PREDICTING AND EXPLAINING SWEDISH TEACHERS' DOCUMENTATION PRACTICES FOR STUDENTS' READING AND WRITING DIFFICULTIES

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Abstract. The overall aim of this article is to predict and explain Swedish teachers' documentation practices of students´ reading and writing difficulties. A survey study was conducted with 313 teachers. The data analysis was guided by an organizational approach to special needs education. The descriptive findings suggest that 98% of the teachers have students with reading and writing difficulties, and that there are almost 3 students with such special educational needs (=SEN) per teacher. The results of the logit model demonstrate that subject teachers in languages are more likely to document reading and writing difficulties than any other teachers, including special educators. Furthermore, teachers´ lack of special needs competence in identifying reading and writing difficulties impacts their practice of documenting these difficulties. Moreover, teachers' attitudes towards reading literacy research increase the likelihood of documenting reading and writing difficulties. Finally, documentation does not seem to be a matter of special need resources.

Keywords: Teacher Attitudes; Reading and writing difficulties; Educational Resources; documentation practices; special educational needs

Documenting students with reading and writing difficulties is a collaborative task for all teachers (Westlund, 2013). Recent research suggests that on the one hand documentation can lead to early intervention to overcome a student´s special educational needs (=SEN). (Hausstätter & Takala, 2011). On the other hand, documentation can lead to falsely classifying students as having SEN when they actually don´t have these problems. Such can for example be the case with multilingual students (Waitoller, Artiles & Cheney, 2009). However, little is known about the predictors of documentation or why teachers document. Consequently, the major purpose of this study was to predict and explain Swedish teachers' documentation practices of students' reading and writing difficulties.

Although Swedish researchers have paid much attention to documentation among elementary and secondary grade in recent years, no previous study, to the best of my knowledge, has tried to predict and explain teachers´ documentation of students´ reading and writing difficulties. Due to the lack of previous studies, I focus on the documentation of reading and writing difficulties as this is a specific case of SEN that all teachers will potentially encounter. In this article the term *reading and writing difficulties* refers not only to students with specific learning difficulties in reading and writing (SPLD) /dyslexia/ but also to students with reading problems that can be related to weakness in: phonological and phonemic awareness, word decoding and phonics, fluency, vocabulary, and comprehension. Furthermore reading difficulties may be the result of a combination of factors – weakness in one or more of the five components listed above and difficulty with some form of processing or where there is a secondary complicating problem, such as attention, memory, or the challenge of learning Swedish as a second language (Olson, Keenan, Byrne & Samuelsson, 2014; Perfetti & Stafura, 2014; Cain & Parrila, 2014).

Research has demonstrated that the proportion of individuals with reading and writing difficulties seems to increase as students get older. In disadvantaged secondary schools in the United Kingdom for example, it is reported that the number of students with reading comprehension difficulties can be as high as 58 percent (Myers & Botting, 2008). In addition, classrooms are becoming more inclusive of different kinds of learners, including struggling readers and students who have learning disabilities (Berkeley, Marshak, Mastrioperi & Scruggs, 2010; Ainscow & Sandill, 2010).

While there is a focus on "learning to read" in the primary grades, the emphasis shifts in later grades to "reading to learn." This emphasis is particularly relevant in content area subjects (Gajria, Jitendra, Sood & Sacks, 2007). Students with learning disabilities (LD) often experience severe problems in comprehending expository texts despite fluent decoding skills (Lundberg & Reichenberg, 2013).

Consequently teachers´ ability to identify SPLD early is necessary for producing relevant solutions (Hausstätter & Takala, 2011). But knowing whether to document or not is a complex pedagogical matter. Moreover, studies have demonstrated that many teachers although they document students´ achievements they do not document students´ reading and writing difficulties unless the teachers have a specific

professional training and many teachers lack adequate specific professional training (Reichenberg & Löfgren, 2013).

1. BACKGROUND

Since 2013 Swedish teachers in the compulsory school are responsible for establishing Individual Development Plan (IDPs) for all students in the compulsory school from year 1 to year 5. In the IDP the student´s achievements in all subjects has to be documented. Every teacher is responsible for documentation in the subject he/she teaches. The documentation has two purposes, the first being to summarise the student´s achievement with respect to objectives and standards for each subject, and the second to concretely describe what efforts should be made by the school, students and parents in order for the students to be successful in their schoolwork. The IDP should be developed and revised at a parent–teacher–student conference, but should, also be used by the students and the teachers continuously throughout the school year for planning, guiding and evaluating learning (Hirsch, 2014; SFS, 2010).

