CO-CONSTRUCTION OF BELIEFS REGARDING LITERATURE DURING THE SENIOR CLASS—A PROJECT REPORT[1]

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Abstract
In a literary didactical and educational sociological way, this empirical examination attempts to answer the question of how students in senior classes of academic high schools (16-19 years) acquire and maintain notions and beliefs concerning literature. We assume that advanced-level German teaching at school has a huge impact on the realisation of these notions with regard to literature. Thus, this study focuses on how beliefs are alternatingly co-constructed. Our results underline the great influence of teachers in forming their students' beliefs about reading and literature. The results show a strong interdependence between the teachers' beliefs regarding reading and literature, the way teachers conduct class-talks in literature lessons and the emergence of the students' beliefs regarding literature in a decisive phase of growing up.

Keywords: beliefs regarding literature, documentary method, literary co-construction, narrative interviews, socio-scientific hermeneutics, videography

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[1] *The study depicts an outline of the extended version published in German under the title Ko-Konstruktion von literarischen Bildungsvorstellungen im Verlauf der gymnasialen Oberstufe [Co-Construction of literary educational concepts during high school] (cf. Dawidowski et al., 2019). The project was generously supported by the German Research Community (DFG) from 2014 until 2018, under the reference number DA 14982.*

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1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This project report serves to summarise and portray the project *Co-Construction of literary educational concepts during high school* supported by the German Research Community, which was conducted at the University of Osnabrück between 2014 and 2019. This article gives an overview on the research question, the methods used and the central results of a longitudinal research project, in which we observed the co-construction and transfer of beliefs concerning literature in the context of literary education during (and after) attending an advanced-level German class. By collecting data via narrative interviews (with 42 students) and videography (30 class sequences) as well as using social-scientific methods (socio-scientific hermeneutics, documentary method, segmentation, and configuration analysis) to analyse the data, we were able to interpret the complex relations between teachers, students, and education during the whole duration (two years) of the advanced-level German classes. We reconstructed how beliefs concerning literary reading change and intensify.

German secondary education consists of a variety of school types, often differing from state to state. Some of these types (especially the Gymnasium and the Gesamtschule) prepare for higher education. The last two years before the final examination are marked by classes on a basic or an advanced level. The study only focuses on those advanced-level German classes, which are held six hours a week over two years and mostly deal with literature. The aim of these classes can be described as learning the essentials of the history of German literature starting in the 18th century (knowledge), learning to interpret these complex texts (competences and skills) and learning to accept and respect them as a part of tradition and culture (Bildung), which is meant to develop a set of beliefs about literature.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In German empirical research, there are many different studies that focus on beliefs towards literature, interpretive patterns and reading socialisation in the broadest sense (cf. e.g., Dawidowski et al., 2019; Graf, 2004; Mahling, 2016; Stolle, 2017; Wieser, 2008, 2020; Witte, 2020). Research on the teachers' (and students') beliefs towards literature and reading is established in Anglo-American areas as well (cf. e.g., Asselin, 2000; Fives & Gill, 2017; Maggioni et al., 2017; Renzi, 2005; Schutz et al., 2020). In the Anglo-American areas, the conception of beliefs is an established and fixed term, whereas we use beliefs regarding literature just as translation for the German construct of literary ideas and concepts of literacy (see below).

Asselin deals with preservice teachers' beliefs regarding reading and literature. "What teachers think of these subjects affects how they implement literature-based reading instruction and influences their students' views of reading and literature" (Asselin, 2000, p. 31). She points out that recent research has shown the stability and

resilience of teachers' beliefs, but as well "some studies have shown that alternative views can develop under certain conditions" (Asselin, 2000, p. 35). In her qualitative research, she implemented a whole-class instruction in a university elementary language art class, individual novel reading and literature circles in small groups (reader response journals). Asselin reconstructs different beliefs on the reading process: most of the students understand reading as an interactive process and think text meanings vary across readers. They approach interpreting literature as an individual process. Moreover, students believe pleasure reading should be part of reading instruction. "Students distinguished between pleasure or aesthetic reading and the more familiar efferent reading of literature in schools" (Asselin, 2000, p. 41) (cf. Asselin, 2000, pp. 39-42). Further on, she analyses the beliefs about literature: more than half of the students believe that quality literature has distinct features, and that literature can be used across the curriculum (cf. Asselin, 2000, pp. 44-45).

Renzi deals with the influence of teachers' beliefs on literature instruction in the high school English classroom, which she analyses with ample descriptions (narrative method) of interviews, observations, video tapes of classroom instructions etc. (cf. Renzi, 2005, p. 34). "The teachers' personal approaches to literature were often in conflict with what the school version of literature instruction was supposed to be" (Renzi, 2005, p. 34). Renzi shows the teachers' "beliefs about literature were heavily influenced by their own high school experience" (Renzi, 2005, p. 152) and "that each teacher's beliefs about what worked in the classroom (beliefs about pedagogy) and what students could and could not do (beliefs about students) were directly related to what their purpose for/of literature was in the classroom (beliefs about literature)" (Renzi, 2005, p. 153). She identifies three types of beliefs: literature for enjoyment, literature as layers and literature as a community building tool (cf. Renzi, 2005, p. 153).

Schutz, Hong, and Cross Francis emphasize the connection between individual beliefs and environment: "What an individual comes to believe about others and the world develops over time through their transactions with others within their immediate and social-historical contexts" (Schutz et al., 2020, p. 29). They describe the structure of belief systems. There are quasi-logical structures assuming that beliefs are in relation and dependence to other beliefs (cf. Schutz et al., 2020, p. 30). Moreover, they exist in socially developed clusters and "[a]lthough beliefs systems appear to be rigid, they are indeed susceptible to change" (Schutz et al., 2020, p. 32).

Although there are many studies focusing on the connection between teachers' beliefs and class acting, research is missing that links teachers' and students' beliefs about reading and literature, teachers' and students' acting in class and the negotiation of literature beliefs in class (co-construction). This paper wants to contribute to this desideratum.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND AIMS

Literary education is part of cultural education. It is "permit of cultural membership"[2] (Eggert, 1992, p. 19) and special (canonized) literature serves as "permit of literary education" (Eggert, 1997, p. 16). Altogether, the term is interpreted and defined quite differently; a definition accepted by all positions does not exist yet. Education assumes tasks of enculturation and participation. The processes of literary education are unintentional processes, and they are efforts of self-moulding of character and personality. Literary education means more than specialised and factual knowledge, competences, or the mere reproduction of interpretive patterns as high-quality term of reading. Key aspects are individuation, socialisation, and enculturation. Learners should perceive and read literature individually and independently, talk about literature (dialogue) and be able to "participate in processes of social communication about literature" (Abraham & Kepser, 2009, p. 68).

Our research suggests that literary education can be captured in individual shaping by the reconstruction of interpretive patterns (cf. Wolf, 2020). We will investigate the questions: how do interpretive patterns become a result of co-construction and how do they alter in the discourse of advanced-level German classes? Firstly, we conceptualise the key terms: *beliefs regarding literature (1)*, including their underlying *interpretive patterns (2)*, as well as the *process of co-construction (3)*.

