education needs. Teachers talked about the possible reasons for the special education referral from two different perspectives. In one of the categories, they saw themselves as a part of the reason, and they mention that they share the guilt. However, the teachers also mentioned several other reasons related to external factors. On the one hand, teachers distanced themselves, and on the other hand, they accepted that they are also accomplices for the overrepresentation in special education referrals for the students with a migration background. The differences and the peculiarities about these two categories will be discussed in detail under each category in the following sections.

The fourth category had a special focus on special education. Teachers considered special education as a facility and insisted that special education is not a less worthy service than education in a mainstream school. They think that special education is a trustworthy destination for many.

7.10.1 An Obscure Journey

The first category was mainly about the experiences during the diagnosis and referral process. Teachers shared their ideas about the steps that they followed, the challenges, and the features of their interaction with parents. Table 7.7 shows the sub-categories of this category.

Table 7.7: Sub-Categories of 'An Obscure Journey'

Sub-Categories	Category
Going through complicated steps	*An Obscure Journey*
Variedness across cases	
Divergence from guidelines	
Power clashes in the school	
Suspecting the necessity of some steps	
Feeling the burden of several roles	
Experiencing an interruption in the process	
Feeling of hesitation	
Vulnerability to mistakes	
Facing parents' objection	
Long negotiations	
Applying compulsion	
Frustration	

The first sub-category is *going through complicated steps*. Teachers found the steps in the diagnosis and referral process very complicated, and difficult to understand and follow. They mentioned that the education council in the city and the ministry have several publications and regulations about the guidelines to follow during the process; however, the application of these guidelines and the steps in these guidelines are not as easy as they are written in the documents. They talked about several difficulties and challenges that they are facing while trying to apply the guidelines. The complicated steps made teachers handle each case as a special case. Hence, they could not follow the same steps in all cases of referral. Here, there were several negative outcomes because of the *variedness across cases*. Firstly, this made them vulnerable to the complaints of the parents. Parents compared their case with the case of another family, and they objected that the steps are not followed in the same order for all. Teachers accepted this fact and mentioned that having unity in the processes for all would be easier for them. However, the guidelines do not explain several special cases and do not give specific information. This requires playing by ear and following a new order for the steps in the process.

Teacher Reinhard: in principle, it will be decided together where the child should be schooled. The decision will be signed I think by the inspector or maybe the director. I am not sure about that. There, it should be explained that the child is referred to special education based on a reason. Later, there should be some observation and then the decision about the school. Normally, one should sit and discuss this with parents. This would make sense.

Researcher: when are they included?

Teacher Reinhard: it is not easy to have them at every stage. They will be informed when it is time. Sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end. If it is an obvious need for special education, then right at the beginning. If it is a learning disability, we should see if the child does not learn. It is a point to discuss. We should give time.

Because of the challenges that teachers have applying the guidelines, they have to diverge from the guidelines and apply some other steps, or they have to skip some steps. *Divergence from the guidelines* was sometimes due to the power clashes they had in the school. The parties that are included in the process were sometimes unclear about their responsibility and role. This sometimes resulted in issues with other stakeholders in the school such as the *power clashes* that they had with school directors or school psychologists during the referral process.

"A psychologist is a psychologist, and a pedagogue is a pedagogue. They are two different shoes." (Maria, teacher)

Suspecting the necessity of some steps in the process was a very common experience among teachers. Usually, teachers did not welcome the inclusion of the people who have little information about students, such as psychologists and directors. Also, teachers suspected the efficiency of the psychological assessment during the referral. The quote from teacher Katharina is an example of this suspicion:

I mean, it is correct that we need a school psychologist to decide about special education needs. However, it is not enough. As pedagogues, we should evaluate the child. I think giving attention only from a psychological perspective is not enough. Looking at intelligence does not help. For example, a student gets three points less than needed in the intelligence test. Maybe he will compensate for it through the school environment. Maybe he will feel himself good in the school context, and he will adjust. A psychologist would look at children somewhere isolated. She/he make a test and see the results. I think this is a very limited perspective.

The referral process, on the other hand, brought extra assignments to teachers, and they *felt the burden of several roles*. They had to take over new roles during the process. For instance, they had to be the bridges between parents and directors. They had to inform directors, as they do not have the required experience and expertise about special education or the situation of the student. Teachers had to explain what the categories of special education are. Another role that they must take was covering for the school director if he/she does not have enough time to attend the informative meetings with families. Apart from that, teachers had to sometimes be the mediators between parents and directors. Teachers agreed that parents have more contact with teachers than with directors. Therefore, when parents go to meet a director for the first time, teachers are needed to be there to fill in the information gaps between directors and parents. Teachers considered all these extra roles as an extra burden during the special education referral. Sometimes, the process was so long that teachers could not follow the process easily which yielded an *interruption in the process*. With the interference of parents or any assessment written by an external psychologist, the process slowed down or stopped. Additionally, upon the resistance of and the fight with parents, directors suggested to stop the process and give more time to students. In such cases, teachers had to take a break. However, when the need for special education still existed, they had to resume the process, which created some challenges. Teachers complained that among several other student or administrative duties, it was not easy to remember the details about the case of an individual student.

The variedness across cases and the divergence from guidelines sometimes put teachers in a position that they could not be sure about the correctness of their decision about the special education need. Teachers mentioned that they *hesitated* in several moments during the process, and the hesitation brought *vulnerability to mistakes*. Here, the connection between the vulnerability and the feeling of hesitation had a bidirectional relationship. Due to hesitation in the process, the risk of making mistakes increased. On the other hand, as the process is challenging and ambiguous, teachers hesitated not to make mistakes. In addition, teachers mentioned that they have been experiencing this feeling lately more often, especially after the discussion of inclusive education started in the country. The effort of the schools to keep the students with special education needs and the ones without in the same learning environment brought some challenges for teachers. The suggestions of the school directors about avoiding segregation created most of the time issues, and they could not understand what the next step was. When teachers believed in the necessity of special education, an opposite perspective from directors was not helpful.

Teachers also experienced challenges created by parents. The excessive *objections of parents* about the referral were undesired moments for teachers, as they had to negotiate with parents and convince them of the necessity of the special education referral. *Long negotiations with parents* were exhausting, especially when parents tried to recruit external psychologists in the process.

Researcher: what are the options of the parents? What if they disagree?

Teacher Serkan: hmm, yes, they can disagree. However, this child should go to school here or there. Then it gets complicated. It is discussed too much. Then it is we to explain why all is needed. We are all the time the ones to communicate with the parents among so many duties.

The belief and certainty about the essentiality of special education motivated the teachers to go on with the negotiations and to persuade the parents by explaining the advantages of special education. However, teachers did not have enough patience to go on with the negotiations in a peaceful atmosphere. The interrupted education of students, the objections of parents or directors, created pressure on the teachers, which ended with *compulsion*. Teachers had to apply pressure on parents to get their agreement to start the diagnosis process.

> Then it means the students are not educated well. Because he does not get the support, he needs. Then it is possible that he must repeat the class three times or maybe switch to a very bad school and at the end, maybe he will land in AMS (Job Market Service in Austria). We should explain this to parents until they understand. (Maria, teacher)

The last sub-category to discuss is a feeling that was experienced in several stages of the process, *frustration*. This feeling was a result of the uncertainty about the steps to follow, the conflicts with families, the suspected role of directors or inspectors, etc. It can be said that teachers experienced frustration in several stages.

The first category for teachers had two significant properties and are presented in Figure 7.5. The first one was the source of ambiguity. Guidelines, rules, or steps suggested by councils and the ministry were challenging to follow and unclear to understand. This ambiguity resulted in hesitation, lack of information or, sometimes, in conflict. Another source of uncertainty was the reactions of parents. Parents got involved in the process at different times with different attitudes. Trying to convince parents or informing them, brought an extra burden for teachers and created another challenge for them. There were moments when teachers felt bombarded with vagueness about the things to do. However, parents were not the only source of ambiguity. The involvement of school directors and their limited expertise and information about the topic also put teachers in a challenging situation most of the time. Finally, the engagement of external psychologists affected the process. The contradictory findings and suggestions of external psychologists changed the ongoing process and the role of the teachers.

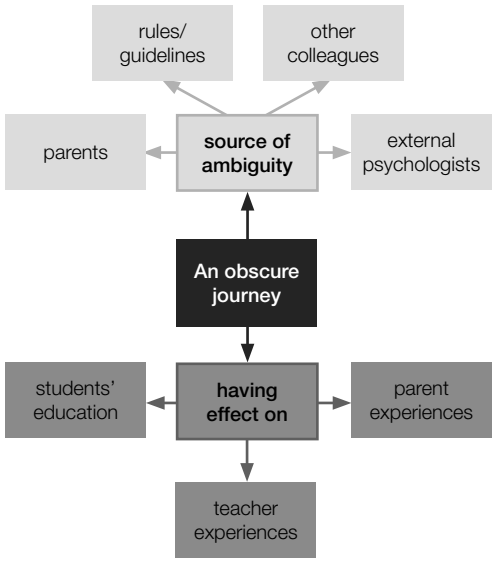

Figure 7.5: Network of the Properties for 'An Obscure Journey'

The second property was related to the effect of the ambiguity. The ambiguity did not have an impact only on teachers but also on other people. The ambiguity brought challenges for parents as they did not understand the process in detail, and sometimes they had to face compulsion to accept the referral. Naturally, students were also affected.

7.10.2 Regretful Accomplice

The ambiguity discussed previously was visible during the process of special education referral and the diagnosis process. In this category, teacher experiences and ideas that are related to the education and schooling of students with a migration background, and students with a Turkish migration background are discussed. When asked specifically, teachers tend to accept the disadvantaged situation of the students with a migration background. The disadvantages were sometimes embedded in larger dimensions than teachers could relate to. However, teachers also accepted their contribution in creating disadvantages for these students in doing nothing to eliminate the disadvantages. This category discusses how teachers consider their being an accomplice of the disadvantages for students with a migration background. Table 7.8 summarizes the sub-categories of 'regretful accomplice'.

Table 7.8: Sub-Categories of 'Regretful Accomplice'

Sub-Categories	Category
Teacher training	
Teacher motivation	
Impatience of teachers	
Lack of colleague cooperation	
Judging own competences	
Norm-referenced evaluation	
Focusing on weaknesses	*Regretful Accomplice*
Not resisting system pressure	
Limited communication with parents	
Pushing problems away	
Feeling pity	
Readiness to act	
Need for support	

First, teachers talked about the failure of *teacher training* to prepare teachers for cultural diversity. Based on their teacher training and their observation about the teacher training of their colleagues, teachers think that teacher training has an important effect on the competencies of teachers to respond to the needs of cultural diversity. However, teachers did not blame only teacher training to justify the issues they are experiencing.

> Teacher training has been developed and changed. However, I cannot say if it is better now. When I see the new teachers, I cannot say that they are better trained or motivated. In these long years, I had several colleagues. Sometimes they were motivated and sometimes they were counting the days of the week. The old teachers just before retirement do not care what is happening; they will do just what should be done. (Martina, teacher)

Teachers discussed the lack of motivation among teachers. They think that *teacher motivation* is an important factor that can contribute to diminishing the disadvantages for students who have challenges in learning. The lack of motivation to support students who are in need and the lack of motivation to change this situation are issues for teachers. Several times, teachers admitted that they do not feel motivated enough to stand and take action.

Another aspect was the *impatience* of teachers. Here, they included also having many other duties and issues in the school. Hence, teachers face many problems and challenges that they must handle in a very limited period of time. They think that this makes them impatient, and cannot be attentive enough to prevent some issues that their students are experiencing. This impatience can also be a reason sometimes for the *lack of colleague cooperation* that teachers experience in the school. Trying to solve issues together or taking preventive steps before any issue rises could be attained by teacher collaboration. However, teachers think that lack of motivation, interest, or patience keeps teachers away from cooperating.

> "It requires cultural competence that we do not have mostly." (Mike, teacher)

On a more individual level, teachers also gave examples of their characteristics and competencies as teachers. By reflecting on their personal traits, they did not distance themselves, but they took over the responsibility and *judged their competences* in terms of being a good teacher to assist their students with a migration background.

> "One compares naturally to the peer group." (Michelle, teacher)

Some of the false traditions that are followed in the schools were important sub-categories. The *norm-referenced evaluation* was a tradition that teachers were not happy with. Comparing students to other students in the classroom was not a good way of assessment for many. According to teachers, focusing on the failure of students based on the achievement of other students brings some problems in terms of being a fair teacher. A student can be diagnosed with a learning disability just because all other students are doing better than he is. However, in some cases, it may not mean that this student needs special education. In another class with students that have a similar level of achievement, he would not be diagnosed with special education needs. Teachers think that this is a result of the tendency to *focus on weaknesses*. In a classroom, rather than having standards, teachers are comparing the students' achievement to the achievement of other students, so they are coming up with a norm formed by most of the students in the class. When some students do not achieve as much as the other students, they are labeled as being weak because they have weaknesses when compared to the other students in the class.

> I have an interesting example. There was one student, a Turkish student; he had special education needs only in one subject. He came to my class in middle school. After a few weeks I thought 'it cannot be correct. He is as good as the others and a bit better than many'. Later, I talked to him several times in person. I learned that all the other students in his class went to Gymnasium (academic middle school) but he could not. So, he was under the average. (Fatma, special education teacher)

Evaluating students based on norms or focusing on their weaknesses are common practices in the schools. However, another related issue to these two practices is doing nothing about it. Although many teachers realize these problematic practices, they do not act to stop them. Many teachers mentioned that they avoid focusing on weaknesses and try to evaluate each student in his/her competencies. However, they think that this is an attitude that teachers develop due to the system pressure. The system wants teachers to select the best and send them to academic middle schools and later to universities. They should also select the ones who can learn a vocation and do an apprenticeship. On the other hand, the system does not want to spend too much time on the ones who cannot function as well as the others in the society. Teachers think that this also creates pressure on them, however, the problem is *not resisting the pressure of the system* and following this problematic tradition.

Teachers consider parents as an important part of education. The cooperation and especially communication with parents are important factors in terms of getting information about the students' lives beyond school. Having information about their family situation or parental situation can hinder many false decisions. While comparing students to other students, knowing their personal lives can be a help for teachers. However, *limited communication* with parents is an experience that teachers regret. They believe in the necessity of getting to know the family better and working together to improve the situation of students.

The next sub-category is related to being indifferent as a teacher. Not resisting the false practices, going with the flow, or focusing on weakness and labeling some students as low achievers, postpone the responsibility. Teachers think that *pushing the problem away* to special education or to the next class level are two other common practices they see in schools. Being indifferent to the core reason and ignoring the situation can be explained only to push the problematic cases away.

All these points created an unpleasant feeling for teachers. Upon talking about these factors, they explained how they *feel pity* for students most of the time because they believe that these students would achieve better if more attention is paid to their education. The feeling of pity was accompanied by the motivation to change anything. Teachers stated that they are *ready to act* or help families if they are asked for help. However, this job should be done by all people included. In other words, all teachers should be willing to help, and parents should be willing to get help. The most important thing is to understand that teachers cannot solve this issue alone because this is not a problem created only by them. They *need support* in this matter to be able to change the situation. Figure 7.6 shows the properties of this category.

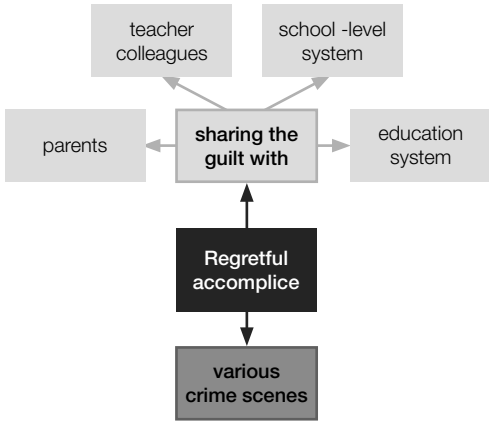

Figure 7.6: Network of the Properties for 'Regretful Accomplice'

In the category 'regretful accomplice', teachers admitted that students, especially the ones with a migration background, are vulnerable to a false diagnosis of special education needs due to some problematic issues embedded in the system. However, teachers did not limit these problems to the system or to an area that they are not related. On the contrary, they also talked about some teacher-level and individual-level issues. The general understanding of this category was the acceptance of a crime. Although teachers did not mention this word, it is used to create harmony with the name of the category. The place of the crime was a significant property. The school, classroom, teacher training, referral process, etc., were all different places for this crime.

Another property was the other people included in this crime. Teachers mentioned several other accomplices that were included in this crime. Although sometimes there was more than one group of accomplices such as teachers, directors, or system-related practices, they are presented as different dimensions in the figure. According to teachers, evaluation standards, teacher training, parental cooperation or teacher cooperation and school-level practices had their share in this crime.

7.10.3 Passing the Ball

This category discusses how teachers think that they do not have a connection with certain factors. 'Passing the ball' tackles the dimensions embedded in larger levels beyond schools and personal traits or teacher competencies. The category has nine sub-categories in total. Table 7.9 shows the categories of 'passing the ball'.

Table 7.9: Sub-Categories of 'Passing the Ball'

Sub-Categories	Category
Parental competences	
Resources at home	
Indifference of parents	
Unrealistic expectations	
Embeddedness in the social group	*Passing the Ball*
Country of origin	
Religion	
Gender	
The youth of the era	

The first sub-category is the *parental competences* to support the academic achievement of students. Teachers think that parents should have certain competencies to be able to support their children. The lack of parental competence would identify some problems that cannot be solved only by the involvement of teachers. The educational background of parents, their emotional and academic support for students at home, the encouragement that students get from their parents was listed by teachers as important dimensions of parental competences. Along with these competencies, the *resources at home* were other factors that teachers held important in terms of the academic achievement of students. Teachers think that having a spatial and peaceful zone to study at home, along with the financial situation of the family to provide some basic needs, also has an effect on the educational attainments of students.

Another interesting point to discuss in this category is the concern about the *indifference of parents*. Teachers blamed parents for being indifferent to the education of their children. However, here, there is an important clarification that must be made. This blame does not mean that parents do not come to school or do not ask what is happening in school. On the contrary, teachers blame parents by being indifferent to the realities of their children. Coming to school and being there physically, and attending parent meetings, are not regarded as enough to follow the educational situation of their children. Teachers expect parents to be more knowledgeable about the possible support systems that they can use at their home, about the interests and competences of their children, about the extra-curricular activities, and about the alternatives for their children in case they cannot go to university. Telling their children to study but not being a role model was considered as a mistake. Primary school teacher Reinhard explained:

> I had a student in the fourth grade. He had many issues with Math. He could not count until 100, or he could not extract 13 from 28. However, he would know all football players or how many goals Ronaldo scored. He knew all the computer games. The parents see this part of the boy. They do not see what is happening here (the school).
>
> "I want to be a doctor. It is a wish or maybe the wish of the parents." (Maria, teacher)

Teachers think that parents have *unrealistic expectations* from their children in terms of academic achievement. Parents want their children to achieve academically to have a good job in the future. According to teachers, parents have materialistic expectations from their children; this puts the children under pressure. Having expectations, which are not matching the competences and interests of students, yields failure, and feeling of inferiority and depression. Many children give up on any education because they think they cannot achieve at the level it is expected by their families.

The next aspect, related both to unrealistic expectations and the indifference of parents, was being *embedded in the social group*. At this point, the social group embeddedness had two dimensions to discuss. The first dimension was being too much immersed in the social group and, as a result, having the peculiarities of the social group, namely less knowledge about the educational system, less academic support for children, and less interest in academic attainment. However, being embedded in the social group was discussed with a second dimension as well. Teachers believed that a reason for having high and unrealistic expectations can be the comparison that the parents do in their social groups. By comparing the success and the failure in the other families, parents are obsessed with good and well-paying jobs. Teachers mentioned that social group embeddedness could be a reason for focusing too much on academic achievement.

> Another thing about the Turkish community is that they are very good connected. They inform each other. They know where the good teachers are, or which schools are good schools. You recognize that they come to an open house meeting and see the schools. However, when you are so much ambitious, and you learn that your child has a deficit, of course, the disappointment is bigger. (Fatma, special education teacher)

Being embedded in the social group too much and having limited connections with the rest of society was a concern regarding many immigrant groups. However, teachers made some evaluations about the *country of origin*, specific to the Turkish group, and commented on some characteristics of this cultural group. Turkish parents are regarded as people showing interest in the education of their children when compared to other immigrant groups and when compared to the previous generation Turkish parents. Teachers mentioned that Turkish parents are interested in the academic achievement of their children more than before, however still not at the desired level. As it was previously discussed, teachers believe that Turkish parents come to schools regularly and are interested in the schooling of their children. However, being embedded in a cultural group creates some issues such as having misconceptions about Austrian teachers or culture, developing a bias against some school types, or having unrealistic academic expectations.

For teachers, *religion* was another concept to discuss. Religion was considered to have a substantial effect on the lives of immigrants. Islam is believed to govern the lives of some conservative families. Teachers think that some families pay attention to Islamic education more than academic education. On the other hand, when students follow the doctrines of Islam, their relationships with school, teachers, or classmates are damaged. This creates distance between Muslim children and others. Students do not feel they belong to the school or to society, which decreases the motivation of students. Religion was not a dominant sub-category as much as the

others in this category. However, it is significant to include it in the discussion, as religion is an important part of the daily lives of many students in Austrian schools.

> "It would be okay if they are late for school, but they would not be late for Koran school. I heard that the children are more conservative here than the children in Turkey." (Michelle, teacher)

Another less dominant but noteworthy sub-category was *gender*. Driven by the discussion of religion, teachers believe that religion creates a different understanding of the schooling of boys and girls. According to them, many parents value the education and success of boys more than that of girls. The low academic achievement, or any issues that girls experience in school, attracts less attention than the problems of boys. Parents are accused of paying more attention to boys' education. However, girls are only expected to finish compulsory education in any kind of school, as the expectations of the families are lower from girls.

> I believe it was a shame for the family or maybe for the father. 'No, my son cannot have special education need' was his reaction. He had a daughter who is two years older. She was good, and the son was with special education needs. I think this was the issue. (Martina, teacher)

The last point to discuss is a sub-category that was formed based on the ideas about all students regardless of their origin, culture, or religion. Teachers think that young people are getting less interested in academic achievement and there is a decrease in the overall success in the world. They argue that students are distracted too much from schools due to the *changing era*. There is less motivation for success, less motivation to study, and less motivation to achieve. According to teachers, when parents do not take precautions, which is something that happens often in immigrant families, there will be more low achievers who have no educational goals.
Figure 7.7 shows the properties of the category 'passing the ball'.

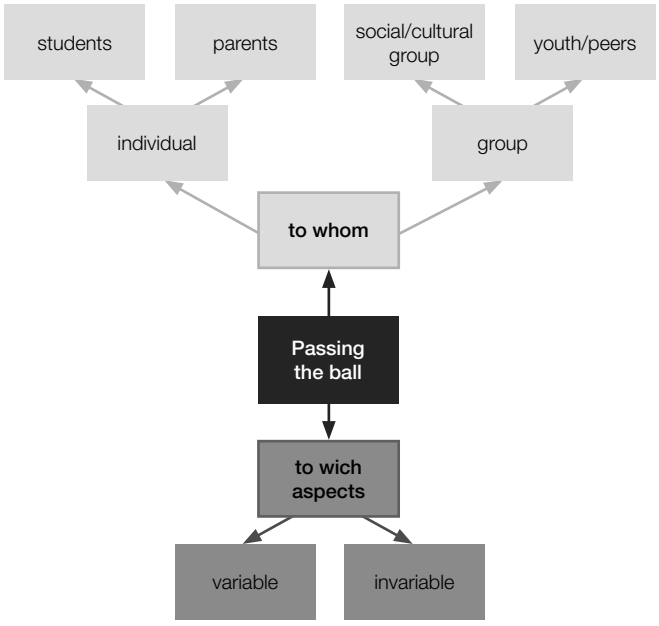

Figure 7.7: Network of the Properties for 'Passing the Ball'

In 'passing the ball', teachers talked about the aspects that influence the low achievement of students and indirectly, the special education referral. Teachers, contrary to the previous category, did not take any responsibility. They distanced themselves and mentioned that they could have no impact on these aspects as they are beyond their reach.
The first property to discuss is where teachers pass the ball; in other words, who or what they consider as responsible. This property had two dimensions, namely individuals or groups: students or parents as individuals and social group and peer groups as groups. Besides, to what aspects teachers pass the ball varied as well. For instance, gender and country of origin were invariable features that neither parents nor students can change. However, being embedded in the social group or being indifferent have variable and changeable levels.

7.10.4 Conditional Trust

The last category for teachers is related to their ideas about special education. Although teachers have hesitations about the referral process and the correctness of the decision, they consider special education as the best option for the ones who really need it. Special education schools are portrayed as not less worthy than mainstream schools. In this category, special education is presented as a service that should be valued. The distrust of parents in special education becomes the conditional trust of teachers in special education. Table 7.10 displays the sub-categories of 'Conditional Trust in Special Education'.

Table 7.10: Sub-Categories of 'Conditional Trust'

Sub-Categories	Category
Offering certainty	
Less pressure on the child	
Focusing on individual needs	*Conditional Trust*
Flexibility in teaching	
An advantage in the future	

Teachers supported special education and special education schools in that they should be considered as a facility. With fewer students in the classrooms, more resources, and teachers, special education facilities provide students with *certainty*. In other words, students do not go through the challenging process of school selection, career selection or competing. According to teachers, students in special education are supposed to learn some basics and should be there until the end of compulsory education. Ambition to achieve more is considered unnecessary for some students. By being in special education, these students do not have to struggle in vain. So that students do feel *less pressure on them* as they do not have to compete with high standards or high expectations.

> Students come to us with special education needs after referral. I saw it all the time as an advantage because they get more support. Expectations can be pulled down, and the child had the chance to succeed. Of course, I can make him sit in the same classroom for four years (she means without special education referral) and give him a positive grade, but what will he learn. (Michelle, teacher)

Teachers claimed that special education offers more time for each student by *focusing on individual needs*. However, examples of individual needs were oversimplified needs. Drawing, playing, or taking a break whenever wanted were examples of individual needs. Assigning fewer challenging tasks or giving more time, on the other hand, were discussed as examples of *flexibility*. While talk-

ing about special education, the focus was mainly on the easiness of being a student. The efforts to support students academically or the efforts to get rid of their special education needs were not in the scope of the experiences of teachers. They focused mainly on daily practices in school.
On the contrary to what parents believe, teachers think that special education can be an *advantage* for the students in the future. As students with special education needs get specific consultation regarding vocational training and apprenticeships, teachers think that this is an advantage for many.

> It is another advantage of a special education school; students get longer consultations from youth coaches after they finish school. I think they are in contact until 21 with the youth coach. We bring them in contact, they come to school and meet the children. (Martina, teacher)

Figure 7.8 shows the underlying properties of the category 'conditional trust' in special education. Teachers think that special education creates positive outcomes and brings opportunities in the future in terms of employment. Although teachers had suspicions about the precision of special education referrals, they see special education as a facility for students once they are there. When compared to mainstream education, special education provides fewer challenges for students and supports them more.
The second property shows how special education is considered as a facility for different people. Teachers think that special education brings more support and less pressure on students as well as advantages in terms of employment. On the other hand, special education gives flexibility to teachers in terms of their daily practices in schools with students. Lastly, special education is advantageous for society. By applying lower standards, special education makes it possible even for low-achieving students to learn, achieve, and be functioning members of society.