The most important reasons for introducing these plans were to make it possible for a larger number of students to reach the national goals set up in the curricula and syllabi and for parents/careers to obtain an increased influence on the content of students' work at school.

If a student is at risk of not achieving curricular goals or if the teacher thinks that a student has SPLD, the teacher shall inform the principal. Then the principal has a responsibility to ensure that the matter is investigated. If deemed necessary, an Individual Education Plan (IEP)—stating individual targets, support measures and implementation strategies—is to be drawn for the student´s additional needs (Andreasson, Asp Onsjö & Isaksson, 2013). Such a plan should cover the student´s school context and achievements, and the student´s class and teaching, all in relation to the student´s needs. Moreover, the plan should also include written goals and strategies, which must be recorded and evaluated. Moreover, the student´s school situation in each plan must cover individual, group, and school/organizational level elements of the student´s need.

Working with IEPs and IDP: s is a complex activity and is further complicated by the lack of sufficient guidelines (Andreasson & Dovemark, 2013; Andreasson, Asp Onsjö & Isaksson, 2013). Moreover, research has demonstrated that there exists a discrepancy between school policy on documentation and teachers´ documentation practices. These may not necessarily converge. However, previous research suggests that they do not converge as teachers tend to make up their own systems of division of labour among themselves for whom is responsible for what (Spillane, Reiser & Reimer 2002; Heimdahl Mattson & Malmgren Hansen, 2009, Lindqvist, 2013).

The introduction of IDP and IEP could be regarded as a manifestation of a new documentation culture that evolved due to a shift in educational policy, and it has increased demands for documentation at both national and local (school) levels.

Requirements for teachers to report students´ achievements have greatly increased during the last 20 years. In Sweden, approximately 20 percent of all students are considered to be in need of special support, although the proportion varies from area to area and school to school as well as the definition of special educational needs used when conducting assessment (Andreasson & Dovemark, 2013; Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011).

Previous research has found documentation to be a bureaucratic and time consuming activity and writing IDP and IEPs divert already limited resources away from direct student support (Mitchell, Morton & Hornby, 2010; Takala & Hausstätter, 2012; Andreasson & Dovemark, 2013; Hirsch, 2014, 2015). Building on their findings I will, in this study, demonstrate how the bureaucratic nature of documentation impacts teachers´ likelihood of documentation. The remaining parts of the article are structured as follows: firstly, previous research is discussed followed by the predictions. Secondly, the method is presented. Thirdly, the result of the empirical study is presented. Fourthly and finally, the conclusions of the study are presented followed by a general discussion.

2.   AN ORGANIZATIONAL APPROACH TO DOCUMENTATION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION NEEDS OF READING AND WRITING DIFFICULTIES

In this study I will take an organizational approach to special needs education (Skidmore, 1996; Clark, 1999; Ainscow & Sandill, 2010). By an organizational approach my analytical foci is on teachers' decision-making concerning documentation of their students´ reading and writing difficulties. Making decisions about students' special educational needs is part of what I define as the special educational conditions of all teachers' work. Consequently, these decisions are not only a task specific to the special educator, but a responsibility for all teachers (Westlund, 2013; Von Ahlefeld Nisser, 2014). In case of reading and writing difficulties tension may arise between subject teachers in languages and special educators. Special educators have professional training in identifying, diagnosing, preventing, and intervening to address SEN issues, while subject teachers in languages have professional training in the specific areas of verbal and written communication. Therefore, decisions about documenting policy may become part of schools' "micropolitics," as Ball (1987) calls it.

The increasing focus on documentation is part of what has been called New Public Management (=NPM). NPM is a policy stating that organizations within the public sector (such as schools) are to be governed as corporations (Ball, 2003; Lingard & Mills, 2007; Lawn, 2011). A central part of implanting NPM policies in schools is the practice of assessing and documenting student learning progression. This implies an increased focus on textual accounts such as developmental plans, strategic documents, sets of objectives, and annual reviewing on a day-to day basis (Ball, 2003).