Beliefs regarding literature (1) can be examined by the help of analysing interpretive patterns (Deutungsmusteranalyse). These patterns (see below) can be understood as unconscious "cognitive formations", which serve "as interpretation of the world, guarantee an orientation of the typical, average and expectable reality, and are almost considered mandatory" (Oevermann, 2001, p. 43). Therefore, beliefs can be described as "embodied conscious and unconscious ideas and thoughts about oneself, the world, and one's position in it developed through membership in various social groups, which are considered by the individual to be true" (Cross, 2009, p. 326). To answer the question of the development and the co-constructional character of interpretive patterns, the empirical reconstruction of individual patterns shown by teachers as well as students serves as basis. These patterns can be characterised as implicit bodies of knowledge (cf. Oevermann, 2001). *Beliefs* in Anglo-American research (cf. Fives & Gill, 2017) are frequently used in teachers' research (see above) to study cognitions, which provide directions in teaching (*teachers' beliefs*). Calderhead (1996) differentiates 1) beliefs about learners and learning, 2) beliefs about teaching, 3) beliefs about subject, 4) beliefs about learning to teach and 5) beliefs about self and the teaching role. Beliefs should be shaped and put into relation to knowledge, which has another epistemologically status.

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[2] *All German quotes have been translated into English. This applies to all German references (cf. Index of Literature).*

Interpretive pattern (2) is our translation of a German sociological concept called *Deutungsmuster. Deutungsmuster* as a construct emanates from the German sociologist Ulrich Oevermann (cf. Meuser & Sackmann, 1991; Oevermann, 2001). By the help of analysing interpretive patterns beliefs can be reconstructed, a brief description of the concept shall ensure a better understanding of the term:

> "Interpretive patterns are unconscious, latent, and persistent ideas and beliefs […], which develop at a supraindividual level, e.g., in groups or societies. These patterns can affect different subjects. They represent supraindividual, cognitive and implicit structures of knowledge. Interpretive patterns are the product of opinions and views of the world (to create collective sense and mind), which take place individually and build up collectively. Soeffner interprets the (constructed) sense as product of interaction" (Wolf, 2020, p. 80).

Due to the assumption that social reality can be understood as construction (cf. Berger & Luckmann, 1966), which represents "the frame of individual construction" (Groeben, 2004, p. 148), the term *co-construction (3)* plays a central and important role within the scope of the research project. Co-construction as "social principle of development" (Krappmann, 1991, p. 374, quoted in Groeben, 2004, p. 161) connects individual norms and patterns of behaviour as well as supraindividual social norms and patterns of behaviour on macro-, meso- and micro-levels (cf. Krappmann, 1991, p. 374, quoted in Groeben, 2004, p. 161). "What an individual comes to believe about others and the world develops over time through their transactions with others within their immediate and social-historical contexts" (Schutz et al., 2020, p. 29). In this process, interpretive patterns are focused as interdependent co-constructions. The negotiation processes of interpretation and beliefs as seen in Groeben and Hurrelmann (2004) are explicitly put at the centre of this.

Thus, the goal of this study is to gain insight into the interdependence of micro-, meso- and macro-levels within the scope of *co-construction of interpretive patterns* (cf. Garz & Blömer, 2010). Regarding the acquisition of individual patterns of students as well as teachers (phase 1 and 4, cf. phases described below), the examination aims at the micro-level of educational research. The examination of educational processes in peer group and teacher (phase 2 and 3) on the meso-level of interpersonal negotiations and influences will complement this. Next to this, the macro-level of social interpretive patterns will be integrated by considering the state of current educational sociological research. In the context of the analysis of co-constructing interpretive patterns, the interrelations of the three levels will be analysed. To briefly summarise, our qualitative empirical study focuses on two central questions:

1) Which *interpretive patterns* regarding literature can be described for students at secondary school and their teachers, and which course does the development of the students' interpretive patterns run concerning the context of literary socialisation?

2) How can one describe the *co-construction of interpretive patterns* between students of secondary education and their teachers?

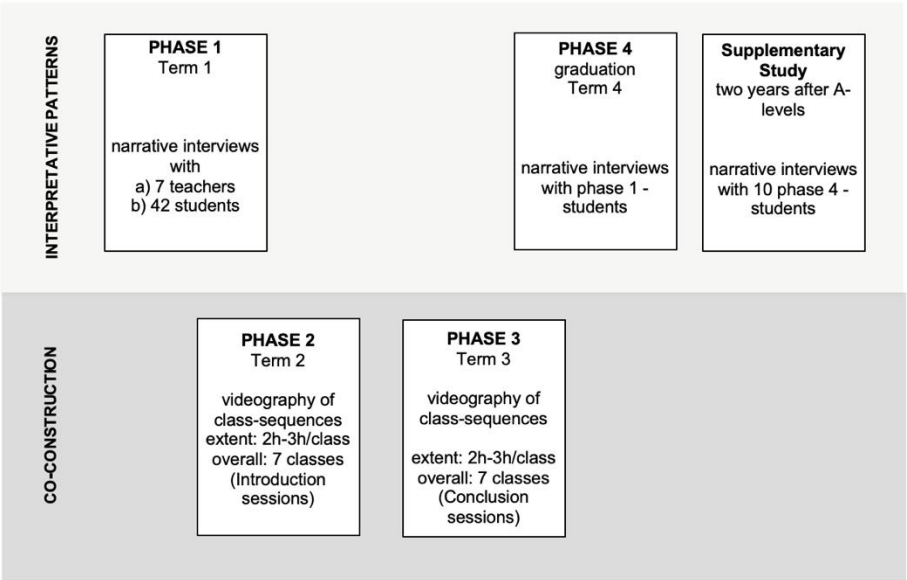
4. METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

4.1 Phasing

The examination of the study's subject area calls for choosing a qualitative research design. Forty-two students as well as seven teachers were examined over the course of two years (2014-2016). We used narrative interviews and videography as methods of data collection. We also used the social-scientific hermeneutic knowledge analysis (cf. Soeffner, 2004) and the documentary method (cf. Bohnsack, 2003), combined with segmentation and configuration analysis (cf. Dinkelaker & Herrle, 2009), as evaluation methods. Employing the complementary study which was conducted in 2017—during the beginning of academic studies with a two-year interval after graduating high school—ten of the students underwent a narrative interview again to discuss questions concerning consistency and stability of interpretive patterns during a phase of biographical transition (cf. the accompanying study Wolf, 2019 and 2020, as well as Witte, 2020). The results of this complementary study enable statements regarding long term effects and possible modifications in terms of interpretive patterns after the students exit the social group of 'advanced-level German classes' (and, respectively, enter the social group of 'university students'). Thus, they form a 'real' longitudinal section.

The informants of the study were restricted to seven teachers and 42 students out of seven advanced-level classes (six students from each class) as a result of the choice of a qualitative research design with an extensive data volume. Courses were found by the help of gatekeepers. When selecting students for each course, teachers were asked to select high, average and low achievers. The phasing and collection of data is conducted based on the two subgoals to gain knowledge about (1) interpretive patterns and their development as well as (2) the process co-construction, as the following overview matrix illustrates:

Figure 1. Phases and subgoals of the project



During the project, interpretive patterns, their development as well as the processes of co-construction were examined in four different phases. Phases 1 and 4 specifically focused on interpretive patterns.

Phase 1: at the beginning of the first term of the qualification phase (senior class), we collected data by means of narrative interviews. We transcribed and thus fixed the audio recordings created during this process.

Phase 4: we interviewed the students again. The examination of the same interview partner enabled a description of the changes concerning interpretive patterns during the senior class. The narrative interview on phase 4 showed differences and constants.