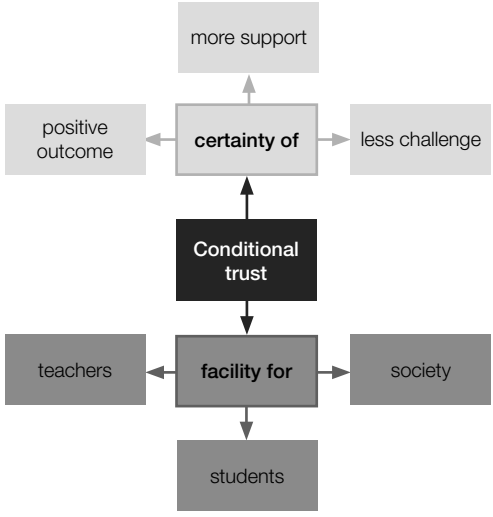

Figure 7.8: Network of the Properties for 'Conditional Trust'

7.10.5 Summary for the Meaning of Special Education Referral for Teachers

The specific experiences in the referral process were mainly challenging for teachers. The unclear guidelines, the inclusion of several people in the process, or the obligation to take several

roles were some of the reasons why teachers find the referral process complicated. The ambiguity embedded in the process created a feeling of hesitation and sometimes, frustration. When asked about their experiences during special education referrals, teachers also included their ideas and experiences related to the education of immigrant children in general. Teachers did not deny their role and impact on the education of immigrants who are a vulnerable group. The rushed diagnoses, being culturally non-sensitive, going with the flow of the selective system, and the norm-referenced evaluation were the points that teachers consider as their weaknesses. Moreover, teachers mentioned some other responsible parties such as parents, students, or the immigrant group all of which must be taken into account. Religion, gender, or the era were considered as essential effects on the educational situation of immigrants as well. Lastly, teachers showed their trust in special education in case of a diagnosis for a student who really needs special education. Special education is presented as a service that responds to the needs of the students in a flexible way.

7.11 Psychologists' Categories

The third group to discuss is psychologists. Responsible for more than one school, both psychologists had several years of experience in the special education referral process. The data from them are discussed under one category with eight sub-categories.

7.11.1 There to Test

The only category for the school psychologists emphasizes the limited power of school psychologists during the process of special education referrals. Their data showed that psychologists experience challenges during the process as they are included only to test, and they may not have an influence on the results of the test. The subcategories for 'There to Test' are presented below in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11: Sub-Categories of 'There to Test'

Sub-Categories	Category
Rushed diagnoses	*There to test*
Lack of culturally sensitive consultation	
Gender	
No need for testing	
Mediation	
Witnessing helplessness	
Being dependent on test results	
Feeling pity	

Psychologists explained that the referral process is sometimes initiated with a *rushed diagnosis,* where there is not enough time to evaluate the correctness of the decision. They agreed that teachers spend more time with the students, and have enough experience and information about the educational attainment of a student. However, psychologists believe that teachers start the referral process with their preconceptions about a student. Teachers are criticized that they inform the psychologists just because it is in the guidelines. Therefore, the inclusion of psychologists is not followed as a step to get psychological assessment but to get a confirmation of the preconception of teachers.

Another point is the *lack of culturally sensitive consultation* and evaluation in the schools. According to psychologists, having no cultural sensitivity makes teachers or directors and even psychologists vulnerable to make mistakes and consider an emotional or cultural issue as a need for special education. The standardized tests in German are also a big problem in terms of their understandability and cultural sensitivity for all students. In addition, *gender* is another point that psychologists pay attention to. Having no cultural knowledge about boys or girls from specific cultures can create issues in the classroom. Forcing a girl to do a partner activity with a boy in the class may be a reason for hesitation, lack of self-confidence, and naturally a reason for failure.

> "Sitting arrangement can create issues for the children concerned with eating habits based on religion." (Helga, school psychologist)

When they witnessed a preventable problem with the child, they preferred assessing the effect of this problem on his/her academic achievement. The diagnosis of special education needs based on an abrupt change in the behavior or academic success is not considered professional. The reflection of the home situation, such as violence or divorce, can be affecting the motivation and learning of the student. Psychologists emphasized that such reasons may not be a valid reason for a school or curriculum change. At such moments, they did not believe in the *need for testing*.

The intervention is most of the time requires *mediatio*n between parents and teachers. Parents come to consult psychologists, and they talk to psychologists about the family situation because they feel more comfortable with psychologists than with teachers. They ask for mediation. However, the duty of mediating is challenging for psychologists as it is not included in their area of work. *Being dependent on the test results* is another sub-category. Sometimes what psychologists observed was considered less valid than what test scores said. All the above-discussed points bring the *feeling of pity* for psychologists. This is a feeling that was shared several times by them.

The most significant property to discuss for this category was time. The feeling of presence and absence was explained with the dimension of time. Psychologists felt excluded during the diagnosis stages because they were there only to test. They were present in the commission which is the decision-making process. However, the test scores were more valued than their existence. As they witnessed issues related to non-cultural or non-gender sensitive practices, they judged the need for testing. The relationship between these categories is depicted in Figure 7.9.

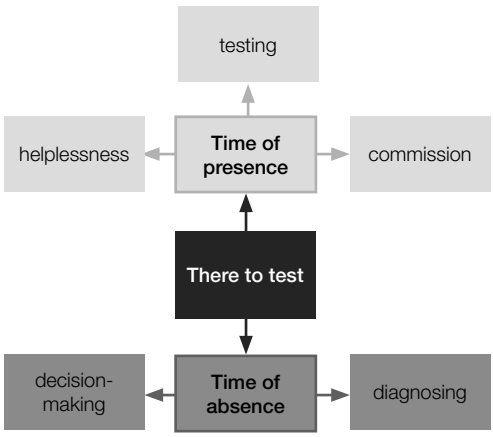

Figure 7.9: Network of the Properties for 'There to Test'

7.11.2 Summary for the Meaning of Special Education Referral for Psychologists

The data from school psychologists showed the dilemma that they go through during the process. Being dependent on test scores, but the urge to take the lead and to be the mediator at times was a challenge for them. Sometimes they could only witness the helplessness of the situation. School psychologists shared that they witness rushed diagnosis of special education needs without giving enough time for an alternative intervention. Cultural non-sensitiveness of the standardized tests was another concern for school psychologists. In addition, test scores are valued more than what school psychologists have to say during most of the decision-making process.

7.12 School Inspector and Directors' Categories

The fourth group of participants was the school directors and inspector. The two school directors are working in the same district that the inspector in charge of. The findings from this group of participants reflected a more distanced position. Directors and the inspector preferred being in an expert position during the interviews rather than giving an intensive interview. At the end of the data analysis, there were two categories derived:

- Proving prominence
- Prominent but neutral

The first category showed how directors and the inspector tried to prove their expertise and efficiency to talk about the issue. On the other hand, when asked about individual experiences, they preferred taking a distanced position. For practical purposes, this group of participants will be referred to as 'directors'.

7.12.1 Proving Prominence

The first category shows how directors consider themselves knowledgeable and experienced enough to discuss the overrepresentation in special education at a macro level and to make suggestions about the solutions. With the analysis of policies, they point to higher levels where the issue is embedded. The sub-categories are shown in Table 7.12.

Table 7.12: Sub-Categories of 'Proving Prominence'

Sub-Categories	Category
The judgment of teacher training	
Calling for professionalism	
Suggesting reformatory steps in schools	*Proving Prominence*
Judging state-level policies about immigrants	
Social group analysis	

The first point to discuss is *teacher training* that directors consider as problematic. They agree that teacher training programs should be training teachers for cultural diversity, and teachers should be better informed about how to respond to the different needs of diverse students. Teacher training fails most of the time in terms of preparing teachers for multicultural classrooms, and as a result, teachers can develop some biases and labels for some specific group of students.

Nevertheless, directors think that teacher training cannot be enough. Teachers should also show motivation and should be willing to develop such skills for their professional careers. According to directors, teachers are important actors in the educational lives of students. When parents fall behind in supporting their children academically, teachers should be ready to compensate for this failure of the parents. Moreover, directors agreed that the special education referral process has ambiguities and arbitrariness across the nation or even in the same school across cases. For them, this is a reason for the conflicts between the school and the parents during the referral process. Additionally, directors also judged the competences of parents to evaluate the correctness of the decision about their children. According to directors, parents disagree with schools without knowing the details of the academic achievement of their children. However, no one should be allowed to diverge from the roles assigned to him or her. They *called for professionalism* and agreed that people included in the process should act as professionals, both as teachers or parents.

To eliminate these issues, directors made suggestions related to school. They came up with *some reformatory steps* in the schools that could be a solution to end the arbitrariness in the process. They suggested that schools need more guidelines and standards. By providing teachers with more clear and detailed information about the steps to follow, the confusion can be cleared. On the other hand, the arbitrariness in referral and the effect of norm-referenced evaluation can be solved by applying nation-wide tests for students. It would bring a criterion-referenced assessment and fairness. Also, it would put an end to the hesitation about the special education referral.

> "When it is Friday, there will be fewer Turkish children. Then you will realize ah! Today is Friday. Because they are allowed not to come. No one says anything" (Angelika, director)

After suggesting some steps at the school level, directors also did some macro-level analysis about the condition of immigrants. The first point to discuss was the *state policies* about immigrants. State policies are regarded as inefficient in terms of encouraging an immigrant to integrate into society. As immigrants do not develop a sense of belonging to Austria, they do not adopt the understanding of Austria, especially about education. The importance given to education by Austrians is not to be found among most of the immigrants. Austria is accused of being too welcoming and allowing practices that end up embedded in an immigrant cultural group. Directors assume that the freedom that Austrian law gives to immigrants to construct their parallel society influences the low achievement of immigrant students.

> "not easy to compensate for the deficit they bring from the country of origin." (Silvia, inspector)

At this point, directors also differentiated between the various groups of immigrants. Not all immigrant groups are considered being far from integration into the host country. Directors also made a *social group analysis* about Turkish immigrants and specified some issues related only to this group. Turkish immigrants are considered as nationalists and as religious, which creates an intensified social group embeddedness. Being reluctant to integration and having a life directed by religious understanding are reasons for not being a part of the community in society or in school. Spending time only with Turkish students in school, the importance given to Turkish language and Turkish traditions were some of the examples suggested as peculiarities of Turkish immigrants. On the other hand, Turkish immigrants were suspected of bringing some educational deficit with them when coming to Austria. Although it is valid only for the first-generation immigrants, directors think that it may influence the educational attainment of a big part of the Turkish community.

7.12.2 Prominent but Neutral

The second category showed how directors tried to distance themselves from the process of special education referrals. Although they see themselves as prominent and informed about the underlying factors as well as the process itself, they preferred emphasizing their neutrality during the process. Table 7.13 shows the sub-categories of the 'prominent but neutral'.

Table 7.13: Sub-Categories of 'Prominent but Neutral'

Sub-Categories	Category
Having general knowledge Partial inclusion Applying the rules Representing authority Being advisory Ready to act when asked	*Prominent but Neutral*

Directors claimed that they have *general knowledge* about the process and the steps; however, they are not informed about the specificities. Because of limited knowledge about the precise stages of the process, they avoided commenting on the steps taken before the directors are informed during the process. Especially, the inspector claimed to be the last person informed about a referral process. On the other hand, directors feel as competent teachers; however; they accepted that they do have limited information about a specific student and his/her special education need. Hence, they prefer being in a subordinate position and leaving the stage to teachers.
"We do not want to work either against teachers or against the students" (Monika, director)
Due to their *partial inclusion*, directors avoided taking responsibility for a decision about the school life of a child. Hence, they asked the teachers for their opinions and analyzed the test results along with the psychological assessment. Therefore, they did not decide alone about the necessity of a special education referral.
Directors assumed that they are there to make sure that rules are applied, and everything happens the way it is suggested by the authorities. They considered themselves to be the representatives of the authorities during the process. Hence, their inclusion is, although partial, very significant. In addition, their inclusion should be as objective as possible, and they should not use their prominence in favor of anyone.
Directors talked about their prominence and expertise in the context of giving advice when needed. They experienced moments when they were asked about suggestions or when they head to lead the decision-making process. They agreed that, although teachers have more information about the educational achievement of students, the advice and the knowledge of the directors is needed. *Being advisory* was not the only moment that directors used their prominence. They agreed that they were *ready to act* when asked by other colleagues to assist the process. They could talk to parents, negotiate with parents, organize the communication with special education experts, or take over some other steps when required.
The properties of the two categories are discussed in the same network in Figure 7.10. The first property to discuss is the area that directors believe that they are prominent. Their prominence is related to school-level practices so that they have enough knowledge to develop fitting suggestions. On the other hand, they also have enough knowledge at the policy level to analyze the state policies, and they have the expertise to evaluate various immigrant groups.

Another property is where they use their expertise. They are ready to use their knowledge and prominence in schools as well as beyond schools to act when needed with different roles. They have knowledge as an authority, and they know how to represent authorities objectively. However, they are also advisors who can provide information and suggestion when needed.
The last property to discuss is the avoidance of the directors to use their expertise. Directors prefer being in a subordinate position and regulate the level of their inclusion in the process. Sometimes they try to limit their inclusion and avoid using their expertise because they think they may not have enough specific information about a step. Moreover, as they represent the objective authority, they avoid using their knowledge to influence anyone.

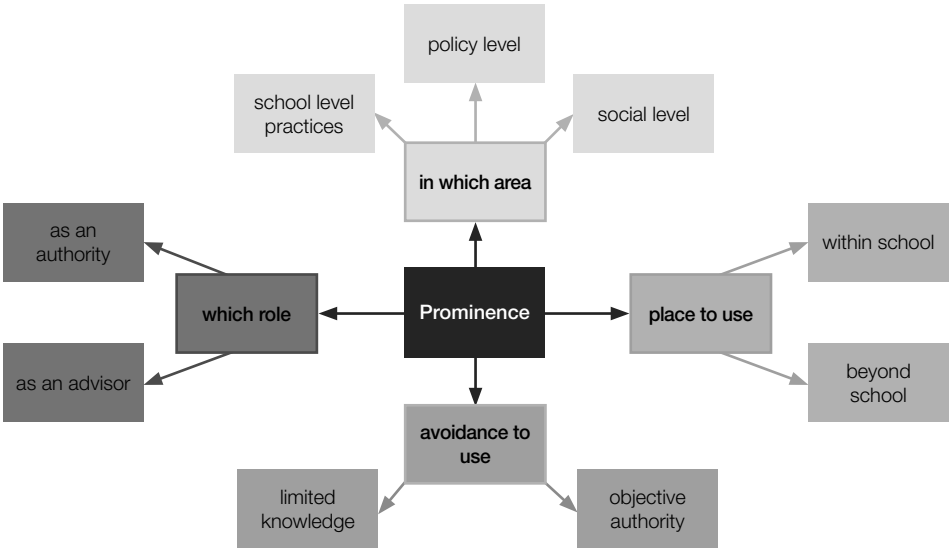

Figure 7.10: Network of the Properties for 'Proving Prominence' and 'Prominent but Neutral'

7.12.3 Summary for the Meaning of Special Education Referral for Directors

School directors and the school inspector had a relatively more distanced attitude to the questions regarding the special education referral process. They were inclined to prove their expertise and knowledge to make analyses at a broader level and develop suggestions for possible remedies. The educational achievement of immigrant students, according to the directors and the inspector, has a relation to teacher training, state-level policies, and the peculiarities of the immigrant group, namely Turkish immigrants. They suggested that higher educational standards and more detailed guidelines would bring clarity to the process. On the other hand, they positioned themselves in an advisory position. When needed, they provide expertise and suggestions. However, they prefer being objective as they represent authority.

8 Defining the Core Category

This chapter tackles the process of defining the core category. The connections between the core category and other categories as well as the connections between the core category and the properties of other categories are discussed in this chapter. How the core category was defined is explained with the help of visuals.

8.1 Core Category

A core category can be identified when researchers detect connections between a recurring pattern and other categories, sub-categories, or properties (Birks & Mills, 2015). This study followed the steps of the constructivist grounded theory by Charmaz (2014). Hence, there was not an explicit search for a core category during data collection and analysis. However, there was no avoidance of the core category, either. After the categories were saturated through theoretical sampling, coding, and memoing, the category that can explain a more significant pattern than other categories emerged. The emergence of a core category happened more than once during the analysis process. All of them were handled as tentative categories, and their relevance to the rest of the data was checked to assure their explanatory power. The provisional core categories were not considered as the truth or as a discovery. With the help of theoretical sampling, memoing, and relevance check, a core category made itself visible with the time while others faded. As Glaser (1978) suggested, the core category had the potential of integrating the bigger part of the other categories theoretically.

One crucial point to bear in mind was the subtle difference between the core category and the primary concern of the research. In grounded theory research, an original pattern that is closely related to the main concerns becomes visible. However, this pattern does not explain the core category (Halton & Walsh, 2017). On the other hand, through memoing, a researcher tries to find a core category that shows how this concern is managed, processed or solved.

When discussing their experiences, participants did not limit their experiences to the ones they had during the referral process. The possible reasons for a referral or outcomes of the referral, the actions and steps, and the interaction between different stakeholders were mentioned during interviews. Hence, the core category has explanatory power on these aspects as well.

8.2 The Core Category 'Disassociation'

The category that was relevant to other categories and that had the most explanatory power was 'disassociation'. This category was a category from parents' data. However, its connections to other categories emerged during the data analysis process. Disassociation was not an experience but an interpretation of the experiences of the participants. The core category was related to some categories more explicitly while to some others less. However, all categories could be related to the core category in the study. The other 10 categories could be discussed under the core category. In this way, the categories became the sub-categories of the core category and are included in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Sub-Categories of the Core Category

Sub-Categories	Core Category
Rejecting special education Taking over the responsibility In a battlefield An obscure journey Passing the ball Regretful accomplice Conditional trust There to test Proving prominence Prominent but neutral	*Disassociation*

The connection of the core category to other categories, the ways of disassociation, and the different types of disassociation are now discussed.

8.2.1 Ways of Disassociation

Disassociation happened at several stages and in several forms. As the experiences of participants were not limited to the referral process, their disassociation was not limited to the referral process either. The disassociation sometimes happened by blaming the ambiguity, included people, guidelines, or the power clashes.

When disassociation is centered in the middle, the degree that participants distance themselves can be seen from a holistic perspective. Parents, teachers, and psychologists distanced themselves from the special education referral phenomenon partly, as well as totally, while school directors and the inspector did a total disassociation. Moreover, teachers referred to all teachers when they took over the responsibility. Teacher training, not resisting the system, or teacher competences were discussed on behalf of all teachers. However, parents were more individualistic while taking over responsibility. They reflected the issues on their individual situation, lives, and homes. Figure 8.1 shows how participant groups distanced themselves in various ways.

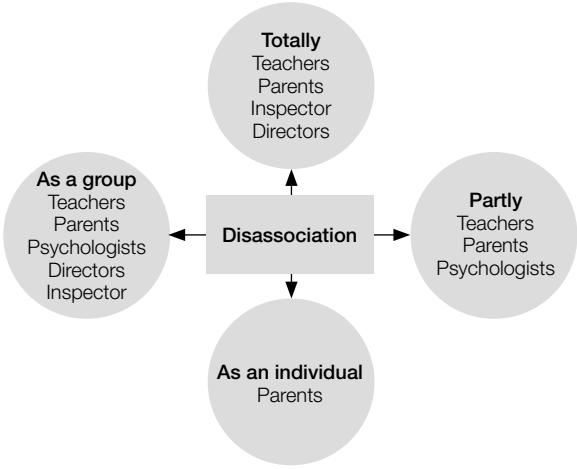

Figure 8.1: Ways of Disassociation

8.2.2 Disassociation and Parents

The core category was derived from the parents' data. It had strong relevance to other categories of parents. The first relevance to discuss is the relevance between the disassociation and rejecting special education. The ambiguity and the arbitrariness in the process triggered the suspicion of parents. Furthermore, the outcomes of special education such as unemployment, labeling, or hindrance to integration, were other arguments used by parents to reject special education. This category located schools and parents on two separate sides. Rejection of special education due to suspected process and unwanted outcomes was a way of disassociation. Parents strived to prove their dissatisfaction and explained why they do not belong on the same side as schools.

Being distanced and rejecting special education prepared the scene for a battlefield. The second category 'in a battlefield' is a physical disassociation where parents and schools are opponents. Winning or losing the battle was a way of proving the distanced positions of both groups. Winning in the battlefield, in other words, reversing or hindering special education referral was considered as proof of being on a different side than teachers or schools. Upon stopping the referral process, parents could show how they could get rid of decisions exposed to them. On the other hand, losing the battle was another way of showing how they were disassociated from the special education referral process. In the case of losing, parents put their inferiority to school forward. Having no connection to the authority of the school and having less power than the authority was a reason to lose.

The next category to discuss is taking over the responsibility. Although taking over the responsibility seems to challenge the core category, its sub-categories demonstrated discernable connections to the core category. In this category, parents criticized themselves and declared their readiness to change. However, when they were judging their parental competences, they referred to some underlying macro-level factors that caused their lack of resources or language to be better parents. Talking about the lack of resources or lack of language were not individual aspects for them. Being an immigrant was a reason for having difficulties in finding a job and for not speaking German. It was not an individual characteristic or preference for the parents. Taking over the responsibility did not mean only judging their characteristics. It also meant the readiness to act and to try harder. The responsibility to reverse the referral or to stop the referral was also a responsibility that the parents took over.

The core category included the meanings of parents' experiences concerning reflecting on other stakeholders as responsible parties for the overrepresentation in special education. Teachers, teacher training, unwelcoming schools, or selective school system were discussed as possible reasons along with norm-referenced evaluation and the ambiguity about the academic expectations from students. These connections are depicted in Figure 8.2.

Additionally, being an immigrant was regarded as a reason for being a victim of the wish for homogeneity in schools, and being from the Turkish community was a reason for being targeted more by Austrian society. Sharing the fate of other immigrants was a way of disassociation because parents emphasized their helplessness against the social bias. An important remark is referring to other parents from the Turkish community. Parents think that the indifference of Turkish parents also affects the formation of the bias against the Turkish parents, especially in the schools. Here, parents distanced themselves also from other parents with a Turkish background.

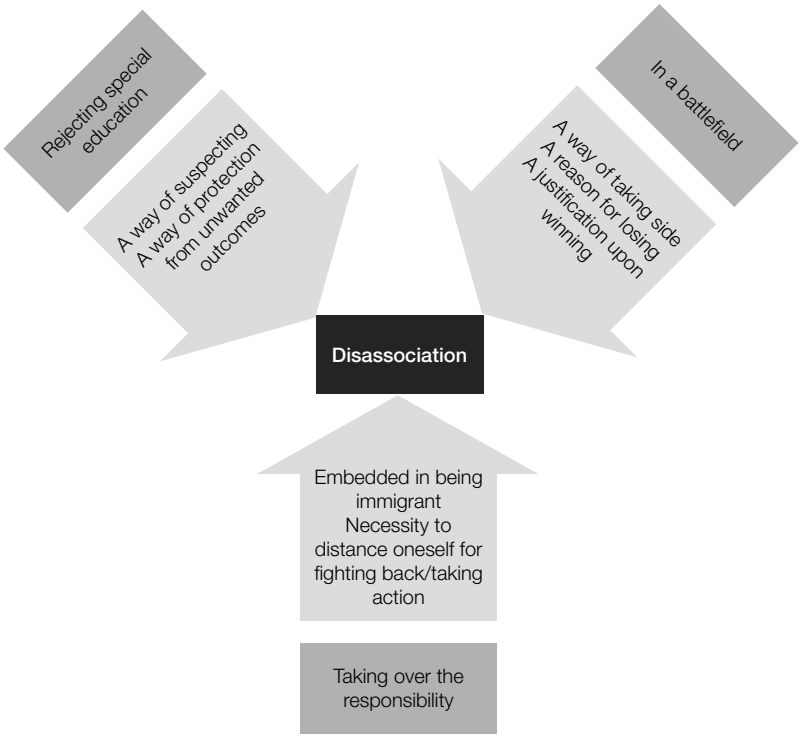

Figure 8.2: Connection of Parents to Core Category

8.2.3 Disassociation and Teachers

The first connection to discuss is between 'disassociation' and 'passing the ball'. Passing the ball was a category where teachers explicitly disassociated themselves from the special education process by pointing to some aspects beyond their reach. The parental competences, resources, the indifference of parents were the aspects that teachers mentioned. Furthermore, the country of origin, gender, or the era that we live in, were possible factors for the teachers.

Although not explicitly as much as the previous category, 'regretful accomplice' was also related to disassociation in terms of pushing away the reasons and factors for the overrepresentation. Teachers took over some of the responsibility. However, it did not mean that they were self-critical. Instead, they presented macro-level issues such as teacher training, educational system, evaluation methods, or the lack of cooperation among teachers. Other colleagues, school-level practices as well as the educational system and parents were other accomplices of teachers. Sharing the quilt was a sign that teachers disassociated themselves as individuals from the phenomenon.

An obscure journey was another category where we see the relevance to disassociation. The complications in the process owing to the guidelines and rules as well as the participation of several stakeholders in the process challenged teachers. The vulnerability to mistakes during the process and the frustration that they had to experience were presented as the results of such complications. Besides, the complications due to parents, external psychologists, school psychologists, or directors created extra duties for teachers. This burden, according to teachers, was

an unavoidable reason for the conflicts, compulsion, or some false diagnoses. Here, we see how teachers distanced themselves from the phenomenon as an individual and how they presented themselves as sufferers.

The last category, 'conditional trust', looked a bit challenging in terms of the relevance to the core category. The trust they have in special education was conditional. If the need for special education was proven and diagnosed thoroughly, teachers considered special education referral as the best option. Special education was presented as an option for the ones who would not achieve if stayed in mainstream school. However, the challenges, ambiguity, and suspicion that teachers mentioned in the other categories weakened the trust of special education referrals.

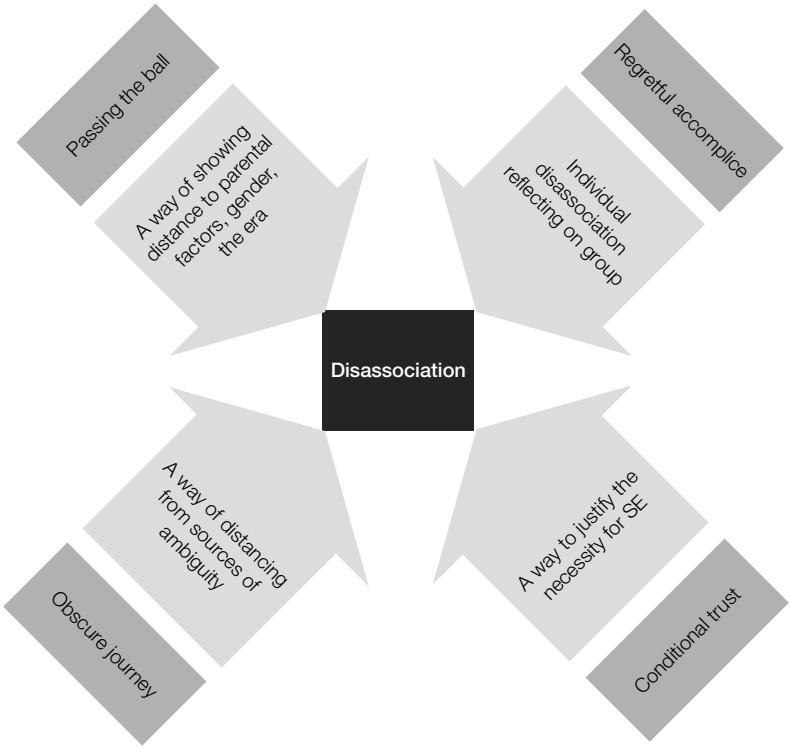

Figure 8.3: Connection of Teachers to Core Category

8.2.4 Disassociation and School Psychologists

School psychologists also emphasized their dependency on test scores and their limited power on the procedures. Although they observed some problems such as lack of cultural sensitivity and rushed diagnoses, they could not have the possibility to reverse, or stop and change the decision. Being included at some points of the process and excluded in some other points was a difficulty for school psychologists. School psychologists claimed that their disassociation was a process that resulted from the attitude of teachers towards school psychologists. They explained their disassociation by emphasizing that they must witness the helplessness of students and parents. The connection between school psychologists and the core category is displayed in Figure 8.4.