The legitimacy of NPM in schools is that constant documentation will increase the achievements of students because teachers will monitor students´ progression

at the individual level (Ball, 2003). For example, one student may have difficulties with phonological and phonemic awareness, but the next student will have problem with reading comprehension. By documenting the "ideal scenario" teachers can put in the right support for the individual student´s reading needs. Furthermore, the legitimacy of NPM is that teachers' work will be more transparent so that "inefficient teachers" can be held accountable by stakeholders such as the parents (Millward et al., 2002). For example, if a teacher fails to document a student with reading difficulties, then the parents can hold the teacher accountable for not documenting. Moreover parents can report the teacher to the Swedish School inspectorate for not giving the student adequate support at the right time. In other words, documentation is supposed to be a form of quality assurance that aims to increase the trust in teachers and schools (Hirsch, 2015; Andreasson & Dovemark, 2013). Such quality assurance is only possible if teachers´ work becomes more visible by having teachers monitoring their own work by documentation (Ball, 2003, p. 220).

Documenting a student´s reading and writing difficulties puts the teacher in a dilemma. The first part of this dilemma is that the teacher becomes accountable for the student´s learning progression (Ball, 2003). For example, if a student fails at learning to read, then the teacher is responsible for documenting this at an early stage (Takala & Hausstätter, 2012). Here documentation is important to make sure that the student gets the adequate support at the right time. But if the teacher fails at doing so, then the teacher is held accountable. The second part of the dilemma is that to be able to document the teacher has to have adequate special needs competence in how to identify reading and writing difficulties and special needs resources to handle students with reading and writing difficulties.

Research has demonstrated that there are difficulties connected to IDP and IEP plans, such as imprecise wording in documents, problems with organizing the process of documentation, and a lack of consensus on how the plan relates to improving learning and raising achievement (Tennant, 2007; Hirsch, 2014). There are also studies pointing to positive effects if the number of targets is kept down, if all parties concerned – teachers, special educators, parents and students – are involved in the process and if there is a belief among staff that IEPs and IDPs can actually make a difference, then IEP and IDP work can be seen as good practice (Tennant, 2007; Hirsch, 2014).

The third part of the dilemma is that as teachers spend more time on documentation it becomes increasingly difficult for them to find time for reflecting on and planning their teaching. The teachers in Hirsch´s study claimed that they did not have the time to prepare good lessons (Hirsch, 2014, p. 314) .

Currently, teachers are required to document. Yet teachers receive little to no education in how to document. Guidelines for documentation are fuzzy, making it difficult for the individual teacher to make a competent decision (Andreasson, Asp Onsjö & Isaksson, 2013; Hirsch, 2014). Policy makers tend to have good faith in teacher professional *teaching experience*. As such policy makers trust that teachers

are experienced and trained at what they do and will thus make competent decisions.

However, teachers' decisions are not only influenced by professional experience but also by educational research. To a varying degree, teachers invest time and effort into keeping up to date with the latest findings of educational research. As such, attitudes towards reading literacy research are a potential covariate of documentation practice. Keeping up to date with research about reading literacy also poses a dilemma. On the one hand the keeping up to date with research such as reading literacy can aid teachers in making decisions about documenting, intervening, and preventing reading and writing difficulties. On the other hand, there is a risk of "medicalization" and "disproportional reporting", in other words teachers can be more prone to falsely classifying students as having a specific diagnosis (Waitoller, Artiles & Cheney, 2009). Moreover, there is also a dilemma if teachers don´t have special needs competence in how to identify reading and writing difficulties, because then there is an increasing risk that they may fail to identify them. On the other hand these teachers may also falsely identify students as having SPLD when they actually don't have these problems. Such can be the case with multilingual students. It is difficult to interpret these students' poor scores on reading comprehension tasks. Poor results can be due to lack of cultural familiarity with the text, poor majority language development, and lack of experience with majority language texts (Miller Guron & Lundberg, 2003). Given these theoretical arguments, I derive a set of predictions in the next section.

3.   PREDICTIONS

In this section I will make theoretical arguments explicit by stating the predictions made. A first prediction is that those who are special educators are more prone to document. Swedish special educators are generally well educated in a critical stance towards documentation.

> Hypothesis$_1$: Being a special educator increases the likelihood of documentation in school settings.

Consequently, a second prediction is that subject teachers in languages are more prone to document since reading and writing are very important in their subjects. However, these teachers are not that critical as special educators since this has not been much of a focus in their education (von Ahlefeld Nisser, 2014). This leads to a traditional division of labour in documenting responsibilities between subject teachers in languages and special educators (Clark, 1999; Westlund, 2013).

> Hypothesis$_2$: Being a subject teacher in languages increases the likelihood of documentation in school settings.

A third prediction is that those who have special competence in SPLD are more likely to document. This prediction is reasonable since previous research has reported that teachers tend not to document if they lack the necessary competence

(Andreasson, Asp Onsjö & Isaksson, 2013) or feel insecure about documentation of students´ needs in general (Ball, 2003).