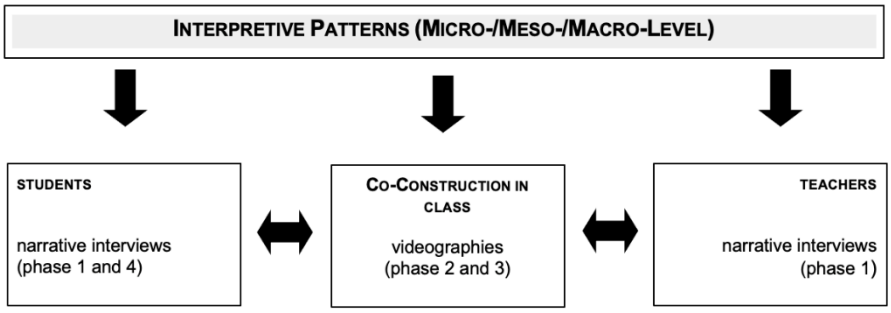
The examination of co-construction of interpretive patterns in the process of this study can be divided into two phases: the same classes were filmed in phases 2 and 3. The introduction and conclusion sessions of these classes, during which a literary corpus relevant for graduation was discussed as a whole, are essential for the examination. The following German titles were read and discussed in the classes: “Kabale und Liebe” (Schiller, 1784, play, 2 classes), “Faust I” (Goethe, 1808, play, 3 classes), “Im Westen nichts Neues” (Remarque, 1928, novel, 3 classes). They all belong to the German literature canon at school. The introduction sessions lasted two to three hours per session. The videography of the conclusion sessions enables insights to the interpretive patterns towards literature of class units dealing with specific reading material and to the processes of discursive negotiation and

alignment of respective patterns. The conclusion sessions conducted after a timespan of approximately two weeks and also lasted two to three hours per session.

The meso-level of social encounter was the object of the examination of the second part (phase 2 and 3) of the study. This process firstly dealt with the negotiations related to literature (processes of co-construction) in 20 class sessions assisted by the already chosen informants. It became obvious that the social and symbolic levels within the group 'German class' cannot be separated; they are only able to be gathered in reciprocal references. This is visible in the results observing the negotiation processes regarding interpretive patterns in group dynamics and student-teacher-relation. During the second step, we examined the coinage of interpretive patterns of the involved 42 students after graduation. Again, we complemented the study at this point: ten of the students were interviewed a third time after graduating (supplementary study). Phase 3 depicts the need to extend the recordings to examine and highlight correlations in development between phase 2 and 4, by means of contrastive comparisons. This results in a data size of 91 interviews as well as 30 video recordings of class sessions.

While the single phases were previously illustrated, the interdependencies of the two subgoals 1) interpretive patterns and 2) their co-construction can be summarised with the help of the following scheme with regard to the methods that were used. Beliefs can be found on micro- as well as macro-levels. They do not just influence the individual (student, teacher) but also the social connections or contexts as specified by teaching literature in advanced-level German classes.

Figure 2. Interdependence of interpretive patterns and co-construction



4.2 Data collection and analyse-methods

Due to the strictly qualitative and open procedure (interpretive pattern-analysis in the context of social-scientific hermeneutics, documentary method), a concrete hypothesis cannot be phrased (cf. Flick, 2002 and 2018; concerning the advantages of the research paradigm: Bohnsack, 2003, p. 17). The used methods, briefly sketched, are presented in an overview (cf. Dawidowski et al., 2019, pp. 23-78):

4.2.1 Narrative interviews

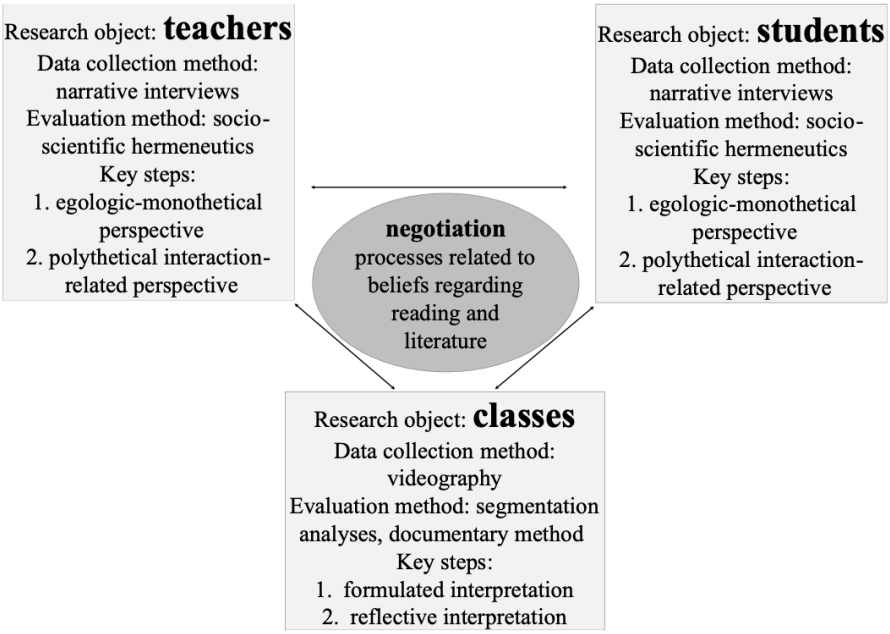
The qualitative data collection methods, focused on gaining insight in interpretive patterns of the involved teachers and students, can be defined by means of cultural-sociological reception research (Dawidowski, 2009). Narrative interviews form an essential methodical element of this study. As opposed to guideline-based interviews, the interview partners are confronted with an open introductory question. The narrative stimulus of this study (in phase 1, phase 2 and supplementary study) was: *Please think about your previous life, your childhood, your youth and tell me, as detailed as possible, about your memories when it comes to reading.* Narratives about the course of the literary socialisation were generated by the informants. These narratives later give information on interpretive patterns (cf. Brinkmann, 2018). This process of "allowing to narrate" (Eggert, 2009, p. 235) is shaped by a strongly reserved questioning behaviour of the interviewer in the main part of the interview. Possible discrepancies, follow-up question or links to merely superficially implied narrative aspects are supposed to be dealt with later.

One cannot assume a homology between experiences and narrated life's story, focused on the aspect of reading behaviour and the beliefs associated with that. Nevertheless, the possibility of self-expression (social desirability effect) of the interviewee functions as an important information source concerning the beliefs determined in phase 1 and 4. The method calls for an especially high degree of familiarity with the interest of the study on behalf of the interviewer, who must acquire a personal relationship with the informant. Therefore, interviewers were specially trained scientific employees. We trained them theoretically and practically: the specific interview situation was simulated several times.

4.2.2 Methods of analyse

Figure 3 illustrates our methodical design. It shows the three research objects, the methods of data collection, the evaluation methods, and the key steps of the analytical procedure.

Figure 3. Methodical design



We conducted the analysis based on the transcripts of the narrative interviews by means of social-scientific hermeneutical procedure (cf. Soeffner, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c). Reconstructing the egologic-monothetical perspective, the ideal self-expression and the sense of the utterances made by the interviewee is attempted to be reconstructed. By explaining the because and in-order-to motives, the intersubjective traceability of such reconstructions is given. It contributes to a consistent generating of interpreting and self-analysing patterns (cf. Hitzler, 2005; Reichertz, 2004; Soeffner & Hitzler, 2004a, pp. 46-47). In a second step of analysis (polythetical interaction-related perspective), we confronted the self-analysis of the interview partners with objectively possible textual meanings. This, especially, involves the depiction of the differences between the possible textual meanings and the self-expression of the students and teachers. We are not interested in *what* they say or do, but *how* they say something: from the narratives, the unconscious interpretive patterns are reconstructed through fine linguistic analysis.