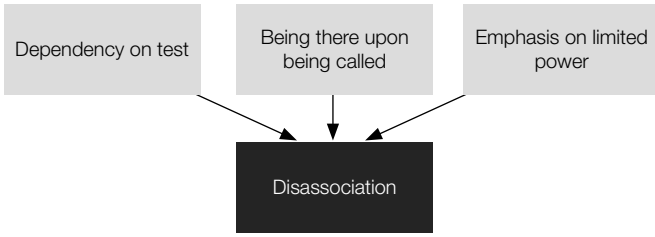

Figure 8.4: Connection of School Psychologists to Core Category

8.2.5 Disassociation and School Directors and Inspector

The next relevance to discuss is between the core category and the school directors and inspector, as displayed by Figure 8.5. Based on the attitude during the interviews, it can be said that school directors and the inspector were the groups who tried to prove their distance from the special education referral process the most. This brought challenges to the natural flow of the intensive interviews as well. As discussed in the previous chapters, the interviews with school directors and the inspector were not as intensive as the other interviews. One reason was their emphasis on their distance to the referral process. By claiming that they have limited knowledge about the details of the process and that they are included in the process only partly, they placed themselves as an authority who could be asked for advice. The school directors and the inspector showed an effort to prove their neutrality during the process.

In the parts where the interviews could get intensive with school directors and the inspector, the participants could start sharing their ideas and their experiences, just not as a representative of authority. However, they kept their distanced position and judged the efficiency of teacher training, and the guidelines followed in the school. Being distanced, however, did not prevent them from suggesting some solutions. They suggested some reformatory steps in schools and state-level policies that may reduce the overrepresentation of specific groups in special education.

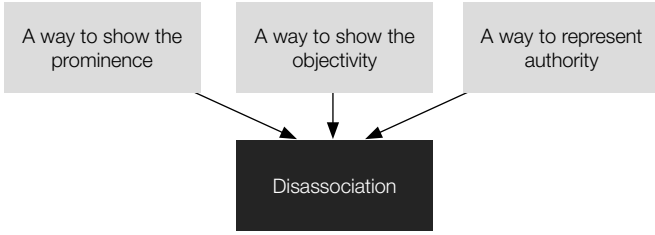

Figure 8.5: Connection of School Directors and Inspector to Core Category

The connections between the categories from different participants and the core category are summarized in Figure 8.6.

Categories

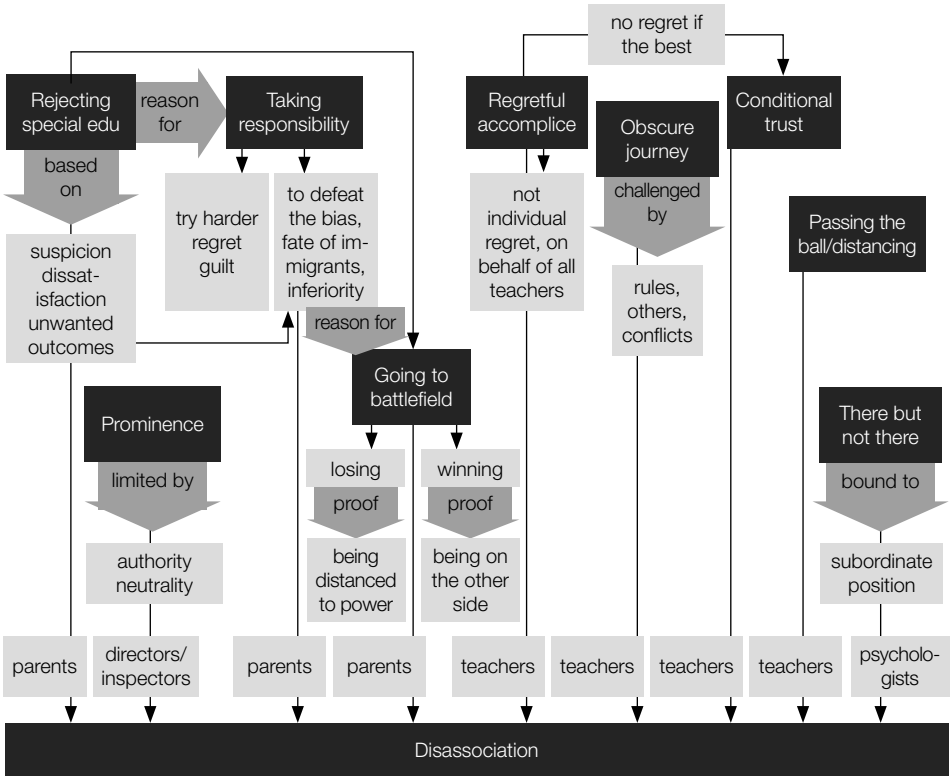

Figure 8.6: Core Category and the Other Categories

8.3 Process of Disassociation

To different extents, disassociation was visible in all categories. The way participants disassociated themselves was varying as well. However, as it is discussed above, this core category had connections with all other categories. How the participants disassociated themselves can be considered as a process. Although such a process is different for every person, there were some certain similarities within the participant groups. The categories showed how the process of disassociation developed.

Parents began by focusing on the steps taken in the special education process. By reflecting on the ambiguity and necessity, they felt suspicious, worried, and afraid. Additionally, the possible negative outcomes of special education for a child and family ended up rejecting special education and declaring being not on the same side with schools. Later, parents tried to understand the possible factors for special education needs. Here, they emphasized their vulnerability as immigrants in terms of language, resources, and knowledge. Parents decided to take action to defeat these factors by seeking help or fighting, which intensified their opponent identity against schools and special education referrals. Upon deciding to fight back, parents got the necessary tools, tried to gather help or information, and went to the battle. Disassociation was also used as a way of justifying losing or winning the battle.

Teachers started their process of disassociation by focusing on the challenges that they experience during special education referrals. These challenges were the results of the participation of suspected parties, the complicated rules, or guidelines. Teachers distanced themselves from the sources of challenges and presented themselves as sufferers. When talking about their influence on the referral, teachers preferred talking on behalf of all teachers, and they distanced themselves as individuals. On the other hand, teachers disassociated themselves from the factors that may yield an overrepresentation in special education by passing the ball to parents, the era, cultural group, or children. Finally, teachers advocated for special education as a facility for the ones who need it. The least disassociation was at this stage. However, teachers supported the decision of special education as the only choice for some students who would not achieve in any other school.

School psychologists disassociated themselves because they have limited power on the process, and they are only engaged in the process when called. They started developing their disassociation already at the beginning as they observe the cultural insensitivity and the rushed diagnoses. Upon experiencing these issues, they felt the necessity to intervene and be engaged. However, their disassociation did not allow them to change or reverse the situation all the time. They showed their disassociation by emphasizing their subordinate position during the process.

Finally, school directors and the school inspector were the participants who disassociated themselves more explicitly. Their disassociation started with proving their prominence by analyzing the situation from an expert perspective. They distanced themselves from the practice and the steps by judging the policies and teacher training. When asked about the referral process in detail, they distanced themselves by focusing on their limited engagement in the process and limited knowledge.

In this chapter, the core category 'disassociation' and its relevance to the other categories are discussed with the help of networks and tables. After explaining the core category and its connections, the next chapter will explain and discuss the theory generation process and the theory reached at the end of this study.

9 Theory Generation

This chapter discusses the theory generation process that included the journey from categories to theory. After a short revisit to the research process, categories and the core category are briefly described. The relationship between the core category and other categories and the way the core category led to theory is presented by means of visuals.

9.1 Brief Revisit to Research Process

Being referred to special education in an overrepresented way is an important discussion that engages several people. The people who are included in the referral process experience this process differently from each other. The sample for this study included participants who have direct experiences with special education referrals. Because this research concentrated on the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish migration background, the participants were either from Turkish origin or people who have experiences with parents and students from Turkish origin. Including different participant groups, on the other hand, enabled having a wide range of views about the phenomenon. Through the research, it became visible that the emerging categories and concepts should be analyzed based on these different perspectives. The meanings from different participant groups were analyzed rather than focusing on the cases specifically because experiences of participants affected each other in the process.

All of these various perspectives were combined with the interpretation of the researcher. The variety of experiences and meanings that were given to these experiences showed that being referred to special education is understood differently by different participant groups.

The referral to special education was constructed within these views and through the co-construction of the researcher. The effect of the referral on participants was an important point to analyze. How this process affects their experiences, actions, emotions, and reactions was visible in the study. By examining these aspects, it was possible to get an impression about what being referred to special education meant for participants. How they constructed or deconstructed special education and being referred to special education could be studied.

The analysis approach in the study targeted going beneath the surface. Looking for the implied meanings and being not limited to the words were two important strategies. The goal was to see what referral to special education means for various participants and which meanings participants give to their experiences. As Charmaz (2009) summarized "I pieced together what people said and did and looked for their implied meanings. In this way, a constructivist goes beneath the surface and enters the liminal world of meaning" (p. 144).

9.2 From Categories to Theory

By defining and drawing relations among categories, this portion shows how the final version of the theory emerged. The connections between categories, the connections between categories, and the core category are discussed here. One important point is to avoid imposing a forced framework on the analysis (Charmaz, 2014). Instead of excessively relying on theoretical coding, theoretical sorting of memos, diagramming, and theoretical integration were the strategies adopted while generating the theory.

An essential step toward the theory was developing theoretical concepts. These theoretical concepts were tools to explain the relationship between categories. Before these theoretical concepts and theory generation, categories are described and revisited one more time shortly. Table 9.1 presents all categories.

Table 9.1: Categories

Parents	**Teachers**
Rejecting special education	An obscure journey
Taking over the responsibility	Regretful accomplice
In a battlefield	Passing the ball
Disassociation	Conditional trust
School Psychologists	**School Directors and Inspector**
There to test	Proving prominence
	Prominent but neutral

Parents

Rejecting special education: this category is the first category for the parents. This category had 16 sub-categories. Parents rejected special education by relying on the arbitrariness of the diagnoses or unclear categorization of special education needs. They suspected the necessity of the referral by claiming that special education has negative outcomes for students in the future in terms of integration, language, being labeled, or unemployment. In addition, special education was rejected because it brings disgrace to the family. Families also rejected the special education even after it was decided. They preferred hiding it from others with the fear of social group bias.

Taking over the responsibility: with 14 sub-categories, this category included different types of responsibility. Parents regretted their influence on special education referrals as they lack several important aspects such as encouragement, interest, knowledge, language, or resources at home. On the other hand, responsibility meant also taking action to reverse or stop special education referrals. Parents tried harder as parents, tried to engage external people or family members, they increased the cooperation with schools, and they motivated their children.

In a battlefield: this category had 17 sub-categories that speak out about the tension between parents and schools. Parents clearly located teachers and schools as the opposite side. They depicted the relationship with schools as a battlefield where they win or lose. The feeling of helplessness, powerless, and finding no way out, were common experiences for parents in this category. The school is also considered as an authority that practices power over parents and as an authority to bow down to.

Disassociation: this category of parents was raised to the level of core category as it was related to more than one group of participants. Twelve sub-categories showed how parents disassociated themselves from the special education referral process, from special education needs, from schools, or from the academic failure of their students. Teacher competences, teacher education, the practices in the referral process, school system, being an immigrant, and the academic evaluation system, were responsible aspects that parents included in this category.

Teachers

An obscure journey: this category, with 13 sub-categories, concentrated on the process of special education referral. The steps that are followed and their variedness and divergence were main points along with the challenging roles, suspicion, and hesitations. The challenges and the objection of families ended in long negotiations, compulsion and frustration.

Regretful accomplice: in this category, teachers mainly discussed their ideas related to education, special education, schooling of students with a migration background, and specifically about students with Turkish migration background. Teachers accepted the disadvantages for students with a migration background. Sometimes teachers contributed to these disadvantages, and sometimes the reasons were beyond the reach of teachers. However, this did not prevent teachers from feeling regretful.

Passing the ball: with nine sub-categories, this category included the attributions of teachers to the aspects beyond them. Parental aspects, resources at home, embeddedness in a cultural group, individual backgrounds were among the aspects that teachers discussed. In addition, teachers mentioned the contemporary era as the reason for less interest in education.

Conditional trust: the last category of teachers had five sub-categories. This category talked about the trust that teachers have in special education in case it is diagnosed correctly. If special education is really needed, and the referral process is free of suspicion, teachers regard special education as a facility that brings certainty, flexibility, and less pressure for children.

School Psychologists

There to test: the only category for the school psychologists had seven sub-categories. School psychologists pointed to the issues during the referral process, such as lack of cultural sensitivity or rushed diagnoses. These issues urged them to intervene as mediators. Due to their limited power, they sometimes could not influence the process, and they had to witness the helplessness.

School Directors and Inspector

Proving prominence: this category of school directors and the inspector had five sub-categories that showed the efforts of them to prove their prominent positions. Through their judgments about teacher education and state-level policies, they called for more professionalism, and they suggested reformatory steps. In addition, they made an analysis of Turkish immigrants and Turkish immigrants as a social group.

Prominent but neutral: the last category with six sub-categories included the efforts of the school directors and the school inspector to prove their neutrality and objectivity. This time they mentioned their limited knowledge about the process itself and their role as the representative of authority and advisor. They declared their readiness to help when needed but preferred being included only partially in the process.

9.3 Core Category 'Disassociation'

The core category 'disassociation' was derived from parents' data. This category was related to all other categories from different participant groups. Disassociation occurred while talking about factors that yield the overrepresentation, while describing the referral process or while reflecting on individual contribution. Four of the participant groups showed an effort to prove their distance to process in some way while they pointed to other possible aspects as the reasons

for overrepresentation. On the other hand, disassociation was visible while taking steps and deciding what to do next. Especially parents and school psychologists distanced themselves by emphasizing their limited power and feeling helpless during the process. Disassociation was a partial disassociation for teachers, parents, or psychologists and total disassociation for school directors and the school inspector. Parents disassociated themselves as individuals, especially while taking responsibility. However, other participants were referring to the whole group of teachers, psychologists or directors while talking about the process.

9.4 Relating Participant Groups

The relevance between participants is significant in terms of connecting different groups of participants and a theory that speaks out for most of the data. These connections can be regarded as expanded networks of the steps of theory formation. The reciprocity between parents and teachers in terms of taking and passing the responsibility shows how these two groups were connected to each other directly. As discussed earlier, the inclusion of several stakeholders in the process was a challenge for many. Hence, the connection between the experiences of participants and the involvement of parents and externals is a point to discuss. Another point is the suspicion that almost all participants experienced during the referral process. On the other hand, the ambiguity, experienced by all participants, is also explained with the help of networks.

9.4.1 Reciprocity

Parents see attending a special education school as an unwanted situation. Being referred to special education symbolizes being abnormal, divergent, or weak. According to them, the possible reasons for attending a special education school are not only the low achievement of students. Parents and teachers, as well as school psychologists, referred to the underlying triggers of the special education referral. They mentioned other participants and other aspects as interfering factors. However, they were also ready to accept their contribution.

Being indifferent to the education of their children, having difficulties with language, and the inability to offer resources were some of the factors that parents shared while taking over the responsibility. Similarly, teachers talked about the similar factors when they were pointing to parents as possible accomplices.

Another reciprocity was the match between teachers' acceptance of being an accomplice and parents' accusations. Teacher training, for instance, was found problematic in terms of not cultivating culturally responsive teachers. School psychologists, as well as school directors and the school inspector, were also judging the efficiency of teacher training. On the other hand, the selective school system and norm-referenced evaluation were two other factors that were discussed by several groups of participants. Limited teacher-parent cooperation, on the other hand, was an acceptance and an accusation at the same time. Figure 9.1 shows the interaction between passing and taking over the responsibility.

As it is seen in the figure, participants distanced themselves from the responsibility, but at the same time, they accepted their share. What parents passed to teachers was accepted by teachers. Similarly, teachers' critiques were accepted by parents. Some of the factors were individual-level factors, while some were system-level factors. On the other hand, while talking about limited school-parent cooperation or teacher training, we see a partial *disassociation*. Teachers judge their competences. Similarly, parents consider themselves also responsible for limited cooperation with schools and teachers.

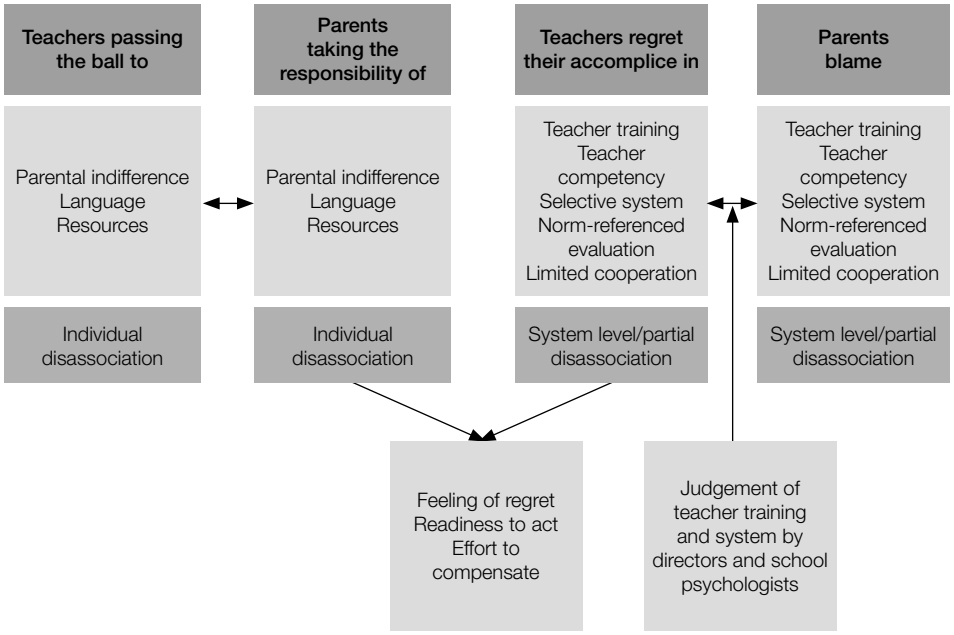

Figure 9.1: Reciprocity between Parents and Teachers

9.4.2 Involvement of Parents and Externals

The second step of theory formation was the connection between the outcomes of taking responsibility as a parent and experiencing this as a teacher, psychologist, or director. Taking over the responsibility was a category that embraced the feeling of regret and guilt. On the other hand, it spoke for the actions that parents were ready to take or had already taken. The steps that parents took to compensate for their weakness as parents created some challenges in the process and affected the experiences of participants in school settings. Emphasizing these challenges was a way of showing the necessity of *disassociation*. The steps were taken upon the stimuli by another person, which meant participants were *disassociated* in general, however had to take action.

Learning from mistakes motivated parents to be more engaged in the education of their children. By accepting the need for different types of support they must provide, parents handled the situation sometimes within home sometimes beyond. Their seeking help beyond home and engaging themselves or some external people in the process created issues for teachers and school directors.

To stop the referral process, to compensate for the parental weaknesses or to reverse the referral to special education, parents showed effort. Their effort was considered as a battle. During the battle, parents experienced different feelings such as defeat, inferiority, or victory. They sought allies, engaged external people such as private psychologists, and Turkish teachers from the Turkish Teachers Association. However, not all allies were welcomed by teachers and school directors.

The involvement of external psychologists or some other external teachers was considered to be a reason for additional ambiguity and challenges. Contradictory findings of the external psychologists created tension between parents and schools and resulted in long negotiations for teachers.

When the discussion included school directors, teachers had to jump into a new role that brought extra burden. Long negotiations sometimes had to be stopped with compulsion where teachers gave no choice to parents but agreeing. School psychologists at this time had to intervene to stop wrong decisions; however, sometimes they could not, and they had to witness the helplessness.
School directors and the inspector shared their ideas about teacher training and issues embedded in the system. By suggesting solutions, they not only tried to prove their prominence but also distanced themselves from the issue. With the claim that they represent the school authority, they showed an effort to stay distanced from the discussion of possible reasons for the overrepresentation in special education for students with a Turkish background.
For school psychologists, the lack of cultural sensitiveness was a reason for wrong decisions about the necessity of special education. School psychologists, however, took over the responsibility as well, and they felt the urge to intervene when needed. Although teachers suspect the necessity of their inclusion in the process, school psychologists think their mediation is needed. In this case, school psychologists passed the responsibility for system-level issues such as teacher training on to directors and inspectors, but at the same time took over the responsibility for cultural sensitivity because they cannot always have the power to intervene.
As it is seen, the experiences of one group of participants had a connection with the experiences of other participants. Figure 9.2 shows the connections between taking the responsibility and the outcomes of the battle and the following color schemes explain the groups of participants.

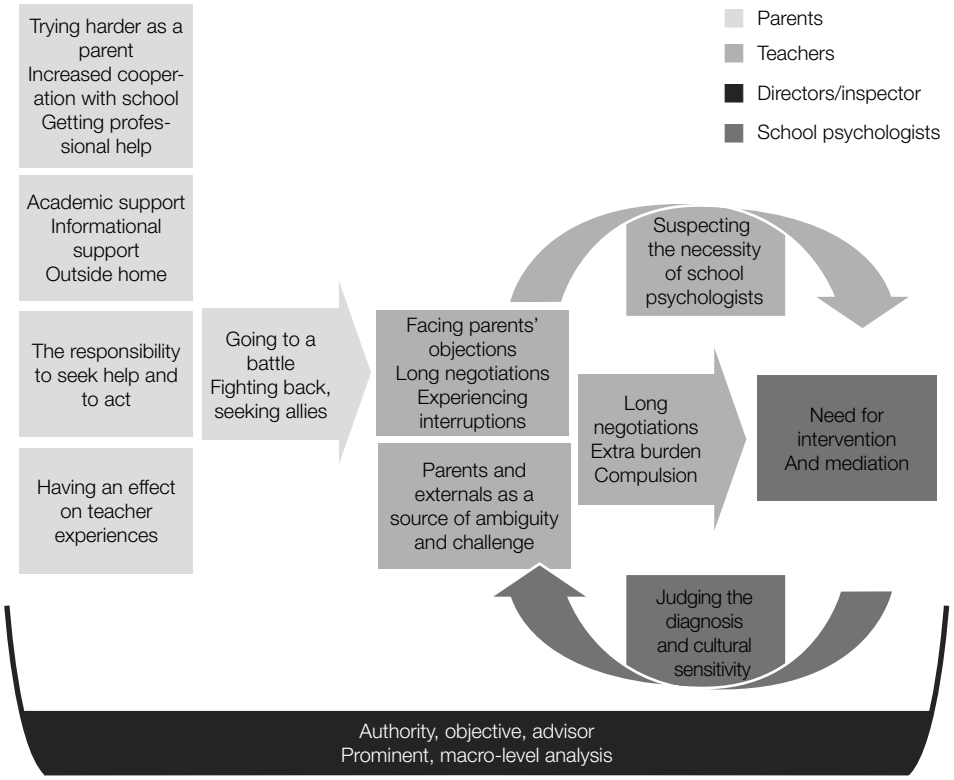

Figure 9.2: Involvement of Parents and Externals

9.4.3 Suspicion in the Process

The special education referral process was the main source of suspicion. Apart from the involvement of external people, complicated guidelines, rules, and procedures in the schools created suspicion during the referral process too. The feeling of suspicion was a very common aspect of this study. Suspicion was related to the competencies, rules and guidelines, engagement of colleagues, parents, or external psychologists.

The guidelines of the education board were not easy and clear to follow. Teachers considered the steps as complicated. A solution to this complication was handling each case as a specific case, which ended in variedness across cases. The variedness was a concern for parents but also for the school directors. While teachers complained about complicated guidelines, school directors asked for more detailed guidelines.

Another concern was the people included in the referral process. Teachers questioned the necessity of a psychological evaluation and the intervention of school psychologists. On the other hand, teachers experienced power clashes with school directors. School directors are considered to have less information about the educational situation of a child. Hence, their inclusion in the decision-making process was questioned by the teachers as well.

Although their time of involvement was limited, school psychologists feel the need for their inclusion, especially when there were a rushed diagnosis and a lack of cultural sensitivity. They believed in the power of their mediation between the parties to make a correct decision. However, despite the necessity, they could not be present most of the time. School directors also believed in the necessity of their own involvement, however, they emphasized their objectivity and their limited knowledge about the process.

Suspecting the necessity or existence of a person or practice was a very common experience of participants. Suspicion was an intensifier for *disassociation*. Participants relied on suspicion when they tried to explain why they were *disassociated*.

Figure 9.3 shows the suspicion that is experienced in the process.

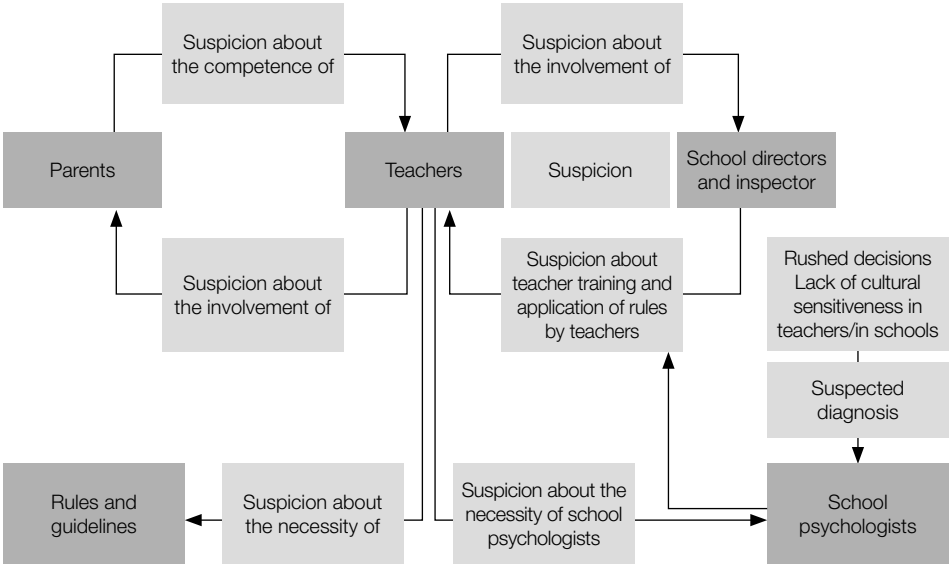

Figure 9.3: Suspicion in the Process

9.4.4 Ambiguity

Participants mentioned several sources of ambiguity during the research. Ambiguity was a milestone when justifying the disassociation from the process and the referral. The first point to discuss is the involvement of several parties in the process. For teachers, the involvement of parents in the process was a source of ambiguity. With limited knowledge about the steps, possibilities, or rights, parents were reasons for an extra burden for teachers. Teachers had to explain and clarify points of ambiguity that parents had by taking up several roles, such as bridging between parents and school direction. The ambiguity was intensified for teachers when parents included external psychologists in the process. The consultation or diagnosis of external psychologists created additional ambiguity when it contradicted the decision of schools. The steps to follow became vague for teachers.
Another source of ambiguity for teachers was the involvement of school psychologists. When school psychologists interfere with the process and ask for more detailed observation or testing, the process of referral gets complicated for teachers. The inclusion of school directors also created ambiguity for teachers. With limited knowledge about the situation of students, school directors and inspectors were not eligible to be a part of the decision-making process. However, the authoritarian attitude of school directors created ambiguity for teachers during the process of referral.
Ambiguity was also a result of the complexity of the steps and the rules to follow. While teachers complained about the structure of rules and guidelines in that they are too detailed and too difficult to follow, school directors and the inspector requested more detailed rules and guidelines to eliminate the ambiguity. Related to the guidelines, parents had complaints as well. They mentioned the divergence in specific cases, and they observed variedness across cases. Parents did not know when to get engaged in the process or when to get a consultation from an external psychologist. The divergence from the rules was a common practice also mentioned by the school directors and the inspector. According to them, variedness across cases can be defeated by the introduction of more detailed rules and guidelines as well as nation-wide tests.