> Hypothesis$_3$: Having a special competence in SPLD increases the likelihood of documentation in school settings.

A fourth prediction is that the more teachers invest their time and effort in keeping up to date with current research on reading and writing literacy then the more likely they are to document. Previous studies have indicated that teachers that are more engaged with research are also more prone to document (Reichenberg & Löfgren, 2013).

> Hypothesis$_4$: Keeping up to date with current research on reading and writing literacy increases the likelihood of documentation in school settings.

A fifth prediction is that resources will impact teachers' likelihood of documenting special needs. Given the overall changes in educational policy of schools (Ball, 2003) it is reasonable to assume that the accessible resources for documentation special needs (or at least perception of such) will impact teachers' willingness to document.

> Hypothesis$_5$: Teachers; perception of resources increases the likelihood of documentation in school settings.

4.   METHOD

The study is based on a questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire is to cover issues ranging from reading instruction and special education to teaching and learning materials and their usage.

4.1 Participants

The participants in the study were Swedish teachers (n = 313). The sampling frame included strata of teachers from both west ern and eastern Sweden to ensure geographic spread. Thus, the sampling was stratified and non-random. The idea was to sample teachers from a vast range of teaching positions at primary schools (65 %), secondary schools (35%). On the one hand, the non-random sample makes generalizations on the population difficult. On the other hand, the sample reflects the broad range of the teaching occupation in contrast to studies that focus only on one educational stage or only on mainstream school teachers. The mean age of the teachers was 48 (SD = 9.594). The youngest was 25 and the oldest was 65. They were 67 percent female and 31 percent male. To increase the response rate I visited each school and distributed the questionnaire personally to the teachers and waited while the teachers completed them. Thus the teachers could ask me if any question was unclear.

4.2 Variables

Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics for the items used in the study. The table also notes how the items were coded. The first outcome variable was whether the teachers themselves documented students with reading and writing difficulties, i.e. yes or no.

The predictor variables included questions concerning education and experience. First, if the teachers were special educators. Second, if the teachers were teachers in languages subjects. Third, the number of years they had been teaching as an indicator of teaching experience. Because experience can be nonlinear, I also included a squared term of teaching experience. Fourth, I also wanted to know if the teachers were depending on their formal education and teaching experience alone or if they continually invested time and effort into educating themselves. As such the teachers were asked about their attitudes towards literacy research.

Moreover, beyond experience and education there is the issue of teachers´ pedagogical challenges. A first challenge was that documentation can be an issue of having many students with reading and writing difficulties. Thus, teachers were asked about how many of their students had reading and writing difficulties. A second challenge was if the teachers felt that they had adequate special needs resources to follow up documentation of students with reading and writing difficulties. A third challenge was if the teachers felt they had adequate special needs competence in how to identify and support students with reading and writing difficulties (SPLD).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and coding of items

Variable name	Item	Mean frequency	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Outcome					
Documentation	*Do you document your students reading and writing abilities?*	No= 30% Yes=70%			
Predictors					
Reading Needs of Students	*How many of your students have reading and writing difficulties?*	2.79	1.09	1	4
Special Needs Resources	*Do you have sufficient resources in order to follow up students with reading and writing difficulties?*	Yes=46% No=54%			
Special Needs Competence	*Do you think that you currently have adequate competence in reading and writing literacy?*	Yes= 44% No=56%			
Special Education	*What is your education?*	No= 86% Yes= 14%			
Language Subjects Education	*In what subject area do you teach?*	No= 42% Yes= 58%			
Teaching experience	*For how many years have you worked as a teacher?*	16.73	9.89	1	42
Attitudes towards reading literacy research	*I think it is important to keep up to date with about recent reading and writing literacy research*	4	1.02	2	5

Table 2 reports the correlations since I do not assume a normal distribution. Because several of the variables are binary the Kendell's Tau is reported which is a non-parametric test.

Table 2. Correlation Kendell's Tau

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Documentation	0.41							
2. Special Education	0.04	0.21						
3. Language Subjects Education	0.22*	0.06*	0.47					
4. Teaching experience	0.05	0.01	0.01	0.97				
5. Attitudes towards literacy research	0.17*	0.09*	0.16*	0.01	0.64			
6. Reading Needs of Students	0.02	-0.03	0.09*	-0.06	0.01	0.73		
7. Special Needs Resources	-0.01	0.04	-0.07*	-0.01	0.00	-0.04	0.48	
8. Special Needs Competence	-0.15*	-0.03	-0.12*	-0.05	-0.16*	0.01	-0.07	0.50

*Note; * sig at 5%. Row numbers correspond to column number of the variables .*
The diagonal is less than 1.0 because there are tied values for all variables. Thus tied ranks are used.