The videography as the other important study component enabled a comprehensible documentation of the interaction between students and teachers. The videography of class segments can be attributed to the differentiation of the documentary method regarding its research-methodological background (cf. Bohnsack, 2003).

Segmentation analyses formed the first step of the analysis of the videographies (cf. Dinkelaker & Herrle, 2009, pp. 54-56; Knoblauch et al., 2012), which helped to gain an overview "of the sequential progression of (teach-learn) interaction" (Dinkelaker & Herrle, 2009, p. 52) and to select particularly 'dense' sequences to analyse. Subsequently, we produced and commented verbal transcripts of the videographies. At first, we conducted a configuration analysis for each selected and transcribed segment, which, as opposed to the segmentation analyses, focused on simultaneity. We used it to get an idea of the 'organisation of space' at the beginning of a segment that was selected via the segmentation analysis. The proceedings focused on how to create a common space for interaction and to define text and context.

For the detailed analysis of negotiation processes, we used a modified form of the documentary method as Monika Wagner-Willi (2005, p. 2013) created it during a study examining interactions in classrooms. It subdivides the steps of the videographical micro-analysis, like Ralf Bohnsack did, into two steps: (a) the formulated interpretation and (b) the reflective interpretation (cf. Wagner-Willi, 2005, p. 274). The formulated interpretation (a) "remains in the scope of the 'immanent' meaning" (Bohnsack, 2003, p. 134) and is dedicated to the reconstruction of the *What* of classroom talks. The aim of the reflective interpretation (b) is to determine "the documentary meaning, the *How* of the social interaction and execution of action, described in detail" (Bohnsack, 2003, p. 279) in form of the collective "(orientation-)scope" (Bohnsack, 2003, p. 135). Here, the discourse is of vital importance since it is assumed that actions and utterances are only understandable and interpretable if they have been made before, as seen in the sequence analysis. Because of this, an essential part of the analysis focuses on the reconstruction of *formal* structure of the discourse—like "dramaturgy" and "discourse organisation" (Bohnsack, 2003, p. 138). We focused attention also (content-wise) on the development of a field of tension between negative 'counter horizons' and positive horizons within a conjunctive space of experience (cf. Bohnsack, 2003, pp. 136-137). Ultimately, the comparative moment serves as an important component of the documentary interpretation, which also leads to the formation of types (cf. Bohnsack, 2003, pp. 141-143): Thus, we made not only comparing references to segment of a class videography, but also references within particular segments and to other analysed class videography. In the reciprocal reference of the results of the two subgoals, we conducted a conclusive synoptically reflection, comparing the results of the narrative interviews and the videography analysis and relating them to one another. This process showed if and in what way the interpretive patterns of the students changed during the study and how these changes correlate with the negotiation processes in class.

The different analysis phases aimed at interdependencies between micro-, meso- and macro-levels of negotiating interpretive patterns. Thus, we firstly analysed the initial condition regarding the interpretive patterns of the informants in literary educational processes in school (micro-level, social and symbolic, cf. ch. 5.1). In the

second step, we looked at the processes of co-construction (meso-level, social and symbolic, cf. ch. 5.2).

5. RESULTS

5.1 Micro- and macro-level: Interpretive patterns about literature

5.1.1 Students at the beginning of Advanced-level German classes (interview series1)

Considering the young age of the participants, we only expected limited clear characteristics of interpretive patterns—an assumption that was later confirmed in the analysis. However, the subjective dimension of literature in the lives of these students, which in some cases already formed partly stable interpretive patterns, were surprisingly clear (cf. Dawidowski, 2016a and 2016b).

The interviews illustrate the dimensions of literary reading beliefs of the 'highest segment', the advanced-level German class, of imparting literature in school. In the following section, we introduce the four dominant dimensions of literary interpretive patterns. It is important to note that none of those patterns can be conceived as a pure form or type. An informant generally connects a few of these patterns in his literary consciousness with one of them being more dominant and executive in most cases. The students' individual interpretive patterns (micro-level, symbolic) correlate with their individual childhoods involving literature at home and in school; thus, the social and symbolic dimensions are inseparably connected.

Informants without reading-specific characteristics (group 1):

> "Reading? […] Well, I have never read much, but as a child my mother always read out ehm the same book to me. This one I could listen to a hundred times. I always liked it... Yes and well, today, I, actually, never read books... Mmm. Yes I just read the necessary stuff I must read in school (I: Mhh.) I also don't like to read, news, that, I look at it when, yes I got it on my mobile phone well, on my phone sometimes information, or, so, ehm, yes and." (Melanie, L. 4-10)[3]

Isolating this first group from the second one (literature as learning medium) is difficult. There is no other group in the corpus overlapping with the one showing no reading-specific characteristics and beliefs. Ten interviews can be assigned to this group, six of the participants being female. These participants can either be characterised as non-readers or insecure and insatiable readers without specific beliefs. The interviews showed that these specific participants could hardly remember having access to literature in their childhood or having someone read to them as a child. The narrations are short, the depictions of reading situations are either missing completely or are merely characterised by the usage of common

[3] *All German transcripts were translated into English by a student assistant. The translation is consciously close to the original wording and partly colloquial.*

phrases without any emotional concern. In some cases, the familial reading socialisation is characterised by placing "being read to" and independent reading in a schooling context. Readers without specific beliefs about reading often do not develop an imagination of the function of reading, as can be seen in the lack of in-order-to-motives in the interviews. If those can be found, they exploit the literature regarding educational context. Since the forming of interpretive patterns is only possible in the context of attributing functions, one cannot extract any patterns out of these interviews. The understanding of literature, therefore, is merely pragmatic. An example of this group can be seen in Melanie, cited above.

Literature as learning and educational medium, competitive reading (group 2): As mentioned above, it is difficult to separate the students of this second group from the first one. They partly show comparable socialising processes, and both locate literary reading in a school context. All nine students with migration background belong to this group. This second group, consisting of 17 students, is the largest one in the corpus. Dominant in the beliefs is the understanding of literature as a mean to educational success (educational achievement in literary reading).

> "Hmm… I think reading also, in particular is good for, well for German as school subject, if one of course also ehm gets to know different words for example or, how one can phrase something or, so (I: Mhm) and also well, I also once read books in other languages. And then this is also good for the subject, if one really learns new words, and the grammar also gets better, and, therefore I really am good in German, would I say now, well in writing by all means (I: Mhm.)" (Emilia, L. 23-29)

> "I have, when I was younger, well while in primary school ehm I read every day, well every evening, before going to bed I really read every evening. I always read detective books and ehm… This helped me along in some ways, because I broadened my vocabulary and thereby, I could write a little bit better than my classmates in German lessons [short laughing]" (Bruno, L. 4-8)

Here, beliefs about literary reading are always connected to the dimension of language acquisition. Although literary reading is partly conducted in an intimate mode, it eventually becomes an educational and learning instrument. The institutional dimension of educational imparting literature is eminently present in this group. In some of the interviews, participants reflected on this condition and regretted it, but, however, did not free themselves from it. Male readers with migration background (five students) show no personal connection to reading in their interpretive patterns. Moreover, the students with migration background typically view reading as a competitive action. They place reading in a competitive context and connect it to accomplishment (cf. Jakubanis, 2015). The group of students who developed interpretive patterns that are related to literature as learning and educational medium, thus projects reading generally on the context of school.