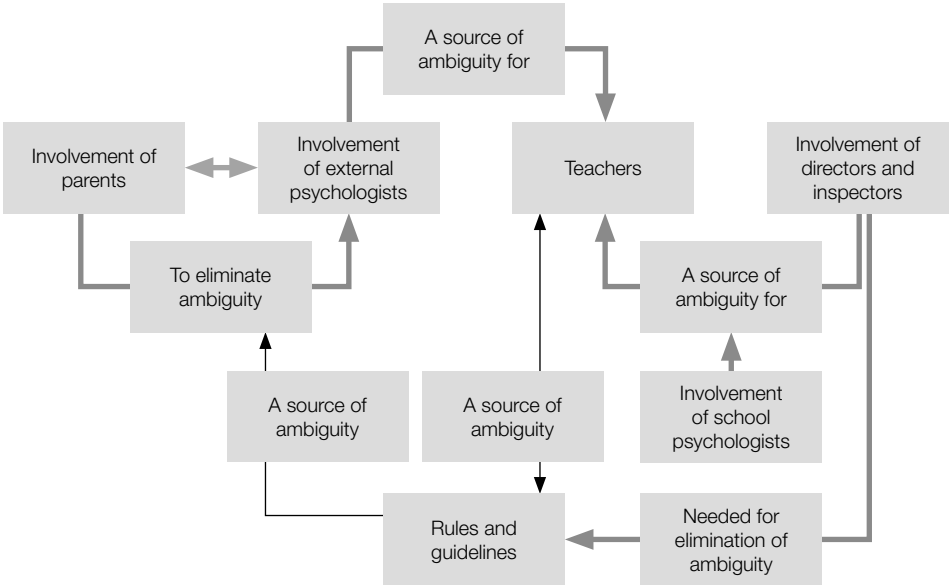

Figure 9.4: Ambiguity and Experiences of Participants

The source of ambiguity for one group was a solution for another group. Participants, by emphasizing the ambiguity, explained how difficult it was to take the next step in the process. This was another reason for them to be *disassociated* rather than being the main actor in the referral process. Figure 9.4 presents the connection of ambiguity to participants.

9.5 Developing a Theory

As Charmaz (2014) suggested, theories try to answer questions to understand what happens and how it happens. However, constructivist grounded theory moves beyond what and how, and offers an account for why it happens. With why questions, we can provide explanations or abstract understandings. By asking the question 'why' to the observed actions, we can understand why these actions occur.

> "A grounded theory generally provides a comprehensive explanation of a process or scheme apparent in relation to particular phenomena" (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 12).

As Birks and Mills (2011) explained, a grounded theory should depict a comprehensive picture and explanation for the process emerging during the research. In this study, the overrepresentation of students with Turkish background in special education was the phenomenon. To reach the most apparent scheme and to explain the phenomenon as comprehensively as possible, several steps were followed in line with the guidelines of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014).
So far, the categories, sub-categories, properties of categories, and the core category were presented and discussed with the help of visuals. In addition, the reciprocity between the experiences of participants', suspicion, and ambiguity- which were common aspects – were discussed prior to theory development. The next step is theory development. Theory development is discussed next for all participants separately and explained through visuals. To make the components more understandable, the zoomed-in visuals are presented for the participant groups as well.

9.6 Theory 'Building on Mutual Distrust'

By asking the question 'what is happening' to categories and sub-categories, *disassociation* was found to be related to all categories. *Disassociation* was happening by rejecting, suspecting, blaming, fighting, or acting, etc. However, the question to ask next was why it was happening. *Disassociation* was a way of showing distrust. Pointing to ambiguity, suspicion, or arbitrariness were hints for the distrust that participants had. In addition, the effect that the experiences of participants have on the experiences of other participants and the reciprocity which occurred made it clear that this distrust was mutual. The mutual distrust was not only peculiar to the special education referral process. Special education was mentioned by the people who experienced it. However, distrust was not limited to this specific process. It was embedded in larger dimensions regarding education, school system, immigrants, or the Turkish community. The educational decisions, ideas, or practices were surrounded by distrust and the experiences were built on distrust. Before the theory, distrust and its mutuality are discussed for each group of participants separately with visuals.

9.6.1 Distrust by Parents

The distrust that parents had was visible in numerous ways. Firstly, parents showed their distrust of teacher competencies. Teachers were judged in terms of their competencies to detect special

education needs, to test, or to diagnose it. Teachers were also not trusted in the process because they were accused of not following the rules and guidelines and of diverging from the optimal path. Teachers were seen as the practitioners of the arbitrariness and of being biased against immigrant children or immigrant communities. Parents had trust issues also in the teacher training in terms of handling culturally diverse classrooms and applying equity.

The lack of unity and conformity, which is practiced by teachers, was another reason for distrust for parents. The special education referral system was rejected by parents and criticized from several points, which was rooted in their distrust. This distrust was mainly visible in the category 'rejecting special education'. According to parents, the problems embedded in the referral system made the process vulnerable to manipulation by school directors, inspectors, or teachers. Teachers and school directors were seen to be on the opposing side. The variedness across the cases of special education referral was an important point for parents. They relied on this point while talking about the weakness of the referral system. For parents, the referral process was ambiguous and not trustworthy.

The rejection of the special education referral was only a reflection of the deep distrust of special education. Special education is not considered as an education facility by parents. The inferiority of special education to mainstream education is discussed by relying on the negative outcomes of special education. Special education means less interaction with Austrians and less interaction with proper German language skills, which ends up in less integration. On the other hand, finishing compulsory education in a special education school closes the doors of academic high schools, colleges, or universities for many. Hence, having an employment problem in the future is an issue for parents, which reinforces the lack of trust in special education.

Taking over the responsibility and going to the battle with schools were the categories where we can see how the distrust was turned into behavior. Parents drew the line and took the opposite side against schools and disassociated themselves. No trust in the justice of schools and special education made parents take action and mobilize their resources, at or beyond home. The efforts to stop or reverse the special education referral was a way of putting their distrust into action.

The special education referral process, special education, and teachers are all components of the national education system. Parents think that the core problem lies in the education system and education policies. Focusing on weaknesses for categorizing, short-cutting to special education, having no space for all in mainstream schools, and the selectivity of the education system are real problems that education has. Parents, at this point, considered themselves as disadvantaged and vulnerable.

The vulnerability was a result of being an immigrant. Parents do not trust the Austrian education system as it does not provide equity for all, regardless of background. The selectivity of the school system chooses the most suitable ones for advanced education, mainly the Austrian and rich. According to parents, not achieving enough in school is a result of having financial issues, and having financial issues is a result of being an immigrant. The lack of trust in equity for immigrants in Austria was a common point for parents. According to parents, Austria cannot compensate for the vulnerability of immigrants and the selective education system aggravates their situation.

9.6.2 Distrust by Teachers

Teachers showed a lack of trust in parental aspects as well as educational aspects. The first aspect to discuss is the lack of trust in parental competencies. As seen in the category 'passing the ball', teachers regard parents as not knowledgeable or interested enough to support their children. On the other hand, parents are accused of having unrealistic expectations from their children in terms of academic achievement. Asking for more academic achievement and high-achieving

schools are commonly desired by immigrant parents. Teachers actually considered this situation as not being interested and supportive. On the contrary, asking for an achievement level that is beyond the competence of children brings difficulties for families, and also for teachers.
Having less knowledge about education, lack of interest in academic achievement, and unrealistic expectations were presented as the common practices among immigrants. Teachers believe that the Turkish community has such conceptions as a result of embeddedness in their social group. According to teachers, Turkish families spend time mostly in their cultural and social groups, which results in the circulation of false information or judgments about special education among Turkish families. In addition, Turkish families tend to compare their children's academic achievement with other children of Turkish families, which creates issues.
Teachers also have trust issues with educational aspects such as teacher competencies, rules, and regulations. The category of 'regretful accomplice' explained how teachers did partial *disassociation* from teacher competencies, school system, or system pressure. To start with, teachers, although implicitly, showed distrust of teacher competencies to handle culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms. Teacher training and preparation were criticized in terms of handling such diverse classrooms. The rules, regulations, and guidelines are other sources of distrust for teachers. The steps to follow for special education referrals are considered complicated and challenging.
Another point to discuss is the distrust of other colleagues who are included in the referral process. As explained in the category, 'an obscure journey', engagement of school directors or school psychologists makes the process more ambiguous for teachers. The engagement of school psychologists or school directors is considered challenging. The intervention of these colleagues in the process creates more conflict or more burden for teachers. However, the suspicion and the discontent of teachers is a trust issue. School directors and inspectors are distrusted because they do not have first-hand information about a student's situation. Similarly, the engagement of school psychologists is criticized because they do not have a pedagogical background and information about the academic needs of students, and depend only on standardized tests.

9.6.3 Distrust by School Directors and the Inspector

As suggested by the category, 'proving prominence', school directors and the inspector made a more complex analysis about the Turkish community, immigrants, teacher competencies, or the school system. First, they judged teacher competences and teacher training in relation to responding to cultural diversity. The tension and the challenges in schools, according to school directors and the inspector, are rooted in the incompetence of teachers. The distrust of teacher competencies was also visible while asking for more detailed guidelines and steps for special education referrals. Directors and the inspector believed that teachers mostly fail to follow the steps and guidelines as prescribed by the education council. Hence, more detailed guidelines and more explanations are needed to ease the process for teachers.
The distrust was discernable in their suggestions to adopt a nation-wide test for the special education diagnosis. The competence of the people engaged in the diagnoses was judged and distrusted. A nation-wide test was considered as a solution for teachers' incompetence. Directors and the inspector also showed distrust in terms of state-level policies. According to them, the flexibility given to immigrants is problematic. The cultural, religious, or linguistic existence of immigrant groups should be welcomed, but there should be boundaries. Hence, for them, professionalism is missing in school settings.
Another point is the social group embeddedness. Being too embedded in a social group is criticized because it harms the integration process of immigrants. Being religious and nationalists

are two points suggested as reasons for the embeddedness in the social group of the Turkish community. Here, directors and the inspector showed their distrust of immigrants and in the Turkish immigrant community, in terms of their efficiency to provide support for their children.

9.6.4 Distrust by School Psychologists

The distrust by school psychologists concentrated mainly on the special education referral process. They suspected the necessity as well as the accuracy of diagnoses. The rushed diagnoses that they witness during the referral process made them question this decision. The steps followed, the order of these steps, the timing of the engagement of families or school psychologists, were all problematic points for school psychologists. However, their being disassociated, as shown in the category 'there to test', extended the distrust they have. Limited power and their subordinate position kept them away from acting, and they had to watch teachers while they perform their distrusted competencies. The distrust regarding the necessity and accuracy of special education referral was embedded in the distrust of teacher competencies. School psychologists were suspicious of teacher competencies in terms of cultural sensitivity. Lacking cultural sensitivity, according to school psychologists, can be misleading during the referral process. If teachers do not have the required sensitivity to differentiate between cultural problems and special education needs, this may lead to incorrect decisions about special education needs.

9.6.5 Place of Mutual Distrust

The distrust between parents and teachers was both within and beyond school. Parents judged the competence of teachers not only in terms of making a decision for special education needs but also in terms of educating students with diverse cultural backgrounds. Teachers were also considered as the practitioners of bias against immigrants within schools and beyond them. Parents were distrusted, and their parental competence was judged though not only related to special education needs. The parents' involvement in the special education referral process, and the way they behaved, was another point that teachers had distrust. The distrust between teachers and parents was experienced beyond and within the school and beyond and within the special education referral process. When not specifically differentiated, parents considered teachers, directors, or inspectors as the same group of people.

On the other hand, the distrust between teachers and school psychologists was mainly within the school. Teachers distrusted school psychologists, however, not only in relation to their competencies for diagnosing of special education needs. School psychologists were considered in general, as lacking pedagogical competencies to be involved in educational decisions. Similarly, school psychologists distrusted teachers in terms of their cultural sensitivity and efficiency to differentiate between special education needs and cultural peculiarities. Although to a limited extent, school psychologists do not trust school directors and school inspectors in terms of their efficiency to be engaged in the decision-making process for special education referrals.

Finally, the distrust between teachers and school directors and inspectors was mainly about the special education referral process. Teachers do not consider school inspectors or school directors relevant to the educational decisions in general but also for the special education needs. Not having immediate knowledge about students is the reason that school directors and school inspectors are distrusted in this process. School directors and the inspector, on the other hand, distrust teachers on the basis of teacher competencies.

Figure 9.5 shows how the distrust was mutual. On the other hand, Figure 9.6 shows where the distrust was experienced.

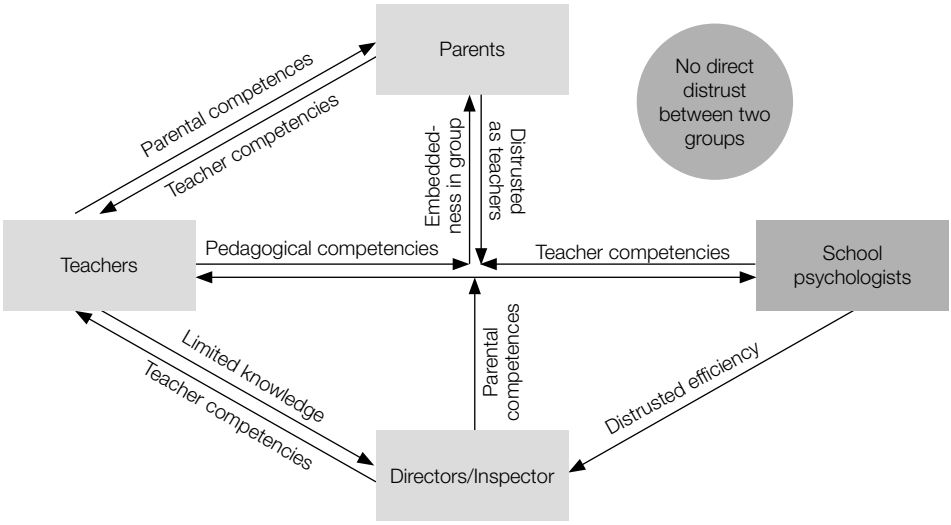

Figure 9.5: Direct Distrust among Participants

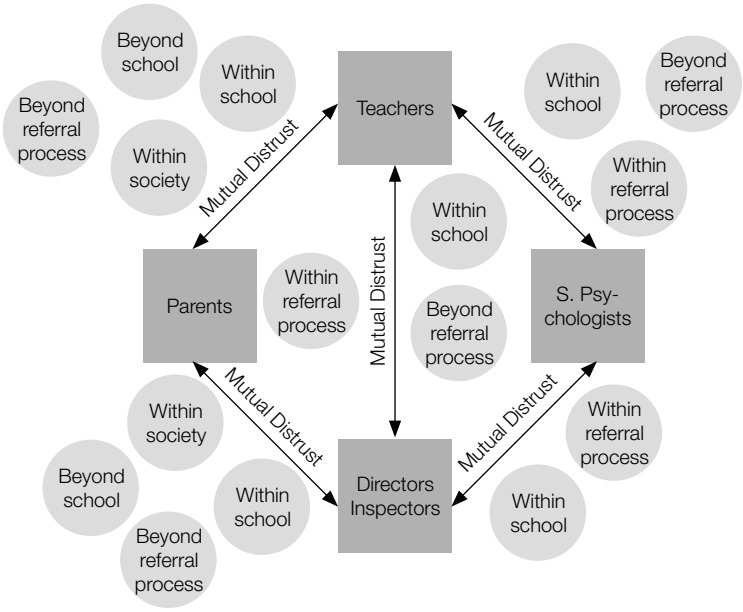

Figure 9.6: Place of Distrust

9.6.6 Extended Mutual Distrust

After discussing the mutuality of the distrust among participants, the next step is to discuss the distrust of each group of participants with visuals. The distrust the participants have in other

participants is actually embedded in larger underlying aspects. Here, the distrust shown by each group of participants is presented through visuals in Figures 9.7 through 9.10. Later, all visuals are merged to show the big picture of distrust.

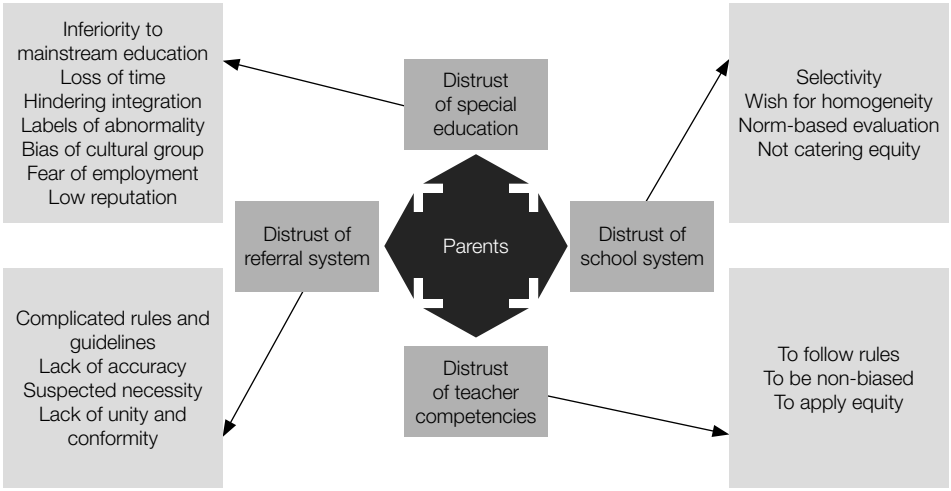

Figure 9.7: Distrust by Parents

As it is seen in Figure 9.7, parents distrust teacher competencies, special education, the school system, and the special education referral system. Through *disassociation*, they first showed what they suspected, tried to defeat or avoided. Later, by pointing to the ambiguity and suspicion they have for certain facets, they targeted the school system, special education in general, the special education referral process, as well as teacher competencies. By relying on their experiences, they declared teachers and school directors or inspectors as the practitioners of these distrusted aspects. It was obvious that parents not only distrust teachers or other people included in the referral process but their distrust is rooted in larger and deeper levels and sometimes results from being an immigrant and having less power.

The distrust that teachers had, in a similar way to parents, was distributed on several different layers as depicted in Figure 9.8. Teachers' distrust was related to parents' competences, special education referral process, colleagues included in the referral process and also immigrants as a cultural group. The visible *disassociation* from parental competencies included the inefficiency of parents in terms of supporting their children, lack of knowledge about the school system, language deficiency, and also having unrealistic expectations. By reflecting on all cultural groups or immigrants, the level of *disassociation* was increased. Generalizations about immigrants, and mainly about the Turkish community, showed the distrust of this group of people in terms of supporting their children. The *disassociation* that teachers have in school settings is mainly a result of the distrust regarding the efficiency of other colleagues, such as school directors, school inspectors, or school psychologists, as well as the suggested rules and guidelines. The engagement of directors or inspectors in the decision-making process, the steps followed, and the contradictory findings of the psychological evaluation, are the reasons for having a challenging and controversial special education referral process.

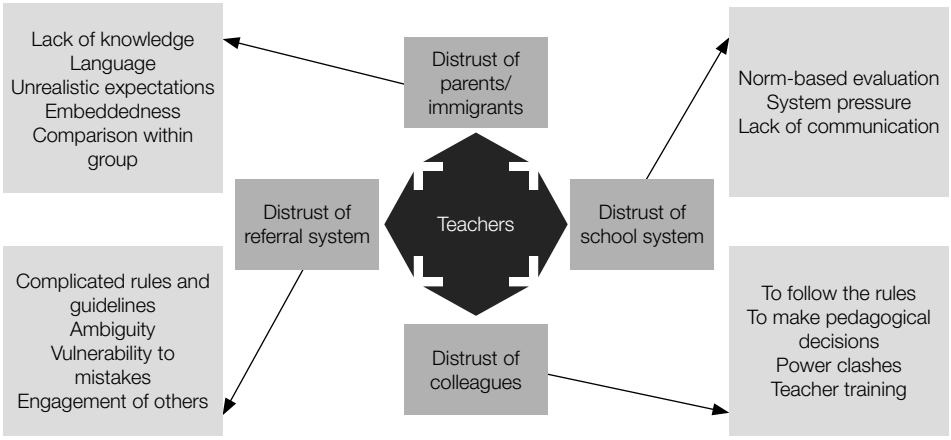

Figure 9.8: Distrust by Teachers

School directors and the inspector were the ones who showed a higher and more decided level of *disassociation*. The emphasis on their being representatives of authority and objective was *disassociation*. However, the intensity of the interviews could reach to their underlying conceptions about the distrust they have in several aspects. School directors and the inspector made judgments about the competencies of teachers in terms of responding to the needs of a culturally diverse society. The daily practices of teachers in schools were criticized by school directors and the inspector as well. As a fundamental reason for lack of efficiency, the teacher education program is distrusted as well. On the other hand, rules and guidelines are distrusted because they do not offer detailed paths to follow. Hence, these participants believe current rules and guidelines should be replaced with more detailed ones. From a broader perspective, the policies are suggested because they are leading to guidelines or rules. which may add to the academic achievement gap between immigrant students and native peers. State-level and nation-level policies are also not trusted. However, policies or teachers are not the only responsible agents for the overrepresentation in special education. Parents or immigrants, mainly the Turkish community, fall behind in being integrated into the host society, which brings challenges to the education of their children.

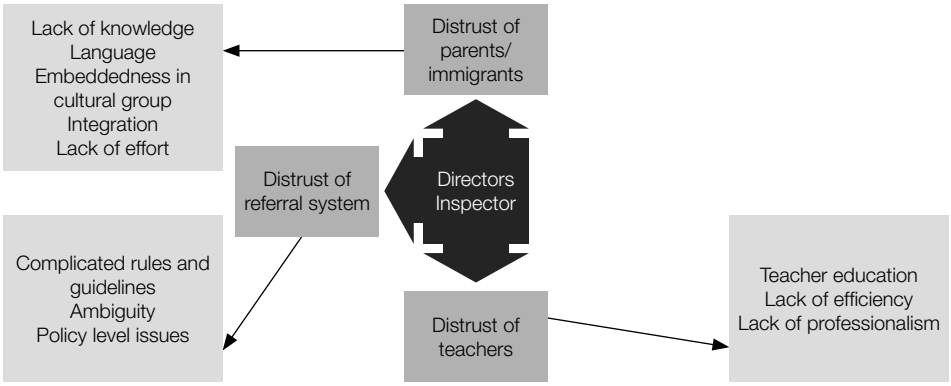

Figure 9.9: Distrust by School Directors and Inspector

Figure 9.10: Distrust by School Psychologists

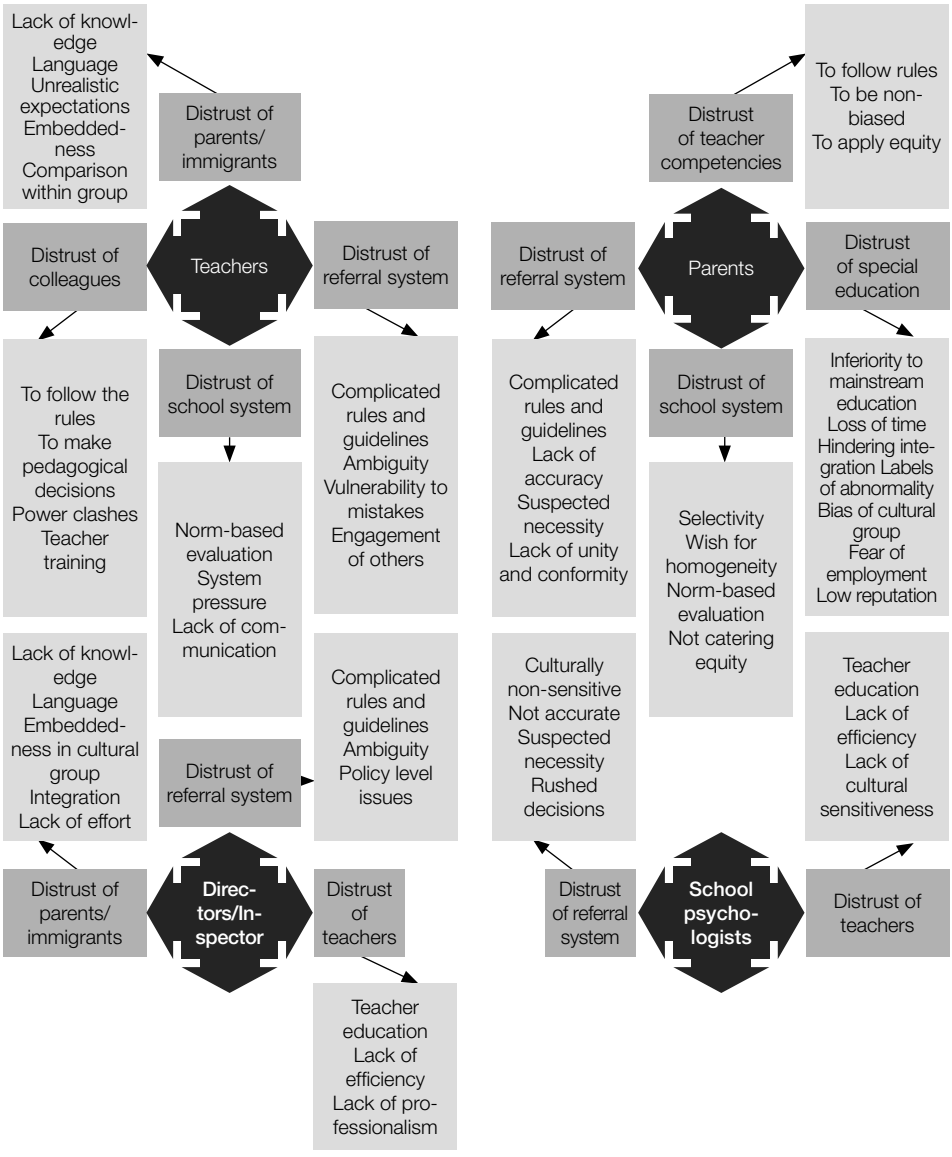

Figure 9.11: Merged Visual for Mutual Distrust

The final group to discuss is the school psychologists. The school psychologists concentrated their *disassociation* mainly on the special education referral process by emphasizing their subordinate position. However, their assessments and comments about teacher competencies and practices made their distrust evident. School psychologists were not content with the way special education needs are diagnosed. Rushed and culturally non-sensitive diagnoses were points supporting the school psychologists' distrust. Beyond teachers and teacher competencies, the accuracy and necessity of diagnoses were criticized as well. Their distrust was distributed across the referral process.
Figure 9.11 merges the separate perspectives for 'mutual distrust' to make comparisons between the participant groups in terms of their distrust.