Literature as a medium of entertainment (group 3): This interpretive pattern of literature is represented by five female students in our corpus. They possess a stabile literary socialisation, know intimate reading experiences, and associate reading with escapistic moments (cf. also Renzi, 2015, p. 153). Their narration is often

characterised by a dense network of because motives, backing each other, whereas the in-order-to motives are almost non-existent. The interviews do not consist of any inconsistencies, contradictions, or breaks. The first thing these informants remember is being read to as a child. The parallelism of domestic and educational reading is often linguistically marked. In those interviews, the memory of reading is a natural part of family life. The missing in-order-to-motives of the five interviews show that for the informants, reading for pleasure or entertainment is not effectively organised in the interest of performance improvement or competitive thinking. Instead, it serves to regulate emotions, which underlines the importance of being read to. During the narration, one student phrases what is at the core of the interpretive patterns connected to all of this: for her, books are "a kind of escape from everyday life, so that I, ehm, can switch off, dive into my own world". The institutional dimension of literary reading is hardly present in this group—on the contrary, here, reading functions as a countermovement to institutional reading. These situations of reading correlate with reading as leisure activity:

> "If I read I mostly read, in bed, (I: Mhm.), or on the couch, anywhere, where it is warm and cosy, under a blanket, and, well only, well with a small light, although it is bad for the eyes (I: Hmh.), but I don't like bright and glaring lights, that is always uncomfortable, I don't like it while reading (I: Mhm.)…" (Marlene, Z. 115-119)

> "And I always associate with reading actually, well, mostly it was a comfortable situation. Well either in bed or by the chimney or, no idea on my grandma's lap no idea, these situations were always something pleasant for me. Yes…" (Marie, L. 23-27)

Literature as a medium developing personality (group 4): The students of the last group show mutual overlaps with those who associate reading with pleasure. Beyond educational and entertaining reading, these students experience reading as a self- and worldview constructing moment. Reading becomes an inevitable part of their individual personality. These interviews show obvious components of the substance of literature in accordance with education and seek to conform this perception of the ideal. They reveal a stimulative nature since the conception of literature as cultural asset and signum of 'education' is, as opposed to the interviews in group 2 (literature as educational medium), also connected to real reading behaviour. Even though this group often considers books read in school as constraint (agreeable to their stage of development!), it nevertheless becomes obvious that they increasingly appreciate reading and even perceive it as a rewarding offer. Comparable to their private preferences it contains possibilities to gain knowledge. Thus, the functions of and beliefs about reading in this group, next to those of group 3 (intimate reading, entertaining reading), can be defined as promoting (self-) awareness and partly even as distinction from non-readers (social function). At all the personality developing parts of literature build the core of the interpretive patterns of this group, ideas and notions of literature as enlightening medium, as entertaining medium and as educational medium build the edge. Typical phrases of these beliefs about literature can be found in the interviews of Leonie:

> "I don't know how to say it. But it's simply.... one, one simply doesn't think. For example, reading some sentence. Then I start thinking oh. It blows my imagination. And then I think it's so beautiful… And then one has such a great and beautiful feeling in reading" (Leonie, Z. 106-110).

> "If one reads several things by different poets. There are always such other persons. And ahmmm… There are worlds arising. It's such a parallel world. It's so beautiful to me" (Leonie, L. 150-153).

Table 1 sums up the central results of phase 1:

Table 1. Overview of the reconstructed interpretive patterns of the students in phase 1

	Characteristics of interpretive patterns
Group 1	*Informants without reading-specific characteristics* • non-readers or insecure, insatiable readers • no imagination of the function of reading • pragmatic understanding of literature
Group 2	*Literature as learning and educational medium, competitive reading* • largest group • dominant component of educational achievement in literary reading • reading as a competitive action
Group 3	*Literature as a medium of entertainment* • female readers • reading for escapistic reasons • reading is a natural part of family life
Group 4	*Literature as personality developing medium* • reading as a self- and worldview constructing moment • appreciate reading • promoting (self-) awareness and partly distinction from non-readers

5.1.2 Teachers

This part of the examination had only one interview at the beginning of the advanced-level classes, because adults hardly show any changes in interpretive patterns since they develop a great stability with the completion of adolescence. This segment about teachers' reading-beliefs focuses on the "Relation Between Teachers' Beliefs and Practice" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 356) (videography), the „Beliefs About What Reading Is and How It Works" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 360) and "Teachers as Readers" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 361) (biographical perspective). Table 2 gives an overview of all involved teachers as well as their central interpretive patterns:

Table 2. Overview of the reconstructed interpretive patterns of the teachers (after Stole, 2017, p. 539)

Teacher	Form of school	Decade of birth	Central interpretive pattern
Berg[4]	Comprehensive school	1950	Personality and identification development
Hansen	Academic high school	1950	Personality and identification development
Peters	Academic high school	1960	Learning medium
Dr. Schmitt	Academic high school	1970	Literary education/aesthetics
Koch	Academic high school	1980	Entertainment vs. learning medium
Fischer	Academic high school	1970	Entertainment vs. learning medium
Weber	Comprehensive school	1970	Entertainment vs. learning medium

The seven involved teachers can be divided in two groups. Two elderly, female teachers (Hansen and Berg) see literature primarily as personality and identification developing medium. This also partly correlates with the interpretive pattern 'literature as medium of literary education', although, in this case, education should not be understood in a functional sense. The teachers do not just use literature to define their personality, but also to understand their relationships with other people. Through texts, realistic experiences of others can be comprehended, and new and unfamiliar experiences can be made. Narrative texts are interesting concerning the general subject of interpersonal relationships in historic-political contexts. The reception process is a sphere of experience, which promotes knowledge gain. The continuum of private and professional reading connects those two teachers. Both do not see a principal difference in the acquisition of literature in an educational or private surrounding. For example, Hansen says:

> "And I can't imagine anytime, how to exist without, without reading, but, we all don't do that, well, I think the moment you go to school, you read. It's just a difference how much you read and where you put your focus" (Hansen, L. 330-333).
>
> "And reading, yes, reading helps to understand the world or at least to some extent, well I observe me, I often say, I read, that's for me a [laughing] a factor" (Hansen, L. 218-219).

Three male and female teachers (Koch, Fischer and Weber), all younger, show an opposing view regarding literature. Their interpretive pattern is unevenly divided into literature as entertainment and literature as learning medium. In all cases the teachers' reading behaviour is divided into professional and private reading, with literature functioning as entertainment medium in private reading, and as learning medium in the professional sphere. Private reading also includes 'trivial' reading

[4] *All names are anonymised.*

material, which is sometimes derogatorily connoted. Koch differentiates between professional reading and reading during leisure time:

> "So, I have to read a lot for my job, ehm just, must read, ehm that is, and namely not just literature but also class tests and ehm written exams and papers at some point and ehm information about the school management, so there are many different things to read, many impressions, a lot to read and also to correct every day […] ehm if I don't have an access to a topic and at all no access to a novel a story a drama then ehm lessons don't work and because of that I try and I believe it usually works, that I somewhere find something interesting for me in the text and to have a starting point ehm and when I'm on vacation, leisure ehm, then, I can celebrate just reading a book in quotation marks, just sitting on the balcony, lying on my couch really and just ehm simply immerse into and read for fun and without keeping something else in mind than the book that you reading at the moment and ehm immerse into the story and the plot and then I mostly read novels (I: Hmm.) Yes yes and it is different reading for the job und then leisure time, there are of course overlaps […] there is an exhausting yes a professional reading too" (Koch, L. 280-310).

To some extent, a disliking belief is visible when it comes to mandatory educational guidelines concerning literature, which mostly consist of canonical texts. Here, the techniques of reading and reading ability itself are at focus. A great social desirability and thus a distancing, generally social perspective is inherent in professionally mandatory reading. One can detect the impact of performance-oriented and exploited reading for the sake of generating information and knowledge. Nevertheless, personal, intimate as well as 'concept guided' reading in private contexts takes up an important role, even though they can also entail professional performance-oriented interpretations regarding readers and literature. Institutional reading is a natural component of career orientation and is thus very prominent in this group.

Two individual cases only partly fit into this bigger group. The "analytical-cognitive aesthete" Dr. Schmitt connects a rational cognitive interest concerning literary works to aesthetic feeling. Through terms like "holiday projects", or "projects", respectively, literary texts undergo an almost professional performance-oriented functionalization, implicating a great expenditure of time. This reading mode, especially, aims at intellectually conquering the personal, cognitive challenge evoked by literary texts, and thus, to gain "knowledge" about what has been read which in turn creates contentment and motivation. Therefore, this mode intersects with the first group concerning the moment of the interpretive pattern 'literary education' presence.

The interpretive patterns of the 'professional reader' Peters clearly differentiate between private and professional reading. For her, professional reading is mainly connected to an 'instrumental' lecture and characterised as obligation and work. Peters marks this form of reading as "unsatisfactory", since she considers a holistic reading more sensible to identify coherence. The private escapistic reading, which was experienced during childhood, is considered a loss from the current point of view. Consequently, beliefs about reading are solely professionally defined, a private

reading has been abandoned (here one can see the difference to the younger teachers). Literature is clearly defined as learning medium.

These insights and distributions of the interpretive patterns also correspond to the teaching practice of the interviewed teachers (cf. Stolle, 2017). On the one hand, the practice was analytically gathered by using the compiled videographies and, on the other hand, was related to literary teaching with the help of the collection on subjective theories of teachers (cf. Dann, 1990). Subjective theories are an approach to psychological research and educational practice. You cannot equate them to the paradigm of beliefs because both paradigms have own traditions of research and methodology (cf. Dann, 1990). A part of this study explores subjective theories of teachers. This study, as well, could be completed with distinct results:

1) The continuum of interpretive patterns and teaching practice can especially be confirmed regarding the learning objectives and the selection of texts. We observed that only one dimension can be proven in practice as soon as one differentiates between professional and private reading within the interpretive pattern, as described above. In most cases, this dimension is the professional one (literature as learning medium).
2) Some of the teachers' interpretive patterns (personality development, literary education) show little 'matching' with the students. Here, the conversations in class are often confrontative. Others (Ips: literature as a learning medium and/or educational medium) seem to have opposite effects: due to high 'matching', the conversations in class are generally rather consensual. In their meta-analysis (review study), Maggioni, Fox & Alexander are concerned with studies and publications in Anglo-American regions since the 1970's, that deal with "beliefs about text reading, text and learning from text" (2017 p. 353). Studies about teachers' beliefs in context of reading and literature can be subdivided into different segments: "Beliefs About Reading Instruction" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 355), "Relation Between Teachers' Beliefs and Practice" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 356), "Factors Influencing Teachers' Beliefs" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 358), "Beliefs About What Reading Is and How It Works" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 360) and "Teachers as Readers" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 361). The review conveys the focus of belief-research: key areas are the teachers and their beliefs and convictions in the context of teaching and learning, whereas our project also takes the perspective of learners into consideration. At all the results of our study show—similar to the considerations of Asselin—that teacher "influence their students' views of reading and literature" (2000, p. 31) by matching or confrontation.

5.2 Meso-level: Co-construction processes and their effects

In the context of the meso-level, the interpersonal negotiation processes of interpretive patterns in teaching are of greatest interest. The socio-scientific analysis

of the groups is conducted in the light of group dynamic and school specific processuality. Their effects can be observed in the context of the second interview analysis of the students. Here, two additional dimensions were of interest, next to the dominant social dimension—Renzi as well outlines the social dimension of beliefs while identifying "literature as a community building tool" (2005, p. 153)—of the events during class: the symbolic (interpretive patterns of literature) and the pragmatic (institutional standards and grids: A-levels, grading). The starting point is the actions in the classroom. It is assumed that these actions and negotiations can in turn influence the interpretive patterns and beliefs of the students.

5.2.1 Co-construction in class

Two main groups could be identified: 1) the consensus-oriented, partly teacher-directed classes and 2) the dissent allowing, student-oriented classes. These groups differ from one another according to the interpretive pattern and the variety negotiated in them. They also differ because of the behaviour in class shown by teachers and students and thus, also, in connection with their negotiation processes of interpretive patterns. Social-scientifically, the involved classes are to be looked at as social groups, divided into numerical majority (students) and minority (teachers).

The consensus-oriented classes: The first group (five classes) includes consensus-oriented classes since their discourse essentially focuses on consensus and attempts to resolve any dissent should it occur. The students almost consistently base their actions on the teachers. Generally, the teachers behave dominantly and guide the students through the discussions by giving certain hints, comments, and corrections. The teachers are physically present by placing themselves at the centre of the room most of the time. One can see the goal of the teacher's behaviour in the creation of a consensus—consensus being the essential sign of broad conformity. This becomes especially obvious in Koch's and Schmitt's classes, but the consensus orientation can also be seen in Weber's class; here, the teacher behaves dominantly and guiding. In Peters' class, the teacher maintains a (pseudo-)consensus: although dissent is frequently occurring, the teacher hides it.

Within the group, the class of Fischer shows differences. Although, this class delineates a great consensus orientation on the part of the teacher, Fischer appears less dominant. She avoids confrontation. The repeatedly occurring dissent between her and the students remains and the teacher's attempt to convey it into consensus fails. Her interpretive patterns as well as her teaching behaviour shows clear parallels, which leads to comparable negotiation processes during class. Fischer especially emphasises the constraint created by external guidelines (institutional dimension of negotiation processes) and is close to her students in this respect: she uses her legitimate power as representatives of the institution school, however, does this in the form of an in-the-same-boat metaphor, as she presents herself as part of the group achieving the same goal (A-levels/graduation). Since this teacher obtains

a criticising position herself regarding external guidelines, the consensus in this group does not have to be created by means of strong teacher guidance.

The dissent allowing classes: In the second group (Berg and Hansen), the discussions are clearly less consensus oriented. Dissent occurs and is not conveyed into (pseudo-)consensus, but openly remains. This seems to be encouraged by the mechanisms of the negotiation processes, as these lead to a teacher-focused orientation. The teachers in this group both teach in a student centred and oriented manner. They place the students at the basis of the activity, let them participate in selection and planning and withdraw from discussion.

Regarding the teachers' interpretive patterns, it is striking that the teachers belonging to the first group, particularly, clearly differ from those of the second one. Berg and Hansen consistently show personality and identity development as dominant interpretive pattern. Structurally, this applies to private as well as to reading at school. In contrast to that, the structural divisions of interpretive patterns in private and reading at school are predominant with teachers in the first group. This leads to the assumption that a close relation between interpretive patterns and teaching behaviour exists. Concerning the subjective theories about teaching execution, this relation could already be ensured in teaching research (see above).

5.2.2 Effects of teaching regarding the constitution of interpretive patterns in students (interview series 2)

The interviews in the second series were conducted during the end of the two-year qualification phase (senior years). There were few losses due to school leavings at the time of the study. Some dimensions of the interviews can clearly be ascribed to growing processes (especially with male students). In academic high school classes, an increase of the interpretive pattern 'formal education' was noticeable (as expected) because of the pressure created by graduating (A-levels). the (quantitative) relations described above remained steady: The groups 1 and 2, which hardly differ from one another, and the groups 3 and 4 are still in a 2:1 ratio. These ratios are also visualized in Figure 4.