9.6.7 Theory 'Building on Mutual Distrust'

The theory '*building on mutual distrust'* was an explanation for the abstract and underlying understandings of participants. Mutual distrust, as explained already, was an important component of the theory. However, the integrity of the theory should be completed by discussing the active role of this mutual distrust in building experiences and thoughts related to school or education.
Distrust proved itself as a fundamental basis for the participants' understandings. It emerged in various settings, beyond or within the school, beyond and within the special education referral process. The perceptions about teachers, colleagues, parents, immigrants, the Turkish community, special education, school systems were marked by distrust. *'Building on mutual distrust'* pointed to the role of distrust in the formation of participants' understandings.
The special education referral process was specifically discussed and commented on by participants; however, as it is seen, it was a gate opener to other larger domains and points to discuss. The power clash in schools, multi-headedness in the referral process, suspecting others' efficiency, competence, or fairness were beyond specific questions asked during interviews. Hence, distrust can be considered as embedded in larger dimensions and as a foundation for the thoughts or relations between parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors or school psychologists.
It can be said that the theory has important components. The first components are the mutuality and directedness of the distrust among the participants. Different groups of participants targeted efficiency or indifference directly, which called for a direct distrust of a specific group of people. The mutuality, on the other hand, intensified the directedness of the distrust. The next component is the activeness of the distrust. Distrust was active and alive and could spread beyond the special education referral process.
The theory 'building on mutual distrust' is presented with a visual in Figure 9.13. This figure can be considered as the summation of all relations presented so far. However, to make it more understandable, Figure 9.12 shows the core of the theory by concentrating on mutual distrust and what is distrusted in each group of participants. The next figure presents the theory by adding how each group considers another group of participants and how the distrust is reflected within and beyond school. '*Building on mutual distrust'* is an end product of the discussion in this study. However, it should not be considered as an exploration of a fact or reality. It is a product that emerged at the end of the co-construction of the participants and interpretations of the researcher to advance the understanding of the overrepresentation of students with a migration background in special education referrals. The theory emerged as an embracive theory that could go beyond the specific research problem.

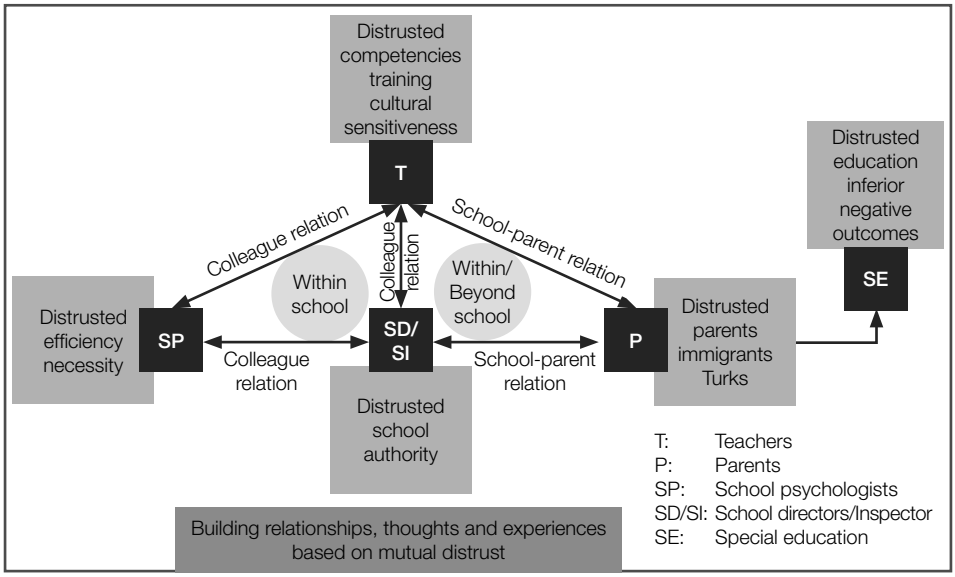

Figure 9.12: Core of the Theory "Building on Mutual Distrust"

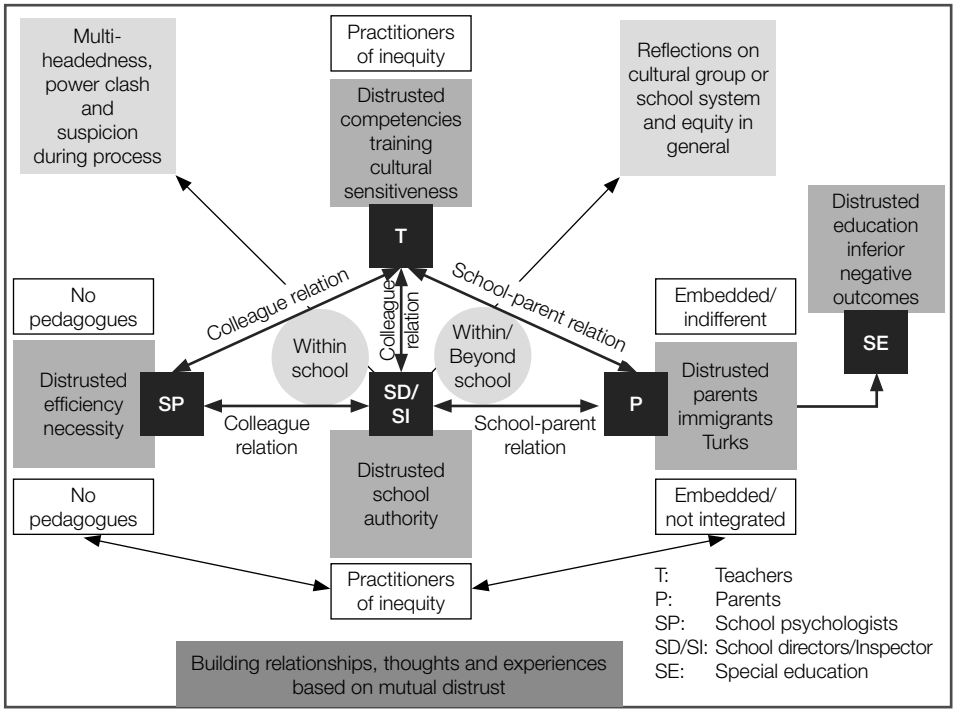

Figure 9.13: Theory "Building on Mutual Distrust"

9.6.8 Summary

As Charmaz (2014) suggested, this theory does not only explain what happens and how it happens. The observed actions in this study such as rejecting, suspecting, blaming, taking over the responsibility, fighting, regretting, or disassociating were hints for an underlying basis. The observed actions were a way of showing distrust of the participants through *disassociation*. As shown in Figure 9.11, distrust was mutual because participants distrust each other, and they mention their distrust by addressing a specific group of people such as teachers, parents, school directors, school psychologists etc. On the other hand, participants distrust some common aspects such as the special education referral process, rules, and guidelines, teacher education, immigrants, or the school system.

The sensitivity of the topic and the confidentiality of the data would make it impossible to explain this overrepresentation explicitly. As documents, school records or statistics offer limited knowledge, however, the implicit meanings of the people with experiences were collected.

By going back and forth between the categories, sub-categories, core category, or selected quotations, the aim was to form an explanation that would be as comprehensive as possible. The properties of categories, memos and diagrams were all reviewed to come up with a theory that would speak for most of the data. Although the study did not start with a framework, a gap in the literature, or a hypothesis, the guiding interests of the researcher and prior academic knowledge were included in the construction of the theory as the co-construction of the researcher. However, being as reflexive as possible did not allow the prior knowledge to impose findings.

The nature of the study and participant groups made it possible to concentrate on the variance among participants in terms of their experiences. As presented in previous chapters, parents, teachers, school directors, the school inspector, and school psychologists were grouped based on the findings from their data. The study did not aim specifically to differentiate between the target groups or to place them into distinct roles. However, the experiences of participants put them in different groups. An example was the group of school directors and the school inspector. The study did not plan to put these participants in the same group explicitly, however, the emerging findings led to such a group.

To sum up, distrust was embedded in larger domains, and was visible in the way participants build their experiences and thoughts about education, schools, special education, teachers, or parents. The scope of distrust was not limited to the special education referral process. Distrust was a construct within and beyond special education referrals, and it was also beyond and within the school. In this way, distrust was the connection between the special education referral process and larger aspects. On the micro-level, it was a way of showing their perceptions on the special education process and on the macro-level, perceptions of immigrants and the Turkish community and on school authorities. While answering the questions related to their experiences, participants showed that their experiences are affected directly by other participants. The referral process was never a linear process, but it included several interrelated experiences. The special education referral was more complex than it appears in the guidelines.

10 Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings in comparison to the existing literature. Major topics that emerged near the end of the study are included here to make connections and comparisons between the theory and the related literature. The goal of this study was to reach an understanding of the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish migration background in special education referrals. Parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors, and school psychologists provided valuable findings that could show how distrust builds the basis of the participants' experiences and relationships with each other, and the basis of understanding about school and education systems, teacher competencies, parental competence, and immigrants or Turkish community. The dominant mutual suspicion, ambiguity or discontent, directed the participants to disassociate themselves from the process of referral as well as the phenomenon of overrepresentation or low academic achievement of students with a migration background. How the distrust became visible in their disassociation was discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter focuses on the connection between the distrust and larger domains that are built on distrust. The findings are discussed in terms of their relevance to educational equity, special education, power, and trust relationship in schools and family involvement. Institutional discrimination, culturally responsive teaching, religion, and gender are the other topics that are tackled in this chapter.
As discussed in Chapter 2, several relevant topics were familiar and known prior to research. However, by being reflexive about their guiding interest, researchers can avoid the influence of the preconceptions on their findings. In this study, reading the literature and the previous work in the field started near the end of the study. As suggested by Charmaz (2006) delaying the literature review was to "avoid seeing the world through the lens of extant ideas" (p. 6). Reading the existing literature aimed to show if or how this study adds new dimensions to the literature. Nonetheless, reviewing the literature did not only promise new dimensions and fresh ideas but also confirmed the findings, which strengthened the theory.

10.1 Educational Equity

Handling a culturally diverse society requires multicultural education (May & Sleeter, 2010) that promotes and appreciates the diversity of ethnicities, religions, cultures, gender, disabilities and especially languages. Among the main goals of multicultural education, providing educational equity (Banks et al., 2005) is an important dimension. However, achievement scores, educational statistics, or immigrants' distribution to different school types, show a divergence from the goal of equal education for all (Park, 2007; Song, 2011). The overrepresentation of minority groups in special education is a significant indicator of the educational equity situation of a country. In this study, we saw that overrepresentation of students with a migration background or specifically with a Turkish migration background in Austria was a known topic by participants. All participants were familiar with this phenomenon in the country.
The discussion of educational equity was included in the earlier chapters, and its relevance to this study was already stated. As Nielsen (2013) explained, although the recent findings show that inequalities in student performance between immigrants and natives have narrowed, gender and immigrant background, are still sources of inequality in educational opportunities. The findings were in accordance with this explanation.

Near the end of the study, it became clear that parents had no trust in education in terms of equity in Austria and special education was seen as a tool of educational inequity that is placed on them and practiced by school authorities. Special education referral was a situation that caused educational inequity to become more visible for parents. The disadvantages of being an immigrant led to another situation that is distrusted, unwanted, and rejected, namely the special education referral. On the other hand, teachers, school directors, and the inspector commented on educational equity in Austria, although they did not address any participants as the practitioners of it explicitly. Educational inequity was accepted as a problem by them. Teachers referred to educational inequity from a broader perspective and pointed to the selective school system, system pressure, and norm-based evaluation as practices that aggravate the inequity. For school directors and the inspector, educational inequity was ingrained in the system and intensified by the inefficiency of teachers or immigrant groups as parents. School psychologists consider the special education diagnosis and special education referral process as settings where educational inequity was observed.

It was also visible that participants have knowledge about the difference between equality and equity. Equity does not mean that all students obtain equal education outcomes, but rather that differences in students' outcomes are unrelated to their background or to economic and social circumstances over which the students have no control. Equity in education also demands that students from different backgrounds are equally likely to earn desirable post-secondary education credentials that will make it easier for them to succeed in the labor market and to realize their goals as adult members of society (OECD, 2018). In this study, parents stated clearly that immigrant students have different necessities than their native peers due to the incompetence of immigrant parents or lack of resources in the family. In addition, they expected schools to compensate for these weaknesses. It can be said that parents are especially aware of what equity means, how it happens, and how Austria has problems in offering educational equity for immigrants. School psychologists emphasized the difference between equality and equity, as well. Applying the same tests, the same evaluation methodology, or the same decision-making criteria for all, was not appropriate to them. They criticized the lack of individualized testing or assessments based on the background of students.

Another point to discuss was the selectivity of the school system. Among the suggestions to defeat educational inequity, OECD (2012) suggested postponing the tracking of students into different types of schools. Assigning students to different school tracks at an earlier age is considered as aggregating the inequities for many students. Similarly, this study reached the ideas about the selectivity of the Austrian school system and the pressure it puts on students, teachers, or parents. In addition, the early tracking of students into different secondary schools was an important reason for the pressure of academic achievement at an earlier age. Especially, teachers felt the burden of the early tracking at the primary level because parents insist on sending their children to academic secondary schools, although the achievement of the children is not enough to attend this type of secondary school. According to teachers and parents, for students with a migration background, getting used to school context, Austrian values, and norms, may take some time, and the earlier years of schools can already be challenging. Hence, the selectivity of the school system in the early years can create controversial school decisions for disadvantaged students.

10.2 Special Education and Immigrants

As discussed before, this study reported the ideas of immigrants with a Turkish background about special education. It was found that special education was valued less than the education offered in a mainstream school. This finding was in line with the discussion of Arzubiaga,

Nogueron and Sullivan (2009) who discussed that mainstream education is valued more than special education by immigrants. 'Rejecting special education' was a category of parents, and parents showed their distrust of special education in several ways.

First, the worries and distrust of special education were mentioned by claiming that special education hinders employment possibilities. Parents rejected special education based on the claim that special education curbs the possibilities for good employment in the future. Although special education has a special focus on directing students to vocational training or apprenticeship, parents considered these orientations as a waste of the potential and a hurdle to cross to better employment opportunities. Such a concern is known to be common in immigrant context, and it was found by other studies as well. In their study with immigrant parents of children in special education schools, Ding, Gerken, VanDyke and Xiao (2006) found that parents have concerns about the schooling of their children in special education schools in terms of lack of possibilities for career development and employability. A similar concern was reported by the study of Liang and Chen (2011) that indicated the worries of families with children in special education. Their study found that parents are skeptical about the education possibilities for their children in the future.

However, this study could also reach the distrust that participants have in special education in terms of hindering the integration. Here are two important facets to discuss. The first is the importance given to integration by parents. Literature mainly suggested that immigrants are not attached to the host country. In the comparative study of Choi and Cha (2019) in several countries, it was found that immigrant students are less likely to feel attached to the host country, which can be a barrier for social integration. Nonetheless, this does not mean that immigrant parents do not believe in the necessity of integration. Although immigrants do not feel attached, they can still be concerned about the possibilities of getting integrated into the host community for their children. The second facet is the motivation for the desire for integration. Special education is distrusted, as it does not offer the crucial skills to get integrated into the host country, which are language learning and academic achievement or having a good job. Learning German and having a good job were considered as significant indicators of integration by parents. Language and employment will be discussed below in detail.

10.3 Language and Employment

Language has been tackled as a salient point in the immigrant context in recent years (Millar, 2013). The importance given to the competence in the host country language and the increasing demand for higher language levels for some rights such as citizenship or enrollment in university can be considered as expectations from immigrants (Extra, Spotti & van Avermaert, 2009). This specific focus given to language was also dominant in this study. The first point to discuss is the importance of learning German for immigrants. Parents, school directors, and teachers emphasized the importance of being competent in German. However, language learning was assigned to different duties by different participants.

Parents distrusted special education, as special education does not offer opportunities for language learning as suggested also by Artiles and Ortiz (2002). However, German learning was not hindered because of special education curriculum or materials, yet the profile of special education classrooms or schools was an obstacle for learning German to the parents in this study. Parents showed an awareness of the necessity of interaction in the target language. An important factor in learning a second language is exposure to comprehensible input in the target lan-

guage that should be strengthened through language exchange with competent speakers of the language (Krashen, 2003). In a study, Valenzuela et al. (2006) found that English learners are overrepresented in segregated settings, which hinders opportunities to interact with peers that can provide English input. Parents considered native students who speak German as mother tongue as comprehensible input. They pointed to the necessity of being in integrated settings that facilitate language learning. Turkish parents regarded German as a skill that can be developed through interaction. Parents evaluated their language competence as not enough to support their children in learning. Hence, for them, German should be learned outside the home through comprehensible input and interaction in the language of the host country.

A point to consider here is the emphasis that the Austrian government and public put on German competence. Speaking the host country language is introduced as a must and as an area where immigrants fail (Sullivan, 2011). Similarly, the importance given to language was visible in this study. German is introduced as a requirement for academic achievement, integration, and harmony in the German-speaking context (Eckhardt, 2008). Not being able to speak German is a mark of inferiority that parents do not want for their children. With the increasing power of the far-right party in recent years especially, several new regulations have been introduced. Segregated German classes for students who do not speak German well, offering free German courses after school hours, and several other steps attracted the attention to German competence of immigrants.

Teachers, school directors, and the school inspector discussed language as a necessity for academic achievement. Students who are not competent in German have a higher likelihood of achieving lower than their peers do. Additionally, the lack of language support from their families was suggested as a reason for academic failure. Here, parents were criticized in terms of their indifference to learn German and to support their children in their studies. The language was considered to be an important key to success in school. However, parents addressed German competence as a tool for integration rather than the aim of education. In the German-speaking context, German learning is valued too much. However, as Gomolla (2006) also criticized, educational systems rarely address the equity issues or the structure of schooling beyond German learning. In this study, language as a reason for failure was expressed; however, it did not mean ignoring the school system or other dimensions that maintain the inequities for immigrants. It can be said that the focus on German competence was less than what we see in the country context.

The participation in work life is considered to be a key to integration for immigrants. Hence, being employed is a significant indicator to use in assessing the level of integration. Similarly, in Austria, the integration of immigrants, apart from German competence, is also measured with employment success (Subasi, Proyer & Atanasoska, 2019). As Becker (1964) suggested, investing in education, extending educational experiences, collecting job experience, and developing skills, can be turned into productivity in the labor market. However, for immigrants or people with a migration background, apart from education and job skills, language is considered as a factor that increases the chances in the labor market as Finnie and Meng (2002) discussed.

To understand the connection between language competence and employability, language competence of immigrants should be discussed with the human capital perspective. Proficiency in the host country language is considered positively correlated with the likelihood of employment for immigrants as it increases the human capital (Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Kanas, 2011). According to human capital theory, people who have higher education or work experience are more likely to be employed. However, this situation is different for immigrants, as shown by some studies. Immigrants who have a similar level of education suffer from higher rates of un-

employment than natives (Zeng & Xie, 2004), which makes it necessary to increase the human capital with language learning.
Parents mentioned their distrust of special education through their worries concerning the future employment of their children. For them, by hindering language learning for immigrants, special education leads to less chance for employment. Having less possibility of learning German and less possibility of getting a good job were situations that immigrant parents wanted to avoid, as that would mean no successful integration.
Al Ariss and Sidani (2016) explained the situation of immigrants with disadvantage theory and discuss that immigrants face limitations in terms of access to several occupations due to language. Turkish community, as explained in Chapter 3, experience a higher unemployment rate and less payment in Austria when compared to other groups of immigrants. Based on their experiences, parents mentioned their disadvantaged situation and their fear for their children to experience the same disadvantages. To defeat the disadvantages and discrimination, parents regard education, language, and employment as key factors.

10.4 Embeddedness in Social Group

Embeddedness is a term that is mentioned often in Austria concerning the immigrant context. The Turkish community or other Muslim immigrants especially are accused of being immensely embedded in their ethnic groups (Augustin, 2012). This embeddedness is considered as an obstacle for integration and language learning. Sometimes, immigrant social and cultural groups are accused of forming parallel ethnic societies within the host country (Verdugo & Mueller, 2008). However, ethnic identity cannot explain the situation of embeddedness for Turkish immigrants in Austria. Shared religious, political, or social beliefs as well as migration history or socio-economic status are relevant factors to identify the social groups for Turkish immigrants in Austria due to the cultural and ethnic diversity in Turkey itself (Palmberger, 2017). Hence, embeddedness mentioned here should be understood as embeddedness in a cultural or social group.
Cultural or social embeddedness was also mentioned in this study by teachers but mainly by school directors and inspectors. With the claim of being prominent and expert, school directors and the school inspector made some social group analysis for the Turkish community. In addition, they categorized the Turkish community as a nationalist and religious community. They claimed that embeddedness is an important issue for the integration of immigrants and academic success for students with Turkish migration background. Instead of discussing whether the Turkish community is socially embedded or not, how this embeddedness was visible in this study is tackled in this section.
Parents were not asked explicit questions about being embedded in their cultural or social groups. However, what their cultural and social groups mean was clear to understand, especially when they rejected special education. That special education creates challenges for learning German or employment was not the only reason that special education was distrusted. The label that special education brings meant divergence from normality for parents and it was a concern. Having a child diagnosed with special education needs was hidden from the social group, friends, or fellow immigrants, including extended family, relatives, or other Turkish families in the social group. The bias of the social group was avoided by parents.
The understanding of special education or special education school within the Turkish community is a point to include here. The reason to consider any special education need as an abnormality has its roots in the attitude toward special education among the Turkish community

and in Turkey. Special education among the Turkish community and in Turkey is a concept that can lead to marginalization and stigmatization. In Turkey, special education has historically referred to the people who have a mental disability and who are categorized based on an IQ test (Gürhopur & Dalkic, 2017). Special education was organized in segregated settings for many years. Especially, at the emigration time of the Turkish community from Turkey, mainly '70s and '80s, the understanding of special education and the image of special education schools were marked as an abnormality. Although the integration of students with special education needs has been suggested and encouraged by regulations and laws since 1983, it did not become a common practice in Turkey until the 2000s (Yazicioglu, 2018). Hence, the way special education is understood in Turkey was visible also among the immigrants from Turkey. This made parents hide the diagnosis from their social and cultural groups out of the fear of being labeled. Nonetheless, the distrust of special education was very deep. Beyond being labeled or marginalized within the social and cultural groups, parents had some other concerns. These concerns were so big that parents could take the risk of being labeled. To stop or reverse the referral to special education was very important for parents. They could ask for help from their social and cultural groups regardless of being exposed. Social or cultural embeddedness turned out to be a social network that parents used to mobilize their social resources to stop special education referrals. They asked for help to find an external psychologist or for the address of consultation service. Not specifically for Turkish immigrants, but for general immigrant context, the root of embeddedness in the social or cultural group should be discussed.

To explain the relationship between embeddedness and social network, the social capital perspective is shortly visited. We can find several definitions for social capital, and as Field (2003) expressed, there is no valid definition for it. However, one of the common points among the scholars is social capital can be transferred into economic or social benefits, and as both Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) discussed, social networks are rudimentary elements of social capital. The social network can mean having different ties in society, such as bonding and bridging ties.

Bonding ties, as Putnam (1993) discussed, often refer to close relationships such as immediate family, extended family, friends, or relatives. Bonding ties are considered to be a strong form of social capital (Ferlander, 2007). They are available to an individual as resources that are owned by the individual's close social network and are generally created in the context where people have similar demographic or socio-economic characteristics (Putnam, 2007). In addition, bonding ties can provide social and emotional support based on the similarity of life experiences among the people included in the networks. On the other hand, bridging ties (Lancee, 2012) are the resources that an individual's wide social network owns. Although not as strong as binding ties, bridging ties can also link people from various social layers to each other (Lin & Dumin, 1986). Having contact with people in important positions and having organization or association memberships are some of the social variables that increase social capital (Kanas, 2011). However, the context of immigrants may bring challenges to increase social capital in the host country and to adopt these strategies. Due to limited bridging ties in the host country, the profile of the social networks can alter for immigrants.

To compensate for the disadvantaged position of not having a social network, co-ethnics can be considered as bonding ties for immigrants, although they are not family or relatives. The dependency on co-ethnics is common in immigrants, as co-ethnics can be helpful in terms of economic integration, access to jobs and cooperation. Co-ethnics provide help, knowledge, assistance, solidarity, and reciprocity that immigrants may not get from natives (Kanas, 2011). This dependency on co-ethnics can turn into embeddedness by developing an identity based

on the social group. Developing an identity based on the social group can help to deal with the discriminatory situations that immigrants go through.

Having families and friends in the time of a negative stressor can be helpful to get over with these negative experiences. However, having strong relations with a social network does not necessarily bring relief. Bonding ties may not be an aid to handle the situation due to the lack of practical support as well (Dheer & Lenartowicz, 2018). If the immigrants are from low-income and low-resource families, their bonding ties will be in a network of people with similar demographics. Hence, immigrant parents may not find the needed support, knowledge, or guidance within their bonding ties.

In the case of many Turkish parents, mobilization of the social network was a necessary step, because they could not stop or reverse special education referrals on their own. The deep distrust of special education was a reason to mobilize binding ties as well as bridging ties. First, family members, friends, and fellow parents were engaged. However, as explained before, they sometimes could not find support in their immediate social network, as similar demographics or low-knowledge background individuals could not help. Hence, the network was extended, and Turkish associations and teachers with a Turkish background or external psychologist were contacted and engaged in the process.

According to OECD (2001), the social capital theory addresses the relationships between the usage of available resources in the social network in an effective way and the increased chances to reach goals. For Turkish parents, the available sources or binding ties were in their social and cultural groups, and they were resources integrated into social structures that are mobilized or accessed for a purposive action (Lin, 1999). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the extent of the ties was adapted based on the purposive action. Purposive action was sometimes having a meeting with a school director and sometimes finding an external psychologist who can provide the psychological evaluation while sometimes stopping the special education referral process entirely.

The consistency of the embeddedness in social or cultural groups is also affected by the immigrant context in Austria. Austria has ignored the increasing cultural diversity for long years (Palmberger, 2017). The tense relationship between the Turkish community and the host community created challenges for integration. In Austria, as several scholars suggested (Bauböck & Perchinig, 2006; Heine, 2005; Rosenberger, 2006), the lack of integration is reflected mainly on the immigrant groups, although Austrian law and society show a lack of effort in terms of encouraging integration. This dominant perspective in the Austrian context about integration was visible in the experiences of parents.

As it is discussed, social embeddedness was discernable in various ways. Being labeled as abnormal mattered a lot for parents. On the other hand, social capital can be a requirement for integration into the host country. However, limited social connection to the host country in Austria ended up closer to cultural and social groups, as in the case of many Turkish immigrants. Finally, immigrants can be fearful of breaking ties with the social groups that they have. So as to not lose the support and belongingness that these groups offer to them, they may prefer holding on to their social or cultural groups, which may eventually yield consistent embeddedness.

10.5 Family Involvement

Parents play a crucial role in the education of their children and the involvement of parents is wished, and even mandated by several regulations (Mayrowetz & Price, 2005). Especially for the students who are considered at risk, from low-income, immigrant, or ethnic minority families,

family involvement in education and in school can be very crucial in terms of student achievement. Across ethnic groups, family involvement in education and the academic outcomes of students are positively correlated as discussed by several studies (Jeynes, 2007; Tang, Dering & Weiss, 2012). However, the relationship between immigrants and schools is strained due to some assumptions in societies. Immigrant parents are considered to have little interest in the education of their children and little contact with schools and teachers (Darmody & McCoy, 2011). How family involvement is understood by different participant groups and how family involvement affects the relationship between school and parents should be discussed.