In terms of the study's epistemological interest, the shifts between the groups are of greater interest; here, one could record that approximately half of the students do not change their beliefs after the 350 hours of being confronted with German literature, and partly use the same phrases in their interviews.

For the single groups, the following shifts can be found. Figure 4 illustrates the central shifts. The size of the arrows represents the absolute ratio of switches (the larger the groups and arrows, the more informants were involved) (see below):

The *students without characteristics* (group 1), now only five, four of them who were in this group before and one from the group 2 (learning medium), show a clear rejection in their second interviews. They sometimes even stopped reading. In the first series of interviews, these students were partly characterised by competitive reading beliefs, but the second interviews record a great increase in ascribing

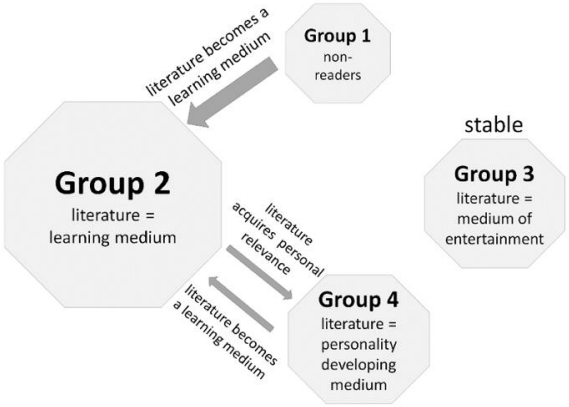
meaning to electronic media. Group 1 shrunk, as most students in this group have internalised that literature functions as a learning medium for academic success during their growing process, influenced by their literature classes.

Looking at the rest of the students from group 1 leads to group 2, viewing literature as *learning and educational medium in formal regard* (group 2). Consisting of 17 students, group 2 is as big as it was during the first run; however, its composition has changed: this group, especially, shows entrances and leavings. Mainly students from group 1, having shown no characteristics in the first series of interviews, have modified their beliefs about literature and thus belong to group 2 now.

The third group of students regarding *literature as entertainment medium* now consists of seven students (still exclusively female). They made partly positive experiences with the literature classes, but often rather negative and burdening experiences lead them to define their reading behaviour as solely private and to give priority to escapist functions.

Next to group 2, especially the uneven group 4, consisting of students who characterise *literature as personality developing medium in the sense of literary-aesthetical education (also: enlightening medium)*, shows many differences and "movement" regarding the first series of interviews. With eight students, group 4 also remained stable in quantitative regard. However, the subtle differences in perception of literature are remarkable. Next to some similarities in the interest of rejecting literary educational processes, students from other groups show in their educational process that their interpretive pattern, formally regarded as 'learning medium', changed differently than expected. They realise and phrase the potential of literary reading, especially in the context of personality development.

Figure 4. Central shifts of the interpretive patterns of the students in phase 4



To summarise, new dimensions of literary reading and the medium "literature" can be found with 16 students; this concerns many students without reading specific characteristics. They now consider literature primarily as learning medium and medium of formal education (literature as necessary element for graduating). Five students from group 3, who used to regard literature as entertaining, personality developing or even aesthetical dimension, now surprisingly show a revision of these functions. These mentioned shifts seem to be connected to the teachers, as some examples, which displayed moments of aesthetical or personality developing reading during the first series, show: Felix, taught by a female teacher (Peters), for whom literature solely had a learning quality, changes his beliefs partly and abandons private reading. For him, reading is now placed in a 'cost-use-calculation' context, and it "just does not pay off". Torben, taught by a younger, male teacher (Koch), who represents literary reading's learning and entertainment functions, is devastated by ongoing reading crises. Like Felix, he also does not have the time to read. An opposite example is Leonie, taught by Dr. Schmitt, whose teaching focuses on aesthetical reading and literary education. He encourages this student and supports her reading beliefs.

6. DISCUSSION: SIX THESES OF CO-CONSTRUCTION OF BELIEFS ABOUT LITERATURE

We chose to form theses to present our results, as the qualitatively results can, to a large extend, not be representative. In the following, the six theses (resp. seven) obtained from the empirical material, will be presented, and discussed. Our first statement is not yet a thesis for the presentation of the results. We merely seek to show that interpretive patterns (symbolic dimension) of the involved students and teachers are visible, which are shaped by the institutional dimension (Meso-level of socialisation):

The students of advanced literature teaching have, in most cases, functional interpretive patterns in content and structure.

For most students, the interpretive pattern 'literature as learning medium' and 'literature as medium of formal education', prevailed in both interview series; more than half of the involved teachers regard literature as a learning medium. They place it in the context of educational learning. Concerning the structure of the interpretive patterns, the involved teachers thus show a division into two dominant, albeit contradictory interpretive patterns, with only one of them influencing the class design. Now our theses follow:

Group thesis: Advanced-level classes mainly ought to be defined as social group (social dimension) with regard to the negotiation of interpretive patterns.

Our initial thesis is succinct and obvious. In the subject-didactical research, however, it proves to be pragmatical since it shifts the focus from subject-didactical or pedagogical parameters of empirical classroom research towards socio-scientific parameters. When one looks at the core of classroom research—and several studies

have defined the attitudes towards the classroom subject as the core—in this regard, agents perform in accordance with group dynamic processes. For example, Schutz, Hong, and Cross Francis outline the connection between beliefs and social groups as environment: "What an individual comes to believe […] develops over time through their transactions with others" (2020, p. 29). Advanced-level classes seem to be a relevant environment in this context.

Negotiation thesis: The social group "advance-level German class" is constituted and preserved in negotiation processes. Part of these negotiation processes is the symbolic dimension of literature.

This thesis connects the social and the symbolic dimension of observation. The involved agents' interpretive patterns enter an inevitable negotiation process. Even a hypothetical absolute focusing of the institutional dimension (not observable) could not hide the fact that involved interpretive patterns are always at the core of things. If one imparts literature (or any object of learning), one also always teaches something about literature, even if it is just its inferiority. Thus, beliefs as the essence of an interpretive pattern are always involved, and the co-construction processes made this obvious. They mainly serve as trial and creation of a 'we-identity' of the social group, which creates an at least superficially divided interpretive pattern during the negotiation process.

Belief thesis: In the negotiation process, the interpretive patterns of the teachers are predominant. They structure and determine the concrete events in class. Most of the students position themselves affirmatively to these interpretive patterns and adopt them on an explicit level.

This thesis illustrates the group-psychological circumstances addressed in the negotiation thesis. During the analyses, it became obvious that in the institutional frame of the school, the orientation framework—unlike in voluntary reading groups—is clearly set by means of the guiding interpretive patterns of the teacher. This interpretive pattern does not only determine the subjective teacher's theories concerning the organisation of the literature-oriented learning process and, thus, influences the teaching practice (cf. Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 355-356). In addition to that, the negotiation process is to be understood through the settlement of the interpretive patterns provoking and causing the reaction and examination on the part of the students. Therefore, we are not looking at a free exchange on a hierarchical basis, but at students who affirmatively position themselves according to a given settlement. The teachers' interpretive patterns are strikingly dominant. They can reinforce the students' pre-existing patterns and sometimes even help to create completely new ones, or relativise 'old' patterns—the latter, however, is rather rare.