In general, immigrant parents were criticized as being less involved in the education of their children. School directors and the inspector addressed this issue as a peculiarity of the Turkish community and claimed that indifference is embedded in their social groups. In other words, families or Turkish families were distrusted due to their interest in education.

The limited involvement of Turkish parents, as suggested by school directors and the inspector, should be discussed with possible underlying reasons. How and why families get involved in the education of their children has several factors. One factor is the understanding of school among families. The way that immigrant families get involved may depend on their assumptions and attitudes affected by their culture (Lopez, Scribner & Mahitivanichcha, 2001). In some cultures, parents would be responsible for the moral education of their children, while the schools are responsible for academic education. When Turkish culture is considered, as Babayigit (2018) suggested, parents would talk to teachers about academic achievement or ask for suggestions but would avoid interventions or judging the expertise of teachers. Such cross-cultural understandings and expectations may have an impact on the family involvement for the parents from a Turkish background.

Another factor can be the feeling of inferiority and limited self-efficacy of parents. Parents may adapt their level of involvement based on their self-efficacy. Low self-efficacy may keep parents away from involvement. One reason for the low self-efficacy is less knowledge about the school system or language proficiency (Pena, 2000). Feeling incompetent in terms of the school system of the host country or language can be factors that discourage families in terms of involvement. As also suggested by Daniels (2017), parents in this study considered their lack of information about schools or language as barriers to the academic achievement of their children. However, they engaged others to compensate for their deficiency. Looking for support through tutors, engaging other family members, or asking for help, were some of the steps that Turkish immigrant families took. Here, involvement was not always personal involvement. It was also taking over the responsibility of engaging others, as discussed earlier.

This was an example of selective refrainment. As Bandura (1989) explained, families can be engaged in some domains while refraining from some other domains based on their confidence in different areas. When home-based activities do not require knowledge of the host country or culture, immigrant parents can be willing to get involved (Tang, 2015). Hence, family involvement should be considered in two different spheres, namely involvement at home and at school. Family involvement can take place at school as well as at home, which in both ways can benefit educational outcomes.

The opportunities to get involved can also be a factor that affects the family involvement. The chances to get involved, the flexibility that schools offer to families, types of chances to get involved have an impact on family involvement (Moles, 1993). In addition, immigrant or ethnic minority families mainly feel the climate of unwelcoming and intimidating schools (Tang, 2015). The feeling of being unwanted or disrespected, especially by teachers, are common ex-

periences for immigrant families when they get involved (Pena, 2000; Tang, 2015). This type of experience would give little motivation to families in terms of involvement. Feeling unwelcome and unwanted in school settings were very common experiences that parents shared in this study. The involvement of families often happened during the special education process, but was not limited to this specific situation. Upon being informed about the process, they tried to increase their involvement through more collaboration with schools or by engaging other people such as trusted family friends or external psychologists or teachers with a Turkish background. These efforts were considered as challenges and sources of ambiguity by teachers. At the end of involvement, there were long negotiations that yielded frustration and compulsion, which increased the feeling of being unwanted or unwelcomed in schools.

Another point to discuss is the relationship between embeddedness in a cultural or social group and family involvement. One important factor is the support to be involved that parents get. Community ties are positive in terms of family involvement among immigrant families (Tang, 2015). Having a big social network brings knowledge and access to knowledge. Connection to co-ethnics, organizations, or associations from the origin country, can provide assistance and guidance and can increase family involvement (Pena, 2000). In this study, with the encouragement of fellow parents, parents sometimes decided to take action. When they did not know what to do, they asked for information from associations or fellow parents. The aspect to consider here is that immigrant families got this help in a culturally sensitive way and in the native language. Hence, community resources and the role of social network cannot be underestimated for the immigrant families in terms of family involvement.

An increased level of family involvement has a positive effect on the school achievement of children; yet, this involvement is complicated due to the power structure between parents and schools (Horvat, Curci & Parthlow, 2010). The next point is power relations in schools.

10.6 Power in School

Schools are no stranger to challenging power relations (Weinstein, Raczynski & Pena, 2018). Hence, the power structure is an important construct to understand school settings and the relationship between parents, teachers, students, or school directors. Power relations in schools, and the way they were experienced, were addressed by the findings of this study.

Power can be described as one of the means that a person can use to influence the behaviors of others (Stoghil, 1974). In another way, power can refer to the ability not only to influence but also to control the behaviors of others (Schermerhorn, Hunt & Osborn, 2000). This type of power can be relevant in a wide range of settings. However, the definition by Robbins and Coulter (2003) explained power as a skill that an administrator should have to change the organizational decisions or actions. As an organization with administrators and people in different power positions, schools are places to observe power relations. The way school principals use their power has a correlation with the experiences of others in school settings.

School directors have more power over teachers in schools (Day & Sammons, 2013), and their leading role is established around the power that stems from their position. Hence, the power relationship between teachers and school directors should be approached by keeping the asymmetric power between them in mind.

In this study, teachers had power issues with school directors during special education referrals due to the involvement of school directors in the process. The distrusted pedagogical competencies of school directors and the inspector were a reason to suspect their efficiency and necessity

in the decision-making. However, as teachers mentioned, school directors regularly adopted an authoritarian attitude and became involved in the process.

In organizations, including schools, administrators can use different power styles. Their position and their characteristics shape the power style they use (Karaman, 1999). Position power is an important power style that principals use in school settings. It is related to the position that a person has in an organization. School directors and the school inspector in this study relied on their positions while making analyses about the Turkish community or teachers' competencies. Their perceived prominence and position as representatives of authority were visible in their analyses and suggestions. Their position gave them the power to generate suggestions for state policies or teacher education.

Due to their position, principals can have legitimate power, coercive power, charisma power, expert power, or reward power (Kosar, 2014). Legitimate power can be understood as the power that is granted to a person with the job title in the organization (Simsek, 2005). Legitimate power would mean that school directors or school inspectors have the freedom to use the legitimate power style, because it stems from the position that they have in school settings. Legitimate power may mean the right to influence others. Expert power is the power that originates from knowledge or skills (Kosar, 2014). Expert power has the potential to change others' behavior by not forcing behavior on them, but by convincing them. In this study, there was a clash between legitimate and expert power.

The attitude of school directors and the inspector was not understood as legitimate power by teachers. Teachers believed that the efficiency to be included in the special education referral process should be based on competencies, not on position. However, school directors and the inspector relied on their power by claiming that they have enough prominence to use expert power. The way they used their power, through efforts to prove their prominence, knowledge, and expertise, can be viewed as they expected to be considered as an expert. However, the respect and acceptance they expected sounded like they relied on their legitimate power solely because they represent authority.

As we saw, when legitimate power is employed, the collaboration process between teachers and school directors is harmed, and the school settings become a bureaucratic setting (Kosar, 2014). As explained by teachers, the special education referral process was an area that was challenged by several factors. Moreover, the power clash because of the engagement of school directors and inspectors was another challenge. However, collaboration free of legitimate power would bring a more positive learning and teaching environment.

The unequal power structure affects the trust relationship in a school (Van den Brink & Steffen, 2008). Although stakeholders depend on each other to make decisions, this does not mean that they have an equal share of power. For the special education referral process, people included in the process have different levels of power. However, they are interdependent on each other to come up with a decision. The psychological evaluation of school psychologists, the permission of parents, the evaluation of teachers, and the confirmation of school directors and inspectors, are all components of the process, which shows that participants depend on each other to start or to finish the decision-making. Nonetheless, it does not mean that they have the same level of decision-making power.

Among all other participants, parents were the ones with the least amount of power in school settings. Parents considered schools as the authority, and teachers, school directors, and inspectors as practitioners of the exercised power. Clashes and conflicts with schools were avoided by parents because they felt inferior to schools in terms of their power. Sometimes fighting back

was in vain for parents, and they gave up during the earlier stages of the process. However, there were some moments when parents did not give up taking action or going into a battle. In that case, they reinforced their power by external support.

10.7 Trust in School

As the main finding of this study, distrust was the dominant perception of participants regarding the special education referral process. It is important to discuss what trust means in school settings. Trust is a key element that keeps several components in schools together (Tschannen-Moran, 2014). Schools with weak trust relationships would not have cultivated an atmosphere of, or achieved improvement (Weinstein et al., 2018). Van Maela, Forsyth and Houtte (2014) found that the trust relationship is higher in the ethnically homogenous schools and lower in culturally diverse schools. In line with this, deep distrust and suspicion as identified in this study showed a weak level of trust in schools, education, or parents.

In addition, in schools, decision-making mainly requires collaboration and coordination among the stakeholders such as parents, teachers, or school directors, and these stakeholders are interdependent in several decisions (Tschannen-Moran, 2014). All people included in this coordination have different expectations and obligations. Hence, the feeling of trust was important to start or maintain the needed cooperation. Similarly, the special education referral process, diagnosis of special education needs, or the decision-making process are important situations where a high level of coordination is needed. However, as the study showed, coordination and the harmony among stakeholders in the decision-making process were marked by suspicion and distrust.

As Tschannen-Moran and Gareis (2017) explained, for a good trust relationship, apart from honesty and openness, there should be reliability and competence. To build trust, meeting the expectations of stakeholders is required. As Weinstein et al. (2018) discussed, meeting the expectation requires actions based on competence. In this study, the distrust was mainly related to competencies. Teacher competencies, pedagogical competencies, or parental competencies were judged and clearly distrusted.

The competencies to decide for special education referral, the competencies as parents, and the competencies to make pedagogical decisions were suspected and challenged, which showed a weak trust relationship among the participants. School directors and the school inspector were especially critical of teachers' competencies and practices. Weinstein et al. (2018) suggested that people with more power focus on professional competencies. In this study, the asymmetric power was not necessarily leading to a weak trust of school directors in teachers. The competencies of school directors and inspectors were also judged by teachers in terms of the decision-making about special education referrals, although teachers were at a lower level of power.

Although parents are important figures in the education of their children, schools consider academic teaching to be their responsibility only, and in case of failure, it becomes the failure of the family (Horvat et al., 2010). Here, the aggravation is a result of the power struggles within the schools. The involvement of parents is wished, however, their involvement is considered to be a situation that should be managed and shaped by schools (Cooper, 2009). In this study, a similar situation was to observe. Parents were criticized as being indifferent in terms of their involvement in the education of their children. At the same time, parents were seen as a source of challenge and ambiguity when they were involved in the process. However, the important point is to differentiate between the involvement types. The kind of involvement has an effect

on the reaction of the school directors or teachers (Horvat et al., 2010). The involvement of parents was considered in the frame of the power structure. The boundaries of the involvement, the expectations and obligation of parents were judged by the ones who are higher in the power hierarchy, namely teachers and school directors. When the type of involvement was not within the boundaries expected, the involvement became a situation to manage. In this study, when parents had expectations about higher academic achievements for their children, their expectations were criticized, as they are unrealistic. Another example was the involvement in the special education referral process. The actions or negotiations of parents during the process were considered to be challenging and irrational. In other words, the desired family involvement became a tension because of the boundaries set by the ones with a higher power.

Family involvement can also be affected by the profile of families. In urban areas, class, socio-economic background, or ethnicity can influence family involvement. The exercised power can change based on the background of families (Horvat et al., 2010) as well. This would put people from low socio-economic backgrounds or immigrants in a disadvantaged position. However, efficient principals and teachers should be working with a variety of backgrounds. This study included only immigrant parents, and it may not be suitable to make generalizations concerning the immigrant family involvement and the way it is understood by school directors or teachers. Nonetheless, the family involvement of the immigrant families that we observed in this study was a strong relationship. Regardless of being an immigrant, parents, especially in recent years, have shown an increased interest in family involvement. Schools should learn how to cooperate with all parents and asymmetric power relationships should not shape the nature of the involvement (Graham, 2010; Horvat et al., 2010).

10.8 Institutional Discrimination

As relevant to the German-speaking area and educational field, institutional discrimination was a topic that was discussed and suggested as a relevant topic for this study. Hence, prior to this study, institutional discrimination was a familiar and guiding concept. However, institutional discrimination did not create a frame or preconception to use to analyze the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish migration background in special education referrals. The institutional discrimination did not emerge as an explicit topic at the end of this study, either. Yet, it should be discussed to a certain extent. Before discussing the relationship of the findings to institutional discrimination, the phenomenon is briefly explained.

Institutional discrimination, derived from institutional racism within Anglo-Saxon countries, has attracted more attention in European countries after the anti-discrimination legislation introduced by the European Union (Gomolla, 2006). However, it was not discussed in German-speaking countries as much as in Anglo-Saxon countries. With the intention to bring the topic to attraction in Germany, the book 'Institutional Discrimination' (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009) explained how discrimination is experienced in German schools. According to the authors, discrimination curbs long-term achievements at the end of systematic and consistent marginalization. Especially, immigrants are considered the receivers of such discrimination in their host countries. When schools are considered as institutions, special education schools are also institutions that can experience institutional discrimination. On the other hand, special education referral, when unjustified, can be a way of applying institutional discrimination.

The authors explained institutional discrimination as a practice through 'anonymous operations' (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009, p. 43). These operations are mainly carried out by the people

who work in these institutions and who can stay anonymous or who can deny any act of racism or discrimination. The employees in such institutions do not feel responsible for any alleged discrimination, either (Terkessidis, 2010). Hence, as Jurisic (2014) suggested, discrimination can be practiced everywhere easily.

In this study, teachers and school directors did not deny the effect of injustices that the education system brings for immigrants. The selectivity of the school system, incompetence of teachers or school directors, and the complexity of the guidelines and regulations, were also mentioned as interfering aspects. However, the common effort to disassociate and to reflect these aspects on the others showed that participants did not feel the responsibility for any discrimination. Racism or discrimination was not accepted as an individual act practiced by teachers, school directors, or the inspector.

Having policies for equal rights may not be enough to practice equal rights in daily life. Institutional discrimination examines organizational structures and processes. As Gomolla and Radtke (2009) suggested, institutions have their own way of operating beyond policies, which has a direct effect on the practices of their clients, so that discrimination penetrates the professional culture, and is hardly recognizable. That point made this study more relevant to institutional discrimination. When considered as institutions, schools are places where discrimination can be observed often but not easily. Gomolla and Radtke (2009) called schools middle-class institutions, which means that students who are not from the middle-class or upper-class cannot have mobility in social classes through education in these schools. The structural and institutional organization of schools perpetuates the unequal opportunities for different groups of students to achieve their potential (Gomolla, 2006).

Because of the interplay between the various types of discrimination in daily school practices, children from immigrant families may experience disadvantages as investigated by Feagin & Feagin (1986), and was also examined in this study. Consistent overrepresentation in low achieving schools and underrepresentation in high achieving schools for students with a migration background, can be considered as limited mobility due to the institutional discrimination of schools.

10.9 Cultural Responsiveness

As a guiding concept discussed in Chapter 2, cultural responsiveness emerged as a topic at the end of this study as well. The readiness and preparedness of teachers to handle culturally diverse classrooms and the ability to respond to the needs of cultural diversity were judged by several participants. Cultural sensitivity was explicitly discussed by school psychologists as teachers fail to evaluate the need for special education based on the cultural background of students. On the other hand, culturally responsive competencies of teachers were judged by school directors and the school inspector as a deficit resulting from poor teacher education. The incompetence of teachers was also an important justification for parents to reject the special education referral by claiming that the diagnosis is not accurate.

An important feature of culturally responsive teachers is to eliminate teachers' bias (Dolby, 2012). The interaction between teachers from the dominant culture and immigrant students can be affected by the background of students. Depending on the social or cultural capital of students, teachers can change their interactions with their students from diverse backgrounds (Darmody, 2011). This concern was mentioned by parents, because teachers have misconceptions about immigrant students. The generalizations that teachers made about immigrant par-

ents or the Turkish community, on the other hand, supports this concern. Lacking parental competence to support education, being embedded in a cultural or social group, and indifference or having unrealistic expectations due to the lack of knowledge, were some of the generalizations or labels that teachers cited.

Such labels may also affect the assessment by teachers. Teachers may evaluate the academic performance of their students based on the labels that they apply to their students (Darder, 1991; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). This can create an unjustified perception of teachers on special education needs. The consistency with this preconception can lead to the overrepresentation in low achieving schools for some students from a disadvantaged background.

The lack of cultural sensitiveness was an observation of school psychologists during the special education referral process, as well. School psychologists were concerned about the misjudgments of cultural peculiarities or reactions such as silence, shyness, or fear of teachers as special education needs, mainly being classified as emotional disorders. As suggested by Gollnick and Chinn (2006), assigning the same expectations and roles to all students regardless of their background contradicts the cultural responsiveness that is needed in the increasingly culturally diverse societies.

As suggested by several scholars in the literature (Gay, 2010; Valentin, 2006; Villegas & Lucas, 2002), teacher education should consider promoting the needed cultural responsiveness. Hence, teacher education programs are expected to educate teacher candidates with cultural sensitiveness. This duty of teacher education was mentioned by all participants, including teachers. School directors and the inspector, parents or teachers evaluated teacher education as weak in terms of preparing teachers for cultural diversity while school psychologists concentrated specifically on the lack of cultural sensitiveness during special education referrals.

10.10 Gender and Religion

Gender and religion were less dominant, but noteworthy codes in this study. Both of these concepts were discussed while commenting on the Turkish community. Being religion-driven was a feature that was assigned by school directors and the inspector to the Turkish community. Similarly, the idea that religion shapes the idea of education for some Turkish families was also shared by teachers. On the other hand, valuing the education of boys more than that of girls was another comment that teachers made. These conceptions of some participants are very common to find in the discussion of peculiarities of the Turkish community in Austria (Rosenberger, 2006), and it is meaningful to call attention to their emergence in this study although to a limited extent.

11 Conclusion

This chapter begins with a condensed review of the study by including the purpose, research questions, epistemology, methods, and findings of the study. The chapter also discusses the conclusions and implications that can be drawn from the study findings. At the end of the chapter, critical reflections can be found.

11.1 Review of the Study

This study tried to develop an understanding of the overrepresentation of students with a Turkish migration background in special education referrals in the Austrian context. The study was conducted in Vienna with the participants who have firsthand experiences. The focus point was to look for what meaning participants make of their experiences and to see how they explain their specific experiences about the referral process. The study started with some initial questions to get into the study context and have access to data sources. With the progress, the research questions were reviewed and adapted. The final research questions were:

- In which ways do parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors, and school psychologists understand and explain their experiences with the special education referral process for the students with Turkish background?
- In which ways do parents, teachers, school directors, school inspectors and school psychologists explain the underlying factors for the overrepresentation in special education for the students with Turkish background?

The overrepresentation of students with a migration background in special education is a topic that many countries around the world have in their agenda (Berhanu & Dyson, 2012; Luciak, 2004; Reichenberg & Berhanu, 2017). The overrepresentation of immigrant students in low achieving schools and underrepresentation of them in high achieving schools is a topic that can be discussed with relevance to educational equity for immigrants in Austria. However, the research topic comprises multiple concepts beyond educational equity such as cultural diversity and multiculturalism, special education, or inclusion. In addition, multicultural education and culturally responsive teaching, as well as teacher education for diversity, were other topics that the study addressed.

An important point that this study paid attention to was the avoidance of oversimplifications. The manifold issue of overrepresentation cannot be explained by concentrating only on specific factors such as demographic factors or socio-economic factors. The relevant literature has already shown that developing an understanding of this phenomenon has been historically challenged due to several reasons. The availability of data, culture and nation specificity, along with contradicting research findings are some of the reasons that make it difficult to explain the phenomenon through a quantitative methodology. This study tried to maximize the range of data by purposive sampling to provide a thick description of the study context and pay attention to culture and nation specificity of the research problem.

As the aim was to collect data from different participants, to give active voice to people, to interpret experiences, and to develop a comprehensive understanding of the problem, a qualitative methodology was the best match for this study. Among other qualitative methodologies, constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014) guided this study. This type of methodology was

ideal for getting through the underlying processes to develop an understanding of the research topic. As the study aimed to reach the experiences and the meanings given to these experiences, this methodology made it possible to reach the implicit meanings. The research design was not a fixed one but iterative and flexible. The identification of a research problem, research area, or goal, as well as locating the guiding interests occurred before the research started. The steps that were followed during the research can be summarized as:

- interviews with participants who have firsthand experiences about the referral process to special education
- conducting a constant comparative analysis of the collected data
- allowing the collected data to lead the process of generating categories and a theory that is grounded in the data
- Data sorting and managing
- Listening to the interviews for a holistic understanding
- Transcription of initial interviews
- Line-by-line coding and labeling data to break data down
- Memoing and commenting on emerging codes which results with a code list
- Grouping codes into categories with the help of constant comparison and memos
- Gathering fresh data through theoretical sampling
- Abstracting through theoretical coding
- Coding to relate codes to categories and using memos and diagrams
- Reaching theoretical saturation
- Mapping categories and identifying theoretical core categories
- Sorting and diagramming theoretical categories
- Theoretical integration and reading literature about categories
- Building analytical framework
- Theory generation

Although the steps are listed in a linear way, there were several back and forth movements between these steps. On the other hand, memo writing was a process that was done through the research in several steps.

The study could use the data from 25 participants from five different positions — namely teachers, parents, school directors, school psychologists, and school inspectors. By following the guidelines of constructivist grounded theory, the data was analyzed through initial, focused, and theoretical coding in a constant comparative way. The data collection and analysis were also conducted in a concurrent way. Through excessive memoing, diagramming and commenting, the coding and categorizing steps led to the formation of a core category that could relate to all other categories. The core category showed what was happening in other categories. The next step was the theory generation. By asking the question of 'why' to the core category, the study came up with a theory that could explain why the observed actions were happening. The theory could go beyond the concrete actions and observations and provide abstract understandings (Charmaz, 2014).

11.2 Review of the Findings

The categories, sub-categories, core category, and theory, as well as the networks of the properties of the categories and the networks that show the connections between the categories, core category, or theory, can all be considered as findings of the study.

The findings showed that the special education referral process was a negative experience for parents. Special education is not seen as an educational facility or service, but as a way of segregating students from their Austrian peers, which will bring several negative outcomes such as hindered integration, lack of German learning, waste of potential, a disgrace for family, or no employment in the future. Teacher competencies, the wish for homogeneity in schools, and selective school system are some of the reasons that parents declared guilty of causing segregation of their children by placing them into special education. In addition, parents' experiences showed that the relationship between schools and parents during the referral process is strained and frustrating. The referral process was reminiscent of a battle where parents decided to fight back, seek support, or accept the defeat. In addition, parents admitted their contribution to the academic failure of their children due to lack of resources, parental interest, or educational background. There was also a visible effort to compensate for these deficiencies individually by engaging some other people such as other family members or tutors.

The specific experiences in the referral process were mainly challenging for teachers. The unclear guidelines, the inclusion of several people in the process, or the obligation to take several roles, were some of the reasons why teachers find the referral process complicated. The ambiguity embedded in the process created a feeling of hesitation and sometimes, frustration. Teachers did not deny their role or effect in the challenged situation of immigrants who are a vulnerable group. Going with the flow of the selective system and the norm-referenced evaluation were the points that teachers considered as their weaknesses. Moreover, teachers spotted other responsible parties such as parents, directors, the cultural group, or religion.

The data from school psychologists showed the dilemma that they go through during the process. Being dependent on test scores, but feeling the urge to take the lead and to be the mediator at times, were challenges for them. Sometimes they could only witness the helplessness of the situation. School psychologists shared that they witness rushed diagnoses and processes without giving enough time for an alternative intervention. Standardized tests that are required are other concerns for school psychologists due to their non-sensitivity to cultural differences. However, test scores are valued more than what school psychologists say during the decision-making process.

School directors and the school inspector had a relatively more distanced attitude to the questions regarding the special education referral process. They were inclined to prove their expertise and knowledge to make analyses at a broader level and develop suggestions for possible remedies. The educational achievement of immigrant students, according to the directors and the inspector, is related to teacher training, state-level policies, and the peculiarities of the social group, namely Turkish immigrants. They suggested that higher educational standards and more detailed guidelines would bring clarity to the process. On the other hand, they positioned themselves in an advisory position during the referral process. When needed, they provide expertise and suggestions. However, they prefer being objective because they represent the school authority.

After a brief summary of the findings for each participant group, the next point is the core category. Categories and sub-categories were mainly the observed actions of participants. However, by asking what was happening, a category among all emerged as a more comprehensible one than the others. The core category 'disassociation' was derived from parents' data. This category was related to all other categories from different participant groups. Disassociation occurred while talking about the factors that yield overrepresentation, while describing the referral process or while reflecting on individual contributions. Four of the participant groups showed an

effort to prove their distance to the process in some way. On the other hand, disassociation was visible while taking steps and deciding what to do next. Parents and school psychologists especially, distanced themselves by emphasizing their limited power and feeling of helplessness during the process. Disassociation was partial for teachers, parents, and psychologists, and total for school directors and the school inspector. Parents disassociated themselves as individuals, especially while taking over the responsibility. However, other participants were referring to the whole group of teachers, psychologists, or directors while talking about the process.

Asking the 'why' question to disassociation of the participants indicated that disassociation was a way of showing distrust. By rejecting, suspecting, or pointing to a lack of competencies, participants put their distrust into practice. That parents targeted other groups of participants, on the other hand, showed the mutual distrust. The mutual distrust was not only limited to special education, but mutual distrust was visible in larger dimensions such as the education system, teacher competencies, parental competences, immigrants, the Turkish community, or teacher education. Hence, the theory was called 'Building on mutual distrust' because distrust was at the core of the experiences.

11.3 Conclusion of the Study

Conducted in a culturally diverse capital city, this study and its findings have a relationship with multiculturalism and multicultural education because migration constitutes an important reason for the change in the profile of societies, cultural diversity, and migration are closely related to each other. A study that recruited immigrants and the people who have connections to immigrants through educational context is a significant one that helps to depict a picture of the educational response that a country gives to the increasing cultural diversity within its territory. In addition, recruiting the second biggest immigrant group is another factor that intensifies the significance of the study. This study confirmed the suggested tension between the Turkish community and the Austrian context. Being blamed for unwillingness for integration, embeddedness in social and cultural groups, or for indifference, was also visible in this study. On the other hand, parents talked about schools as places that we can observe the disadvantages of immigrants. However, this conclusion should not be given the utmost importance. Otherwise, this would be an oversimplification of the study findings. This study could clearly point to several other dimensions.

This study showed a low level of trust among the people included in the special education referral process. The guidelines and rules that lead the special education referral are distrusted as they yield power clashes, ambiguities, and challenges. Moreover, the distrust was beyond this specific process. Immigrants, or Turkish immigrants specifically, were distrusted as inefficient and indifferent parents, while teacher education is distrusted in terms of cultivating culturally responsive teachers. The selectivity of the school system or the pressure for norm-referenced evaluation were other dimensions that were distrusted. For some participants, this mutual distrust challenged the formation of a stronger relationship. Hence, the required cooperation in school settings was harmed.

The findings of the study can be discussed at the micro-level as well as at the macro-level. Special education was a distrusted and rejected concept for parents. Being referred to special education was related mainly to the burden of negative outcomes such as a hindrance to language learning, good employment possibility or integration into society. On the other hand, special education was a label of abnormality for families or their social and cultural groups. Decidedness to reject,

fight back, and engage other people were some of the steps that parents used to demonstrate their distrust of the special education referral process. To families, a special education diagnosis meant being defeated by the invincible school authority. Asymmetric power relationships or inferiority were considered consequences of being an immigrant.