Matching thesis: Teachers, who regard literature as learning medium in a professional context and differentiate between private reading and reading at school, motivate a lot of students to adopt these interpretive patterns, who have no or a learning-oriented notion of literature. With teachers who primarily regard literature as a personality developing medium, and who see a continuum between

private reading and reading at school, however, the resemblance of interpretive patterns can be seen in most of the students; moreover, students develop interpretive patterns which recognise literature as part of their lives.

If one relates the results of the teacher research with those of the student research, patterns of the students' development processes with regard to genesis and modification of the interpretive patterns are apparent, which can be grouped under the term matching. The literature class brings effects in the students concerning their interpretive patterns development if they are taught by teachers with similar and comparable patterns. Teachers, who regard literature as learning medium in professional contexts, and differentiate between private reading and reading at school, apparently motivate many students to copy these interpretive patterns. Teachers, who primarily regard literature as personality developing medium, have an essentially bigger influence on the literature-oriented consciousness of the students. Students seem to work along the given patterns, compare them to their own patterns they brought along and because of co-construction, take away strengthened ones. This answers the question about effects, but not the *How* of the imparting, which significantly influences the effects.

Co-construction thesis: In consensus-oriented classes with high matching, the interpretive patterns 'literature as learning medium' and 'literature as medium of formal education' dominate. The teacher acts partly hierarchy reinforcing. In dissent-oriented classes with little matching, we-identities are created through the symbolic dimension of literature in negotiation processes. Here, co-construction takes place when different interpretive patterns clash without affecting the creation of group identity.

It became obvious that two ways—consensus and dissent, terms borrowed from group psychology—were available to describe the interactional base orientation. One could observe these notions in the classes. Two classes were ascribed to dissent, four were described as consensus oriented. On the interactional level, those results were particularly phrasable by considering and analysing the non-verbal levels of negotiation processes. Consensus-oriented classes often are characterised by a strong teacher dominance; the negotiation is functional-ritually organised (in extreme cases, voting happens). The importance of literature is part of the discussion, but the debates remain meaningless since the patterns 'learning medium' and 'formal education' clearly dominate. Altogether, the younger teachers' classes can all identify a double structure of their patterns ('learning medium' versus 'entertainment'), as well as one class of an older teacher, showing the pattern 'literature as learning medium'. In two of these classes, the teacher dominance was less strong; here, the consensus is created differently (hidden, in-the-same-boat-feeling). It is yet to answer if these conversations and group dynamics really can be referred to as 'co-construction' as a common and hierarchy free negotiation of different heterogenetic and equal literature related beliefs. This is different in the dissent allowing classes, led by teachers whose interpretive patterns inserted literature into the horizon of personality development and connected literature to

the educational notion. Despite the dominance of the teacher's interpretive patterns here, the matching between teachers and students in the organisation of the class was merely given. This leads to an 'irritating discourse' (partly intensive, conflicting debates), which—as opposed to the other consensus-oriented classes described above—could not be hidden or avoided by the teacher's pseudo-consensus but was rather enhanced by it. Thus, real co-construction processes were observable, in which also the students' orientation changed: In the dissent allowing classes, students refer to both their teachers and fellow students—this manifests itself in verbal and physical references (direction of view and speaking; (contextual) addressing of different counterparts). Here, co-construction seems to work because the negotiation process is understood as a common concern which does not have to lead to a consensus, but to a continuance of plurality, regarding the symbolic dimension of literature. One can observe that we-identity in these two classes is not affected in any way, as the self-understanding as a working team also inhabits the possibility of dissent. As described for the matching thesis, the teaching in those classes has a bigger influence on the formation of interpretive patterns of the involved students, as the range is wider and because one can observe a variety of patterns. Thus, it becomes obvious: for the negotiation processes in their alignment, pedagogical parameters (guidance, dominance, students' orientation) are not primarily decisive, in the end, the teachers' interpretive patterns are. The students' interpretive pattern-play does not seem to be crucial: the classes were set at different levels with heterogenetic starting positions (form of school, migration background proportion), so that the classes with high matching rate were found at private academic high schools, academic high schools and comprehensive schools, and those dissent allowing classes at academic high schools and comprehensive schools.

Pragmatism thesis: The dominance of the institutional dimension of school in class creates a high pressure for conformity and forces consensus forming, because here, teachers and students mostly have adapted interpretive patterns (affirmative discourse) and the same enemy image (guidelines). Here, co-constructions are barely recognisable.

The last thesis conclusively focuses on the classes with high matching rate, already described in the co-construction thesis. Here, one aspect seems to be dominant which legitimises the formulation of a separate thesis: the institutional dimension of school (external guidelines, here mostly the compulsory connection of A-levels and external corrections and compulsory reading) is omnipresent in all negotiations and shapes the events in class and the interpretive patterns of the involved agents. The teacher always outlines the point of reference in negotiation processes in these consensus-oriented classes, which is shown on verbal as well as figurative level (which does not necessarily mean that they act hierarchy enhancing, see co-construction thesis). Consensus-orientation in groups is always followed by conformity pressure. This is shown in the fact that co-constructions as common negotiation processes in the sense of the characteristics described in the co-

construction thesis can hardly be found. The interpretive patterns are not only set by teachers; they can also be naturally legitimised by the common experience of school (as institution with the tasks of allocation and selection) at any point in time. Thus, a consensus is forced which adapts interpretive patterns in the sense of setting literature as learning medium with the purpose of graduating (A-levels). The class discourse is thus not irritating, but in its core affirmative. The external guidelines and the anonymous authority often build a common enemy image, especially in classes which are not strictly organised by hierarchy. Here, one can find teachers who feel like they are in the same boat with their students. The guidelines appear like a compulsory connection to the involved agents, which seems to be best conquered with the help of a pragmatic belief. The work in these classes, therefore, is shaped by pragmatism, which literature is subordinated to. Students with a personality developing, aesthetical interpretive pattern are thus sometimes pointed to the patterns 'literature as learning medium' and 'literature as medium of formal education', and experience non-utilitarian beliefs about literature as long-lastingly frustrating. Thus, the résumé of one student regarding the advanced-level classes gain is: "as I have said, what does one take away from this is common knowledge to excel in quiz shows".

7. CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS

To summarise, our results show the strong interdependence between existing and "strong" teachers' beliefs regarding reading and literature, the way they conduct class-talks in literature lessons and the emergence of students' beliefs regarding literature in a decisive phase of growing up—the phase when "weak" beliefs become "strong" beliefs. Thus, they corroborate findings of Asselin (2000) and Renzi (2005) (cf. ch. 2) by the help of a longitudinal study and transfer them to the German high school system. Our comprehensive approach proves the interrelational connections between teacher's and student's beliefs and the growing and production of the latter because of group forming processes in class. Our research once more underlines the great influence of teachers in forming those beliefs, but here not in an explicit way (e.g., by teaching methods) but in an implicit, "hidden" way by the transfer of beliefs. Concerning the subject literature this seems to be a precarious item insofar as the professionalizing of school teaching often leads to more pragmatic beliefs with subjects of art.

There are, of course, limitations to mention because qualitative research cannot reach any representativeness. Concerning reliability and objectivity we must consider that we have done nothing more than showing mechanisms of co-construction in social groups and correlations between interpretive patterns of teachers and students in a class-context. Analysing narrative interviews is always to a certain extend dependent from reader's views and the aims and contexts of the special research's surroundings. Seven classes in one country cannot be a pars pro

toto for the whole, but we hope to have caught attention for the complexity of social processes and occurrences in dealing with literature in school.

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