The deep distrust of special education can be a result of the distrust that the parents have for other dimensions such as educational equity for immigrants in Austria. Findings showed that the common discussion on the integration of immigrants, their language deficiency, or the importance of employment for integration, were visible in the understanding of parents. The lack of information, resources, or language competence was justified by being an immigrant. However, education and schools were seen as keys to defeat the fate of immigrants. Special education schools, on the other hand, were places that hindered integration.

Teachers, school psychologists, school directors, and the inspector showed a high level of mutual distrust specifically related to special education referrals. That teachers' evaluation and suggestions are valued less than test scores, was a concern for teachers. Because they are the ones who spend more time with students and who can observe them, teachers considered themselves as competent enough for decision-making. However, the special education referral system is multi-headed, and engages several people such as school psychologists, school inspectors, or external psychologists. On the other hand, the special education referral system makes teachers vulnerable to the challenges that parents bring by being engaged or engaging external participants. The system of referral is also irritating for school psychologists as tests are not culturally sensitive, and the test scores are valued more than they should be. School psychologists shared their concerns also about the cultural sensitivity of teachers. Some cultural peculiarities make students vulnerable to being misunderstood if teachers do not take the culture into account.

Similarly, school directors and school inspectors had concerns about the special education referral process, specifically about the complexity of the rules and the guidelines. However, they also had a distrust of parental and teacher competencies. Immigrant parents or parents from the Turkish community are distrusted due to their lack of support for the education of their children. Being embedded in cultural or social groups and being religious or nationalist were some of the analyses that school directors and school the inspector made regarding parents. They also commented on teacher competencies and pointed to the lack of teacher competencies for cultural sensitivity and responsiveness. Teacher education was also distrusted as the teacher education program does not prepare teachers for such situations.

The final topic to discuss in terms of findings is the family involvement among immigrant families. Reaching immigrant families and asking them about the referral process provided solid findings in terms of their involvement in the education of their children and the reactions they get upon involvement. The findings indicated notable points about the school-parent relationship.

11.4 Implications of the Study

When the volume of the data is considered, it is obvious that there is still the possibility to continue analyzing the data and to enhance the findings and understanding. The inclusion of several different participant groups from different contexts could allow further analysis by referring to the comparison of different cases among referrals or family background. This study tried to reach a comprehensive understanding, hence attending all circumstances was not possible in one study. However, the collected data has the potential to focus on individual cases. Moreover, interview data can be analyzed again with a different focus or perspective.

The differences or similarities between teachers with a Turkish background and Austrian teachers could be a starting point for further research. On the other hand, the family structures can be examined to study the effect of family background or resources on the special education referral experiences. However, as already suggested, a new aim would require a new perspective and adaptations in the methods.

Another important point is the inclusion of children in such a study. Recruiting children who are in special education classrooms or schools was not desired for this study. Children were excluded from the scope of this study with the aim of not harming them just to maximize the data. The unwillingness of parents was also a reason for not recruiting students with special education needs. However, as a follow-up study, graduates of special education could be included and asked about their experiences and thoughts about the process.

The results showed that the Austrian special education system is distrusted not only by parents but also by some others who are the employees of the education system of the country. The aspects that form the distrust by participants, on the other hand, could be reached. Participants explained clearly what created their distrust. Attending to these aspects, more specifically through research, can reach valuable findings in terms of alleviating the situation and improving the system.

Further research can tackle specific areas such as teacher education or in-service training for cultural responsiveness, as well. Especially in a time that Austria has launched inclusive education as a subject to study in teacher education departments, paying attention to the ideas and experiences of teachers or pre-service teachers along with those of teacher educators, can have practical implications for the enhancement of teacher competencies. The overrepresentation of immigrant groups in special education can be an important discussion point for the teacher education departments that target educational equity through cultivating teachers.

11.5 Critical Reflections

The final point is the reflection on the whole study. There are several points to reflect on when the scope and peculiarities of the research are considered. The first one is the reflection of the researcher. Choosing a constructivist approach requires reflection on the researcher's role. The grounded theory, a product of the relationship between data, researcher, and participants, is not a ready-made product that could be collected from the field the same way by different people (Charmaz, 2014). In this study, data were constructed, the theory was constructed, and experiences were constructed. "Therefore, an honest presentation of our research requires that we include an explicit analysis of data as the product of a collaboration between ourselves and our informants" (Adams, 1999, p. 360). Although the participants have the power to decide what to share and what not to share, researchers have the power to decide how to work with the data and how to interpret it.

It is also important to reflect on the background of the researcher. Growing up in a so-called developing country and conducting research in a so-called developed country was questioned by several people concerning the competence of the researcher. Moreover, conducting research about Turkish immigrants as a Turkish immigrant yielded unfortunate bias in the academic setting. Nonetheless, by adopting a constructivist approach, the aim was not to reach the truth the way it exists. Paying attention to one's own preconceptions and being as reflexive as possible were two important tools that grounded theory provided. It is possible that the researcher was not fully aware of the Austrian context, and may have missed some points uttered by Austrian

participants. However, doing cross-cultural research brings such issues which may not be easy to overcome for foreign researchers.

The interpretive work in grounded theory should not be accepted as a validity issue, though. By discussing the results and emerging concepts with participants and having a prolonged interaction almost with all participants, increased the validity and cleared up misunderstandings. The data analysis was supported by several interpretation workshops with other scholars knowledgeable about grounded theory. Their feedback and suggestions were valuable in terms of coming up with valid results that the study targeted. On the other hand, the thick description of epistemological stance, justification of methodology, methods, and steps, as well as expanded analysis and presentation of data enhanced the reliability. Further quality checks for grounded theory are included in Chapter 6.

The next point to discuss is the clarity of this work to readers. As Charmaz (2014, p. 290) explained, "writing qualitative research is an ambiguous process". Several dimensions had to be included, and ambiguity sometimes became very intense. By following the suggestions of other grounded theorists, I, as a researcher, kept memoing, so the writing was trusted. However, being immersed in the process may prevent one from detecting the unclarified points. Our endpoint can make more sense for us than it does for others. However, writing on a clear path may not be possible all the time (Charmaz, 2014).

Topics such as inequities between native and immigrant students, providing equity for all, diminishing the effect of disadvantages of family background, vulnerability to teachers' bias, system pressure on parents and many other topics, have been discussed in the literature. In an era when we try to shift our focus to inclusion and provide education to make it possible for everyone to achieve their potential, the injustices, inequities, or discrimination, are still being observed in several settings in societies. However, talking about immigrants, refugees, people with disabilities, ethnic minorities, or other disadvantaged groups, should not be done in a victimization discourse, because victimization does not help to be critical about the issue (Jurisic, 2014). There should be more research that gives active voice to people who are disadvantaged. Research findings should be considered as interventions that make groups understand the role of research in policymaking. Research can also increase personal contact and trusting relationships across different actors.

Directories

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List of Abbreviations

BMASK:	Bundesministerium für Arbeit, Soziales, Gesundheit und Konsumentenschutz [Federal Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection]
BMBWF:	Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung [Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research]
BMNT:	Bundesministerium für Nachhaltigkeit und Tourismus [Federal Ministry of Sustainability and Tourism]
ECTS:	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SEN:	Special Education Needs
UNDP:	The United Nations Development Program
UNESCO:	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF:	The United Nations Children's Fund

Attachments

Appendix A: Austrian Education System

Appendix B: Distribution of Students with a Migration Background to School Types

Schülerinnen und Schüler mit nicht-deutscher Umgangssprache im Schuljahr 2018/19										
Schultyp	**Österreich**	**Burgenland**	**Kärnten**	**Niederösterreich**	**Oberösterreich**	**Salzburg**	**Steiermark**	**Tirol**	**Vorarlberg**	**Wien**
	Schülerinnen und Schüler mit nicht-deutscher Umgangssprache									
Schultypen zusammen	294.532	5.983	11.078	35.050	44.227	16.719	25.769	17.008	14.175	124.523
Volksschulen	106.148	2.016	3.725	13.912	16.960	5.588	9.240	6.288	5.447	42.972
Neue Mittelschulen	67.084	1.453	2.271	8.654	11.914	3.887	5.741	4.687	4.081	24.396
Sonderschulen	5.680	70	51	942	435	623	142	388	903	2.126
Polytechnische Schulen	5.462	85	162	644	1.055	308	368	387	416	2.037
Allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen	43.461	810	1.619	3.532	3.895	1.826	4.245	1.650	1.071	24.813
darunter AHS-Unterstufe	24.867	453	916	2.144	2.391	993	2.178	786	543	14.463
Sonst. allg. bild. (Statut-)Schulen	3.576	22	97	77	129	174	64	8	5	3.000
Berufsschulen	20.953	285	877	1.224	4.014	1.697	1.935	1.204	538	9.179
Berufsbildende mittlere Schulen	12.659	336	480	2.223	1.817	692	1.231	664	589	4.627
Sonstige ber.bild. (Statut-)Schulen	1.554	45	255	122	140	116	310	34	52	480
Berufsbildende höhere Schulen	27.860	861	1.541	3.720	3.845	1.808	2.479	1.673	1.073	10.860
Bundessportakademien	95	-	-	-	23	-	14	25	-	33
Schulen im Gesundheitswesen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Akademien im Gesundheitswesen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Schülerinnen und Schüler mit nicht-deutscher Umgangssprache im Schuljahr 2018/19										
Schultyp	**Österreich**	**Burgenland**	**Kärnten**	**Niederösterreich**	**Oberösterreich**	**Salzburg**	**Steiermark**	**Tirol**	**Vorarlberg**	**Wien**
	Anteil der Schülerinnen und Schüler mit nicht-deutscher Umgangssprache in %									
Schultypen zusammen	26,4	17,3	15,8	17,3	22,5	22,1	17,6	17,6	26,0	52,2
Volksschulen	31,0	19,5	18,2	21,5	27,5	26,1	20,8	21,6	32,3	58,9
Neue Mittelschulen	32,5	21,3	18,3	22,1	28,9	27,9	20,4	22,9	34,0	75,6
Sonderschulen	38,8	20,3	15,5	24,7	33,5	37,7	26,0	29,5	48,8	61,1
Polytechnische Schulen	36,0	22,5	23,8	21,6	33,9	33,6	19,8	24,3	42,3	77,0
Allgemein bildende höhere Schulen	20,4	13,3	11,9	9,4	13,7	13,4	14,6	11,2	14,1	39,6
darunter AHS-Unterstufe	20,6	12,7	11,3	9,5	14,5	14,0	13,9	10,5	13,7	40,2
Sonst. allg. bild. (Statut-)Schulen	33,0	9,3	16,8	5,2	15,1	26,9	5,8	1,4	4,8	57,4
Berufsschulen	18,1	13,0	12,1	7,3	15,9	18,7	11,6	9,9	8,2	45,6
Berufsbildende mittlere Schulen	29,0	24,0	15,5	24,6	22,2	22,3	23,1	17,8	30,4	58,6
Sonstige ber.bild. (Statut-)Schulen	19,3	10,1	21,3	18,3	12,4	16,7	28,0	8,5	10,5	24,9
Berufsbildende höhere Schulen	19,6	13,8	14,6	14,4	15,5	16,9	14,1	13,9	17,7	38,3
Bundessportakademien	3,1	-	-	-	3,6	-	2,2	4,1	-	2,9
Schulen im Gesundheitswesen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Akademien im Gesundheitswesen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Source: Statistik Austria
https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bildung/schulen/schulbesuch/index.html

Appendix C: Guidelines for Inclusion, Integration and Special Education in Vienna

Selected Pages (in German)

Source: Vienna Education Council. (2014). Guidelines for Inclusion, Integration and Special Education in Vienna. Retrieved from http://www.za-aps-wien.at/fileadmin/uploads/file/40430_Leitfaden_Ink-Int-Son_Mai_2014_01.pdf

I. Erziehungsberechtigte

Nach dem Schulunterrichtsgesetz § 61 gilt: „Die Erziehungsberechtigten haben das Recht und die Pflicht, die Unterrichts- und Erziehungsarbeit der Schule zu unterstützen." Trotz der Pflicht der Erziehungsberechtigten ist es unerlässlich, dass die Institution Schule für alle Kinder gleichartige Rahmenbedingungen setzen kann, die nicht auf außerschulische Belange und Zuständigkeiten angewiesen sind. Dass gute Zusammenarbeit mit den Erziehungsberechtigten beste Voraussetzung ist und wäre, ist unbestritten.

II. Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs

Schulpflichtgesetz: SchPflg § 8.a

(1) Schulpflichtige Kinder mit sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf sind berechtigt, die allgemeine Schulpflicht entweder in einer für sie geeigneten Sonderschule oder Sonderschulklasse oder in einer den sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf erfüllenden Volksschule oder Neue Mittelschule oder Unterstufe einer allgemein bildenden höheren Schule zu erfüllen, soweit solche Schulen (Klassen) vorhanden sind und der Schulweg den Kindern zumutbar oder der Schulbesuch auf Grund der mit Zustimmung der Eltern oder sonstigen Erziehungsberechtigten des Kindes erfolgten Unterbringung in einem der Schule angegliederten oder sonst geeigneten Schülerheim möglich ist.

a) Grundsätzliches zum Begriff der Behinderung

Das Schulpflichtgesetz sieht vor:

Schulbesuch bei sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf

§ 8. (1) Der Bezirksschulrat[1] hat den sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf für ein Kind auf Antrag der Eltern oder sonstigen Erziehungsberechtigten des Kindes, auf Antrag des Leiters der Schule, dem das Kind zur Aufnahme vorgestellt worden ist oder dessen Schule es besucht oder sonst von Amts wegen festzustellen, sofern dieses infolge physischer oder psychischer Behinderung dem Unterricht in der Volks- oder Hauptschule, Neuen Mittelschule oder im Polytechnischen Schule ohne sonderpädagogische Förderung nicht zu folgen vermag.

Aus pädagogischer Sicht wird jede Form der Stigmatisierung abgelehnt. Der gesetzlichen Forderung, jede Lernbehinderung kausal auf eine festgestellte psychische Behinderung zurückzuführen und mit dieser zu begründen, wird im sonderpädagogischen Gutachten in abgewandelter Form entsprochen. **In sonderpädagogischen Gutachten werden Lernbehinderungen nach drei Kategorien unterschieden:**

„A" als „Schwerstbehinderung, geistige Behinderung, massive Lernbeeinträchtigung",[2]
„B" als „starke Lernbeeinträchtigung" und „C" als „Lernbeeinträchtigung".

1 Der Stadtschulrat für Wien übernimmt die Agenden des Bezirksschulrates. Die Bezeichnung Bezirksschulrat ist in Veränderung, derzeit aber noch im Gesetz die aktuelle Form.

2 Der Begriff „geistige Behinderung" ist sehr stark in Verwendung und zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt für viele Beteiligten klar verständlich. Es muss jedoch angemerkt werden, dass in Zukunft auch alternative Bezeichnungen zu finden sein werden, da die diskriminierenden Konnotationen, die damit verbunden sind, nicht unterschätzt werden dürfen.

Im SPF-Bescheid, der an die Erziehungsberechtigten ergeht, ist die Unterscheidung nicht festgehalten – ausschließlich im schulinternen System. Der vielfach umgangssprachlich benutzte aber unklare Begriff der „Lernschwäche" wird im 17.IB amtlich nicht verwendet.[3]
Jeder Bescheid muss eindeutig mit der Art der festgestellten Behinderung begründet werden. Eine Lehrplanänderung zum Beispiel während des nachfolgenden Beobachtungszeitraumes muss daher folgerichtig kausal mit der festgestellten Behinderung zusammenhängen. So ermöglicht beispielsweise eine physische Behinderung (Körperbehinderung) keinen Lehrplanwechsel von der Volksschule zur allgemeinen Sonderschule[4].

b) Antragstellung
Der Antrag auf Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs kann von dem Erziehungsberechtigten oder von Amts wegen gestellt werden (in der Schule, in der das Kind eingeschrieben wird oder im zuständigen Sonderpädagogischen Zentrum). Die Antragstellung soll/muss bei **eindeutiger** Behinderung schon **vor** dem Schuleintritt erfolgen (im Zuge der Schuleinschreibung).
Die Diagnose ADS (ADHS) alleine begründet ebenso wenig wie die Diagnose „Legasthenie" die Feststellung des Förderbedarfs. Die Empfehlungen zur adäquaten Förderung bzw. der Einsatz von zu planenden Stützmaßnahmen kann jedoch sehr wohl unabhängig vom sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf ausgesprochen werden.
Es ist zum Zeitpunkt der Antragstellung nicht unbedingt notwendig, bereits den geeigneten Platz, an dem eventuell vorliegendem sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf entsprochen werden kann, zu kennen.

c) Zeitpunkt des Verfahrens
Die Einleitung eines Verfahrens zur Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs aus Anlass einer Kategorie B hat entweder zum Schuleintritt oder gegen Ende der Grundstufe I der Volksschule, spätestens **im 4. Jahr der Schulpflicht nach Ausnützen** aller Fördermöglichkeiten (Vorschulklasse und Klassenwiederholung) zu erfolgen. In begründeten Ausnahmefällen und im Falle von Lernbeeinträchtigung (später Zuzug, Auslaufen des außerordentlichen Status, auftretende Lerndefizite u.ä.) kann auch im Zuge der Mittelstufe (Neue Mittelschule) das Verfahren zur Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs eingeleitet werden. Grundsätzlich kann/soll dieses spätestens in der 5. Schulstufe oder im sechsten persönlichen Schuljahr des Schülers erfolgen.
Der Pflichtschulinspektor stellt den entsprechenden Bescheid aus, der festhält, ob der sonderpädagogische Förderbedarf zuerkannt wird; dieser muss aber noch keine Lehrplanzuordnungen enthalten (wenn noch Unsicherheiten bestehen, ob ASO oder SSO Lehrplan). Bei Unsicherheiten zwischen VS- und ASO-Lehrplan ist es nicht vorgesehen, dass ein Bescheid über sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf aus Gründen einer Lernbeeinträchtigung ausgestellt wird, denn dafür steht dem Kind die Zeit der Schuleingangsphase zu.
Anträge auf sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf aus Gründen der Lernbeeinträchtigung (Kategorie B und C) sind nicht in jedem Fall zwingend mit einem Jahresverlust in der Volksschule verbunden.[5]

3 Grundsätzlich würde nach dem Gesetz gelten: „Es gibt keinen sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf ohne eindeutigem Zusammenhang mit einer psychischen oder körperlichen Behinderung. Beispielsweise gilt nach dem Gesetz: Jedes lernbehinderte Kind muss auch als psychisch behindert gelten (aber nicht jedes psychisch behinderte Kind ist lernbehindert!)." Wie aber bereits erwähnt, wird von dieser Sichtweise Abstand genommen.

4 Sofern nicht grundsätzlich zum Beispiel geistige Behinderung oder Lernbehinderung vorliegt.

5 Kinder mit starken mentalen Beeinträchtigungen („geistig behindert" nach alter Terminologie, bzw. Lehrplanterminologie) sind von dieser Regelung selbstverständlich ausgenommen. In allen anderen Fällen ist das Einverständnis mit dem Landesschulinspektor zu suchen.

Verstärkt sich eine latent vorliegende, aber noch nicht festgestellte Lernbeeinträchtigung durch den Wechsel von der VS in die NMS, können ebenso sonder-/pädagogische Maßnahmen initiiert werden.
Über Anträge für Schüler **für die vor dem 3. (also im 1. und 2. Lernjahr)** oder **nach dem 6. persönlichen Lernjahr** ein sonderpädagogischer Förderbedarf aus Gründen der Lernbeeinträchtigung eingereicht wird, wird **ausschließlich** vom Landesschulinspektor, in der Regel nach Behandlung durch die Regionale Kommission, entschieden (nicht zu vergessen, dass Anträge vor dem Schuleintritt bei eindeutiger Behinderung keine Genehmigung durch den Landesschulinspektor benötigen).

d) Sonderpädagogischer Förderbedarf bei Schuleintritt
Bei eindeutigen Anzeichen einer Schwerstbehinderung, geistigen Behinderung oder massiven Lernbeeinträchtigung ist bei Schuleintritt ein Verfahren einzuleiten. Es ist jedoch ausdrücklich darauf zu achten, dass dem Kind in den ersten Schuljahren auch die notwendige Entwicklungszeit gegeben wird und der entsprechende Leistungsdruck nicht unangemessen sein darf.
Jeder Bescheid muss eindeutig mit der Art der festgestellten Behinderung(en) begründet werden. Wird der SPF wegen Sinnes-, Körper- oder Sprachbehinderung festgestellt, kann die gleichzeitige Feststellung einer (massiven) Lernbehinderung nur durch zweifelsfreie Einstufung in den ASO-Lehrplan begründet werden. In diesem Fall ist kein Beobachtungszeitraum von 5 Monaten zulässig! Im Bescheid muss in diesem Fall in der Begründung sowohl die Sinnes-, Körper- oder Sprachbehinderung als auch die Lernbehinderung festgehalten werden! Sollte die Erfüllung des VS-Lehrplans im Bereich des Möglichen liegen, muss unter Ausnützen eines mehr als 4-jährigen Grundstufenbesuchs (auch mit der Möglichkeit von 4 Jahren in der Grundstufe I) diese (Erfüllung des VS-Lehrplans) angestrebt werden!

e) Lehrplanwechsel
Es ist wichtig, dass nicht „einfach" nachträglich Lehrplanänderungen durchgeführt werden, die mit der Begründung für den sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf, ausgesprochen im Bescheid zur Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs, nichts zu tun hatten. Aus der Begründung einer zum Beispiel körperlichen Behinderung oder Sprachbehinderung heraus lässt sich kein Lehrplanwechsel abweichend vom Volksschullehrplan ableiten.
Sollte ein Lehrplanwechsel (nachträglich) aus Gründen durchgeführt werden, die im Bescheidverfahren zur Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Gutachtens noch nicht bekannt waren oder bekannt sein konnten, so ist dies eindeutig und nachvollziehbar für alle Beteiligten festzuhalten. Das bedeutet konkret, dass in dem Bescheid an die Erziehungsberechtigten auszuführen ist, dass der Wechsel (zum Beispiel) auf den Lehrplan der Allgemeinen Sonderschule aus Gründen der Lernbehinderung vorgenommen werden muss. Ein erneutes (zweites) Verfahren zur Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs ist jedoch nicht vorgesehen, denn das Verfahren zum Wechsel der Lehrplanzuordnung basiert auf denselben Qualitätsstandards wie das eigentliche Verfahren zur Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs aufgrund von Lernbehinderung.

f) Das Verfahren
Der Antrag **auf Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs** wird von der regionalen Kommission im jeweiligen Bezirk bearbeitet und vom zuständigen Pflichtschulinspektor entschieden. Die Zustimmung des Landesschulinspektors ist einzuholen, wenn besondere Fol-

gen zu erwarten sind.[6] Der Bescheid, ausgestellt von der jeweiligen Inspektionskanzlei, beendet das Antragsverfahren. Jeder Bescheid hat eine Begründung zu enthalten, die auf das einzelne Kind fokussiert ist. Die bislang praktizierte Variante, dass in der Begründung auf Gutachten verwiesen wird und die gesetzliche Regelung angeführt wird, genügt ab sofort nicht mehr.
Die Behinderungskategorie/n (**Autismus, Lernbehinderung, Körperbehinderung, Geistige Behinderung, Hörbehinderung, Sehbehinderung, Sprachbehinderung, Gehörlos, Blind, Schwere Mehrfachbehinderung**) ist/sind in der Begründung im Bescheid anzuführen.
Die Erstellung und Aufbereitung des Antrags für die Behandlung in der regionalen Kommission obliegt dem Leiter des Sonderpädagogischen Zentrums. **Der Antrag hat Gutachten und Sachverhaltsdarstellungen (Befunde) zu enthalten.**

g) Unterschied Gutachten und Sachverhaltsdarstellung
Es ist zwischen einer Sachverhaltsdarstellung (z.B. Bericht) und einem Gutachten zu unterscheiden. **Ein Gutachten erfüllt mehr Anspruchskriterien als eine Sachverhaltsdarstellung.**[7] Ein Gutachten muss von einem Sachverständigen erstellt worden sein, muss Befunde bzw. Sachverhaltsdarstellungen erheben und diese in einer Schlussfolgerung in objektiver Art und Weise zusammenfassen.

h) Schritte zur Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs

1. Die Lehrer, die über längere Zeit mit dem Kind gearbeitet haben, kommen gemeinsam mit der Schulleitung zu dem Schluss, dass das Verfahren zur Feststellung des Sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs eingeleitet werden soll.
2. Die angesprochenen Lehrer füllen den LehrerInnenfragebogen aus (Teil A – Anmeldung). Das betreuende SPZ wird kontaktiert und ein Termin mit einer vom SPZ beauftragten Person vereinbart.
   Die Schulleitung fertigt den LehrerInnenfragebogen – Teil A – entsprechend den Vorgaben aus (Stempel, Unterschrift, Kopie des Schülerstammbogens – Noten, Schullaufbahn, ...).
   Die Übergabe des Fragebogens und der anderen Unterlagen an die vom SPZ beauftragte Person gilt als Anmeldung zur Durchführung eines sonderpädagogischen Verfahrens.
3. In der Folge wird von der SPZ-Leitung oder einer vom SPZ beauftragten Person ein Problemaufriss erstellt, werden Fakten erhoben, pädagogische Details erfragt, eine Unterrichtsbeobachtung durchgeführt und das Kind sonderpädagogisch begutachtet. Bei sinnes-, sprach-, schwerst- oder körperbehinderten Kindern ist jedenfalls Kontakt mit dem zuständigen überregionalen SPZ aufzunehmen und ein fachspezifisches Gutachten einzuholen.
4. Nach Sichtung der vorliegenden Informationen entscheidet die Leitung des SPZs oder die vom SPZ beauftragte Person in Absprache mit dem zuständigen Pflichtschulinspektor, bzw. mit der Schulleitung der VS oder NMS über die Notwendigkeit der Weiterverfolgung des Verfahrens und informiert die Schulleitung der betreffenden Schule darüber.
5. Falls sonderpädagogischer Förderbedarf unabdinglich erscheint, unternimmt die Schulleitung[8] die nächsten Schritte:

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6 Die Zustimmung des Landesschulinspektors ist zwar rechtlich nicht vorgesehen, basiert aber auf einer Vereinbarung innerhalb der Abteilung. Bei stark divergierender Sichtweise – das bedeutet massive Beschwerden sind zu erwarten z.B. seitens der Erziehungsberechtigten – ist eine Einbeziehung jedenfalls notwendig.

7 vgl. in ähnlichem Sinne der Ausführungen im Allgemeinen Verwaltungsverfahrensgesetz AVG

8 Die Schulleitung kann sowohl die VS, die NMS, die PTS als auch das SPZ sein.

- Anlegen des Bogens „Antrag auf Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs (in der Muttersprache der Erziehungsberechtigten, sofern verfügbar)
- Vorladung der Erziehungsberechtigten zur Leistung der Unterschrift
- Einholen diverser Gutachten und Stellungnahmen
  - Befunde (medizinische, therapeutische)
  - Pädagogische Befunde zum Leistungsstand des Kindes, z.B. FERT 2, pädagogisch-standardisierte Testverfahren (z.B. Lesetest), CBM (curriculumbasierte Messungen)
  - Schulpsychologisches Gutachten (Zustimmung der Erziehungsberechtigten erforderlich!)
  - Stellungnahme der Schulleitung
  - Dokumentation der Fördermaßnahmen
  - Es können auch von den Erziehungsberechtigten beigestellte Gutachten Berücksichtigung finden.
  - Zeugnisse und Schulnachrichten der letzten 2 Schuljahre (bzw. Kopie des Stammdatenblattes, sofern alle Informationen enthalten sind)
- Ausfüllen des LehrerInnenfragebogens, Teil B und optional des Fragebogens zu den Stützfunktionen
- Übermittlung aller vorliegenden Befunde und Berichte gemeinsam mit dem abgestempelten Antragsformular an das zuständige sonderpädagogische Zentrum

6. Erstellung eines sonderpädagogischen Gutachtens auf der Basis aller vorliegenden Informationen.[9]
7. Einreichung bei der regionalen Kommission. Auf Wunsch der Erziehungsberechtigten ist vor oder in der Kommissionssitzung eine mündliche Verhandlung einzuberaumen
8. Die Entscheidung erfolgt bescheidmäßig durch den Pflichtschulinspektor. Nach Rücksendung der Unterlagen an die zuständige Schule sind diese dem Schülerstammblatt beizulegen und entsprechende Vermerke im Schülerstammblatt einzutragen.
9. Sollte über den künftigen Schulplatz keine Einigung im Vorfeld mit den Erziehungsberechtigten erzielt worden sein, so ist der Bescheid über die Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs ohne Angabe an welcher Schule künftig das Kind die Schule besuchen soll, abzufertigen. Eine gesonderte schriftliche Information über den künftigen Schulplatz ist den Eltern mitzuteilen. Die bescheidmäßige Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs kann im Bedarfsfall unabhängig von der Information über den Schulplatz erfolgen.
10. **Die Information über den geeigneten Schulplatz kann gesondert vom Bescheid ausgestellt werden.** Diese Information enthält zum Beispiel den Satz: „Der Schüler... kann die allgemeine Schulpflicht in der ..... ab 1. März 2014 erfüllen, da an dieser Schule dem sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf entsprochen werden kann."

i) Das Sonderpädagogische Gutachten

Das sonderpädagogische Gutachten wird von einem SPZ-Leiter oder einer vom SPZ-Leiter beauftragten Person erstellt.[10] Jedes sonderpädagogische Gutachten ist vom SPZ-Leiter zu unterschreiben. Es hat eine Reihe von bestimmten Merkmalen zu erfüllen:

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9 Das sonderpädagogische Gutachten kann auch von z.B. einem sonderpädagogischen Berater erstellt werden. Wesentlich ist aber der Umstand, dass es immer vom zuständigen SPZ-Leiter unterschrieben wird, unabhängig vom Verfasser.

10 Alle Personen, die zur Erstellung eines sonderpädagogischen Gutachtens im 17.IB beauftragt werden können, müssen zentral in der Inspektionskanzlei namentlich gemeldet worden sein.

- Es enthält eine Sachverhaltsdarstellung, die auf eigener Beobachtung des Kindes basiert.
- Es enthält Schlussfolgerungen, die durch Sachverhalte begründet sein müssen.
- Es berücksichtigt vorhandene Befunde, Sachverhaltsdarstellungen und Gutachten in neutraler Art und Weise und weist darauf hin, wenn in verschiedenen Gutachten andersartige Schlussfolgerungen gezogen werden.
- Es analysiert die Lernschwierigkeit/Lernbeeinträchtigung nach den Gesichtspunkten der personenverankerten, soziokulterell bedingten oder sonstigen Beeinträchtigung/Behinderung.
- Es zeigt verschiedene Optionen für den weiteren schulischen Bildungsverlauf des Kindes auf. In **allen** Fällen muss das Gutachten eine Darstellung enthalten, die über verschiedene Varianten **weiterer schulischer Verläufe** Auskunft gibt. So muss jedenfalls ersichtlich sein, in welcher Form dem Kind bei einer Beschulung in Einzelintegration bei Verbleib in der jeweiligen Stammklasse, also der Volks- oder Mittelschulklasse, entsprochen werden kann – hiefür ist bei der Schulleitung der Stammschule explizit nachzufragen und die Antwort in knapper Form im Gutachten anzuführen und die Informationen aus dem LehrerInnenfragebogen (auch in Bezug auf künftige Mitwirkung) zu beachten. Die regionale Kommission muss auf Grund des Gutachtens in der Lage sein, verschiedene Optionen für die Unterstützung eines Kindes, ob mit oder ohne festgestelltem sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarf, ins Auge fassen zu können.
- Es benennt die Anforderungen an die notwendigen Fördermaßnahmen – unter Berücksichtigung der diagnostizierten Ursache für die Lernschwierigkeit – und ist nicht zwingend an die Aussprechung eines sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs gebunden.
- Es beinhaltet eine kurzgefasste Begründung für den Spruch (Entscheidung im Bescheid zur Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs) im Umfang von 2 bis 8 Sätzen. Auf eine ausführliche Begründung möge im Sinne des AVG geachtet werden, wenn der Spruch des Bescheides nicht dem Willen des Antragstellers entspricht. Die Begründung stellt einen wesentlichen Bestandteil des Bescheids dar. Siehe dazu Allgemeines Verwaltungsverfahrensgesetz, AVG § 60: „In der Begründung sind die Ergebnisse des Ermittlungsverfahrens, die bei der Beweiswürdigung maßgebenden Erwägungen und die darauf gestützte Beurteilung der Rechtsfrage klar und übersichtlich zusammenzufassen." **Musterbeispiel für eine Begründung**:

  Der SPF liegt auf Grund einer Lernbehinderung vor. Das Kind XY kann die gestellten Anforderungen nach Maßgabe des Lehrplanes der 2. Klasse Volksschule in der Erfassung und Anwendung des Lehrstoffes nicht genügend erfüllen. Entsprechend eingesetzte Fördermaßnahmen konnten auf Grund der festgestellten Lernbehinderung den gewünschten Lernzuwachs nicht bewirken.

Mögliche weitere Mustersätze für die Abfassung einer Begründung für den Vorsitzenden der Kommission:

- Für den Schüler besteht sonderpädagogischer Förderbedarf auf Grund einer Lernbehinderung.
- Auf Grund der Lernbeeinträchtigung war zu entscheiden, dass in den Gegenständen ... nach dem Lehrplan der Allgemeinen Sonderschule zu unterrichten und zu beurteilen ist.
- Weiter wurde am ... bei der Beratung über die bestehenden Fördermöglichkeiten und den zweckmäßigsten Schulbesuch eingehende Gespräche geführt.
- Der Schüler ... kann trotz entsprechenden Fördermaßnahmen ... nicht den Anforderungen des Lehrplans für ... infolge von Lernbeeinträchtigungen folgen. Das äußert sich folgendermaßen ...
- Die Leistungsanforderungen des Lehrplans der x. Schulstufe in den Gegenständen ... können trotz Förderangebote ... auf Grund einer Lernbeeinträchtigung nicht erfolgreich bewältigt werden.

j) Lernprobleme

Lernprobleme sind ein Kernproblem des Lehrberufes. Dabei ist die Frage, welchem Lehrplan welcher Schulart ein Lernproblem zuzuordnen ist, für konkretes pädagogisches Handeln sekundär. Lernprobleme sind personenverankert, soziokulturell bedingt und oder auf sonstige Art erzeugt. Eine Kenntnis und systemische Analyse der Erzeugungsursache(n) ist notwendige Voraussetzung für erfolgreiche Interventionen, nach Stand der Didaktik.

Das Phänomen „personenverankerte Lernschwierigkeit" verlangt von der Pädagogik die Kenntnis über Symptome, mögliche Fehleranalysen, ein Wissen um evidenzbasierte Förderung, eine Kenntnis der Berücksichtigung in pädagogischen Settings. Auf die Grenzen der Möglichkeiten einer kausalen Ursachenforschung im pädagogischen Kontext muss hingewiesen werden. Nicht jede Lernschwierigkeit kann tatsächlich auf eine erkennbare Ursache zurückgeführt werden.

Das Phänomen „soziokulturell bedingte Lernschwierigkeit" benötigt eine Pädagogik, die Milieugruppen, Lebenswelt und Alltagsprobleme kennt, kulturelle Prägungen und Erziehungsstile durch Kreativität in Lehr- und Lernumgebungen überwindet, und auch mögliche Barrieren in der Medienpädagogik behebt.

Nach Stephan Ellinger (Universität Leipzig) gibt es unter den sonstigen Gründen ebenso das Phänomen „institutionell erzeugte Lernschwierigkeit"[11]. Nach Ellinger verlangt die Beseitigung dieser Form von „Behinderung" eine Erweiterung des Berufsbildes des Pädagogen, vermehrte Kooperationskompetenz und Kommunikationskompetenz innerhalb der Organisation, und Beratungskompetenz den Schülern und Erziehungsberechtigten gegenüber.

k) Das schulpsychologische Gutachten

Im Schulpflichtgesetz § 8(1) ist formuliert: „... ein sonderpädagogisches Gutachten sowie erforderlichenfalls ein schul- oder amtsärztliches Gutachten und mit Zustimmung der Eltern oder sonstigen Erziehungsberechtigten des Kindes ein schulpsychologisches Gutachten einzuholen ...". Ferner (also zusätzlich) können Eltern/Erziehungsberechtigte Gutachten von Personen, die das Kind bisher pädagogisch, therapeutisch oder ärztlich betreut haben, vorlegen, die aber nicht ein schulpsychologisches ersetzen können. In jedem Fall ist die Zustimmung der Eltern zur Einholung eines schulpsychologischen Gutachtens anzustreben. In Einzelfällen kann es jedoch bei Weigerung der Eltern dazu kommen, dass kein schulpsychologisches Gutachten erstellt werden kann. Das vereinzelte Fehlen eines solchen darf bzw. soll dennoch nicht zur Minderung der Entscheidungsqualität führen.

Privatgutachten haben keinen ersetzenden Wert!

l) Begriffe und Kategorien in Bezug auf Lernschwierigkeiten

Aus formalen Gründen kann der Antrag über die Feststellung des sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs im Bescheid nur ein eindeutiges Ergebnis erbringen, entweder eine Zuerkennung oder eine Ablehnung. Es ist jedoch für die Schlussfolgerungen in den Gutachten in Bezug auf Lernbehinderungen und Lernbeeinträchtigungen notwendig, nachfolgende Begriffe und Kategorien zu verwenden. Diese sind jedoch nicht im eigentlichen Bescheid auszudrücken.

Die angeführten Indikatoren sind beispielhaft angegeben. Selbstverständlich werden keinesfalls alle Indikatoren jeweils für eine Einzelperson, für eine Kategorie, zutreffen. Ob ein Kind in der

11 Stephan Ellinger führt mehrere Studien als Beleg für die Existenz einer institutionell erzeugten Behinderung an: Klein (1969): Lernbehindert = Schüler der L-Schule; Thimm (1975): Institutionelle Identifizierung; Wilbert (2010): Stereotype mindern kognitive Leistungsfähigkeit; Ellinger/Engelhardt (2006): Selektion in Schwedens Einheitsschule; Gomolla/Radtke (2002): Institutionelle Diskriminierung; Ellinger et al. (2009): Schule abschaffen um Schule zu ermöglichen

Volksschule/NMS reüssieren kann, hängt nicht nur so sehr von dem einzelnen Indikator ab, sondern vielmehr von weiteren Fakten, die gesamtheitlich zu prüfen und zu betrachten sind, und in der Schlussfolgerung eines Gutachtens zusammengefasst werden.
Qualitativ hochwertige Gutachten, wie sie zum Beispiel von anerkannten Ambulatorien ausgestellt werden, sind natürlich völlig anders zu gewichten und sind für das Gutachten natürlich bedeutsam.

Appendix D: Info Sheet for Parents in German

Sehr geehrte Eltern,

Ich mache eine Studie zum Thema „die Überrepräsentation türkischstämmiger Kinder im österreichischem Sonderschulwesen". Ich möchte mit Türkischen Eltern über die möglichen Gründe reden. Diese Forschung ist die erste Studie mit türkischsprachigen Eltern. Deswegen ist Ihre Hilfe sehr wichtig. Die Daten, die für diese Forschung gesammelt werden, werden nur für die Forschungsziele benutzt und streng vertraulich gehalten. Um teilzunehmen, wäre ein 45-60 Minuten dauerndes Gespräch genügend. Falls Sie akzeptieren dieser Forschung zu helfen, schreiben Sie bitte Ihre Handynummer auf diesen Zettel und geben Sie ihn der Lehrerin Ihres Kindes. Sie brauchen nicht Ihren Namen zu schreiben. Ich werde Sie so schnell wie möglich kontaktieren.

Herzlichen Dank

Appendix E: Info Sheet for Parents in Turkish

Değerli Anne ve Babalar,

Göçmen kökenli çocukların özel eğitim okullarındaki (Sonderschule) aşırı sayısını incelemek üzere bir araştırma yapmaktayım. Bu araştırma Türkçe konuşan ailelerle yapılan ilk çalışmadır. Bu sebeple, ailelerin çocuklarının bu okullardaki eğitimi ile ilgili görüşleri bu konuya dikkat çekmek için çok önemlidir. Bu çalışmada toplanacak bütün veriler sadece araştırma amaçlıdır ve bütün kişisel bilgiler kesinlikle gizli tutulacaktır. 45-60 dakikalık sözlü bir görüşme ile bu çalışmaya katkıda bulunmanız bilime yardımcı olacaktır. Çalışmada yer almayı kabul ediyorsanız lütfen bu notun üzerine telefon numaranızı yazarak notu çocuğunuzun öğretmenine iletin. En yakın zamanda sizinle telefon aracılığıyla iletişime geçilecektir. İsim yazılması gerekli değildir.

Teşekküler

Appendix F: Background Questions for Parents

Background questions to ask during interviews:

1. Reason for immigration
2. Arrival to Austria
3. The first destination in Austria
4. The birthplace of the child
5. The birthplace of the parents
6. Number of the siblings
7. Education level of parents
8. Occupation of parents
9. Profession of parents
10. Grades of siblings, if attending school
11. The relationship of the child to siblings
12. The relationship of the child to friends
13. The relationship of the child to family members
14. Information about household
15. The space that the child has in the house
16. Schooling history of the child
17. Schooling history of the parents
18. Schooling history of the siblings
19. Extracurricular activities, if any
20. Hobbies and common time of the family
21. Contact to Turkish society
22. Relation to extended family and neighbors

Appendix G: Background Questions for Teachers, School Directors, Inspector and School Psychologists

Background questions to ask during interviews:

1. Year of graduation
2. Institute of graduation
3. Teaching/Work experience
4. Subjects
5. Administrative work in the school, if any
6. Birthplace
7. Schooling history
8. Any other academic studies
9. Relationship with immigrant society
10. Resided cities/neighborhoods so far
11. Volunteer job related to immigrant society, if any
12. Training/Workshops/Further education related to immigrant education if any,

Appendix H: Memo in Multiple Languages

Memo about the code 'justifying the failure'

The failure is accepted, and several reasons are given for it. Going to sonderschule is a result, and there are many reasons for it. Failure is considered a result, basarisizlik. However, it is not a concept to fight with for many. Trying to understand why it happened is what many do. Durumu anlamaya calismak. Neden bu diagnose oldu? Neden bu feststellung oldu? They seem to answer these questions. Some answers can be personal and some others can be reflected on the larger areas such as system or discrimination. However, in any case, there is an effort to understand why it happened. Schuldirektorin or Schulpsychologin said this or that. Sometimes agreed, sometimes disagreed. Most of the time, failure is justified with accepting that it was going to happen. Trying to come up with explanations to connect the result with the predispositions. It was known, it was expected...

Appendix I: Assurance of Anonymity and Confidentiality in German

Zusicherung der Anonymität der Teilnahme

Hiermit sichere ich, Seyda Subasi, als die verantwortliche Person von dieses Forschungsprojekts, dass Ihre Daten anonym gespeichert und nur für wissenschaftliche Zwecke verwendet werden.
Ihr Interview wird mit einem Aufnahmegerät aufgezeichnet und sodann von den Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern des Forschungsprojekts in Schriftform gebracht. Für die weitere wissenschaftliche Auswertung der Interviewtexte werden alle Angaben, die zu einer Identifizierung der Person führen könnten, verändert oder aus dem Text entfernt. In wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen werden Interviews nur in Ausschnitten zitiert, um gegenüber Dritten sicherzustellen, dass der entstehende Gesamtzusammenhang von Ereignissen nicht zu einer Identifizierung der Person führen kann. Die Teilnahme an den Interviews ist freiwillig. Sie haben zu jeder Zeit die Möglichkeit, ein Interview abzubrechen, weitere Interviews abzulehnen. In so einem Fall genügt es der zuständigen Person (Seyda Subasi) bescheid zu geben. Vor und nach dem Interview, können sie Fragen bezüglich der Studie stellen.
Abschließend möchte ich mich herzlich für ihre Teilnahme bedanken. Für weitere Informationen können Sie sich jederzeit bei mir melden.

Vorname, Familienname Datum Unterschrift Seyda Subasi

Appendix I: Assurance of Anonymity and Confidentiality in Turkish

universität wien

Gizlilik Güvencesi

Bu belge ile ben, Şeyda Subaşı, araştırma projesinin sorumlusu olarak paylaştığınız kişisel bilgilerin gizli bir şekilde kayıt edileceğini ve sadece bilimsel amaçlar için kullanılacağını teyit ederim. Görüşmeler sırasında konuşmalar kayıt cihazı ile kayıt edilecektir ve sonrasında araştırma projesi çalışanları tarafından yazıya aktarılacaktır. Analiz sırasında görüşmelerdeki bütün kişisel bilgiler değiştirilecek ya da silinecektir. Bilimsel yayınlarda görüşmelerden kesitler isim içermeden ve kimliği açığa çıkarmayacak şekilde kullanılacaktır.

Görüşmeye katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. İstediğiniz an çalışmadan çekilebilir ve sonraki görüşmeleri red edebilirsiniz. Böyle bir durumda sorumlu kişiyi bilgilendirmeniz yeterlidir. Görüşmeden önce ve sonra araştırma ile iligili sorularınızı sorabilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya katılımınızdan dolayı teşekkür ederiz. Daha fazla bilgi için her zaman bizimle iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

İsim Soyisim	Tarih	İmza
Seyda Subasi		

Appendix J: Professional Secrecy Statement for Transcriber

Institut für Bildungswissenschaft

Schweigepflichtserklärung für MitarbeiterInnen

Im Rahmen Ihrer Mitwirkung an Forschungsprojekten am Arbeitsbereich „Inklusive Pädagogik (Fokus: Beeinträchtigungen)“ werden Ihnen persönliche Daten von Forschungsteilnehmer/innen zugänglich gemacht. Diese Informationen erhalten Sie im Zuge der Aufbereitung und Analyse des Datenmaterials.

Sämtlichen teilnehmenden Personen wurde vor Beginn der Datenerhebungen absolute Vertraulichkeit zugesichert. Das Recht auf Datenschutz soll somit durch die vorliegende Vereinbarung garantiert werden.

Mit Ihrer Unterschrift verpflichten Sie sich zu folgendem Verhalten:

1. Sämtliche Informationen zum oben genannten Personenkreis sind streng vertraulich zu behandeln, i.e. diese Daten dürfen keiner weiteren Person zugänglich gemacht werden. Hiervon ausgenommen sind lediglich Personen, die ebenfalls diese Erklärung unterzeichnet haben.
1. Protokolle, Ton- und Videobänder sowie andere Informationsträger mit personenbezogenen Daten sind nur in Absprache des Teams des Forschungsprojekts für die Aufbereitung und Analyse des Datenmaterials zugänglich.
2. Probandenbezogene Dokumente dürfen weder kopiert, noch darf wörtlich aus ihnen zitiert werden.
3. Diese Verpflichtung unterliegt keiner zeitlichen Beschränkung.

_____

(Name in Druckschrift)

Datum: Unterschrift:

Appendix K: Part of Initial Codes

edu. stands for education
SE stands for special education
This list includes only a part of initial codes. The whole list of codes is not shared due to the risk of duplication of the study.

Accepting help from others
Accepting mistakes made
Accepting school as an authority
Accepting own weakness
Accusing others of not helping
Accusing teachers of indifference
Agreement with teachers on failure
Anger on teachers
Applying guidelines
Applying rules
Appreciating the improvement of a child
Arbitrariness in the process
Austrian psychologist
Austrian teachers
Austrian children
Avoiding conflict with school
Avoiding disclosure to a social group
Avoiding talking about it

Bad experiences in the process
Being a dependent child with SEN
Blaming fellow parents
Blaming himself/herself
Blaming teachers
Blaming the selective school system
Building trust in the family

Cannot explain the situation
Caring for children more and more
Categorization of competences
Challenging process for families
Challenging process for children
Choosing the side
Classifying parents based on interest
Comparing failure in other families
Comparing not desired within families
Comparing success in other families
Confusing process
Convinced by the school authority
Convincing child to study more
Cooperating with children
Cooperating with colleagues
Cooperating with families
Criticizing authorities

Decidedness
Decreasing motivation by the time
Deep trust in a child
Denial
Denying responsibility
Denying the efforts
Denying the results
Deprivation from educational facilities
Deprivation from leisure activities
Deprivation from modern edu
Deprivation from normality
Deprivation from rights
Deprivation from social activities
Different practices in schools
Disagreeing with school authorities
Disparity
Dissatisfaction about school
Dissatisfaction about SE
Dissatisfaction about teacher training
Distancing from responsibility
Distrust of comparative evaluation
Drawing lines in society

Education as a competition
Emotional
Empathy for immigrants' difficulties
Emphasizing the importance of edu.
Emphasizing the importance of language
Emphasizing the importance of parents
Emphasizing the importance of teachers
Encouraging segregation through SE
Engaging the child more in school
Excluding from Austrian children
Excluding from Austrian society
Excluding from normalchildren
Excluding from own social group
Excluding from society
Experiencing as a family
Experiencing as a social group
Experiencing an immigrant group
Extra support from parents
Extra support from siblings
Extra support from Turkish teachers
Lack of subject knowledge

Family stress
Father's fear from school
Fear of authority
Fear of being fired
Fear of being labeled
Fear of detention
Fear of employment
Fear of failure
Fear of future
Fear of stigmatization
Feeling ashamed
Feeling attacked
Feeling defeated
Feeling discriminated
Feeling disgrace
Feeling embarrassed
Feeling fooled
Feeling forced
Feeling guilty
Feeling harassed
Feeling helpless
Feeling hopeless
Feeling inferior
Feeling insulted
Feeling manipulated
Feeling of achievement
Feeling of anger
Feeling of stress
Feeling powerless
Feeling right
Feeling shame
Feeling silenced
Feeling supported
Feeling surprised
Feeling trapped
Feeling unwanted
Fighting against authority
Fighting against school
Fighting back
Fighting prejudice
Finding no way out
Focusing on cumulative stress
Focusing on language competence
Frustration

Generating excuses
Getting information from the child about the process
Getting nervous by the time
Getting no help
Getting no say as a parent
Getting serious by the time
Giving up

Happiness due to teacher interest
Helping a child at home
Hiding the reality
Hiding the truth from children
Hiding the truth from parents
Hindering integration through SE
Hoping for external help
Hoping for miracle
Hoping for reversibility
Hostility in school
Hyperactivity

Impatience of teachers
Incompetent teachers
Increasing motivation by the time
Indifference of teachers
Individual issues as a collective problem
Informing the child about his/her competence

Judging school decision
Judging school norms
Justifying the failure of the child
Justifying the authority
Justifying the sides chosen
Justifying the power relations
Child not informed about SE
Child trusting himself
Children as a victim of power clash

Labeling based on competences
Lack of choice about school
Lack of cooperation
Lack of interest in school
Lack of motivation
Lacking cultural information
Lacking linguistic information
Lacking religious information
Lacking resources at home
Language competence as a tool
Language to defend oneself
Language to fight back
Language to gain respect
Learning from mistakes
Limited knowledge about the process
Looking for solution
Loosing as all immigrants
Losing time in SE

Misguidance of school
Monocultural teachers
Mother not signing
Motivating child for more studying

Necessity of fighting with the school
No chance to study home
No consultation from school
No parent cooperation with teachers
Non-acceptance feeling
Non-acceptance of school
Non-supporting parents
Non-welcoming classrooms
Non-welcoming school
Non-welcoming teachers
Normality focus
Not being believed
Not deserving of this diagnosis
Not informed enough
Not keeping parents on the track
Not remembering
Not repeating mistakes made
Not satisfied with diagnoses
Not sharing with family
Not sharing with others
Not sharing with the child
Not talking about it
Not understanding the process
Nothing to do
Not-informing child about his/her case

Othering herself from other parents
Our children
Our teachers

Parent's interest in money
Parents' indifference to school
Problematic norms
Protecting child
Providing a good life for children
Psychologist help

Racism
Raising voice
Regretting cooperation with school
Rejecting collaboration
Rejecting diagnosis
Rejecting the decision of referral
Reliving herself by justifying
Resisting authority

Saving the second child
School as a team
School not allowing extra help
School not listening
School stepping back
School trying to get rid of failure
School trying to get rid of immigrants
School's fastidiousness
Schools' dishonesty
Schools' effort to win
Schools' obsession with immigrants
Schools' wrong decision
SE as exclusion
SE as concentration issue
SE brings nothing
SE diagnosis as a competition
SE exhausting
SE for naughty children
SE means abnormal
SE means doctor
SE means extra help
SE means extra teacher
SE means irresponsible children
SE means no edu.
SE means untidy
SE not necessity
Seeking advice
Seeking consultation
Seeking external help
Seeking help
Seeking help from family
Seeking information
Seeking the responsible
Segregation
Setting wrong norms in the schools
Shocked upon treatment in school
Showing effort in the process
Shyness in school
Silence in school
Silenced children
Silenced parents
Standing decided
Stepping back
Suspicion
Suspicion about the necessity of SE
Suspicions about SE referral

Taking over responsibility
Taking precautions before referral
Teacher authority
Teacher competence

Teacher setting boundaries
Teachers protecting themselves
Teachers reversing themselves
Teachers' dependence
Teachers' disagreement
Teachers' negative effort
Teachers' propaganda
Their children
Their teachers
Feeling threatened
Threatening schools
Trusting in child
Trying harder as parents
Trying to improve herself as parent
Trying to prove them wrong
Trying to reverse the case
Trying to compensate with more care
Turkish teachers

Uncertainty about the process
Understanding SE

Uneducated
Uneducated families
Unfair school system
Unfitting teachers
Unpreparedness of teachers

Variedness in the process
Victimization of system

Waiting for confirmation
Wanting to change
Wanting to fight
Wanting to help children home
Welcoming Turkish teachers
Worrying about children
Intellectually weak parents

klinkhardt forschung

This book discusses the overrepresented referral of students from a migrant background to special education by concentrating on the case of students from a Turkish background in Austria. It attempts to open space for bringing first-hand experiences together to address the complexity of the referral process and to develop an understanding that goes beyond oversimplification and linear explanations for the overrepresentation of students from a migrant background in low-promising schools.

Dieses Buch diskutiert die Überrepräsentation von SchülerInnen mit Migrationshintergrund mit sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf, wobei in der Studie SchülerInnen mit türkischem Hintergrund in Österreich im Mittelpunkt stehen. Es wird versucht, Raum für die Zusammenführung von Erfahrungen aus erster Hand zu schaffen, um die Komplexität des Überweisungsprozesses anzugehen und ein Verständnis zu entwickeln, das über die Vereinfachung und lineare Erklärungen für die Überrepräsentation von SchülerInnen mit Migrationshintergrund in nicht-vielversprechenden Schulen hinausgeht.

Die Autorin

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