4.3 Data Analysis

The data was analysed using a logit model because the outcome variables of interest are binary. Consequently, a logit model of teachers' documentation was estimated. The modelling strategy was to start with the effect of teachers' education and expertise. There after moving to models focusing on teachers' special needs conditions. The full model specification is:

$$\log\left(\frac{\pi(x)}{1-\pi(x)}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 SpecialEducation + \beta_2 LanguageEducation$$

$$+\beta_3 TeachingExperience + \beta_4 AttitudesLiteracy +$$

$$\beta_5 ReadingNeeds + \beta_6 Resources + \beta_7 Competence + \varepsilon$$

There $\pi(x)$ is the estimated probability of the explanatory variables when binary outcome variable documentation is equal to 1 (i.e. yes). Moreover, to make the models more interpretable a number of effect sizes measures were calculated. First odds ratios - as standard in logit models- are the multiplicative effect. Second, the estimated probabilities $\pi(x)$ which are:

$\pi(x) = \frac{\exp(\alpha+\beta_1 x_1)}{1+\exp(\alpha+\beta_1 x_1)} = \frac{e^{\alpha+\beta_1 x_1}}{1+e^{\alpha+\beta_1 x_1}}$. This strategy makes it possible to approach the logit similar to a linear probability model (i.e. a linear regression with dummy variables). The estimated probabilities have the advantage over odds ratios because the estimated probabilities are comparable across models but odds ratios are not. Although economists favour a linear probability model to get more interpretable beta values, the logit model is more appropriate for consistent modelling of binary outcomes.

5.   RESULTS

The disposition of the results section will be as follows. First, I will model the teachers' documentation focusing on teacher education and experience. Second, I will focus on what happens when variables accounting for the teachers' special needs conditions are added to the model.

5.1 Teachers' documentation

In total, 98% of the teachers reported that they taught students with reading and writing difficulties. As can be seen in the previously presented Table 1, there are almost 3 students with reading and writing needs per teacher. Therefore, whether or not teachers document special needs of such nature seems to be a highly relevant issue.

The modelling strategy was to start with teachers' education and experience. In model 1, being a subject teacher in languages does significantly increase the likelihood of documentation. In contrast, being a special educator has very little effect on the likelihood of documentation. Furthermore, teaching experience does not have a statistically significant effect on documentation. A subject teacher in languages is expected to be approximately 9 times more likely to document compared to other teachers. The estimated probability of a teacher in language subjects, 7 years of teaching experience without special education, is 85%. The effect lends a substantial support for $hypothesis_2$ but not for $hypothesis_1$.

Model 2 controls for the squared effect of teaching experience to control for quadratic effects, however, this does not seem to be the case either. In model 3, the effect of teachers' attitudes towards reading literacy research was added. Attitudes towards reading literacy research have a statically significant effect on the likelihood of documenting. A teacher in language subjects with 7 years of teaching experience and a very high attitude towards reading literacy has an estimated probability of 90% of documenting reading and writing difficulties. By contrast, a special educator with 7 years of teaching experience and a very high attitude towards reading literacy has an estimated probability of 56% of documenting reading and writing difficulties. Overall there is a support for $hypothesis_2$ and $hypothesis_4$ but not for $hypothesis_1$.

In model 4, two focal predictors of teachers in special educational needs conditions were added. This showed that neither the number of students with reading and writing difficulties nor special needs resources to reading and writing support have any statistically significant effect on the likelihood of documenting. In model 5, the main focal predictor was added, namely teachers' special needs competence. Teachers' special needs competence (SPLD) had a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of documenting after controlling for all other predictors. A teacher in language subjects with 7 years of teaching experience, a very high attitude towards reading literacy but no SPLD has an estimated probability of 89% of documenting reading and writing difficulties. In summary there is a support for $hypothesis_2$ and

hypothesis$_4$ but not for hypothesis$_1$ and hypothesis$_5$. By contrast hypothesis$_3$ is significant but the gradient of slope goes in the opposite direction the predictions made. Furthermore, the pseudo R-square increases for each model. That indicates a progressive increase in the goodness of fit for each model.

Turning to the interpretation of the finding I can in line with previous research, point to the fact that having special needs competence matters (Andreasson, Asp-Onsjö & Isaksson, 2013). Special educators may be cautious to write and may lack the competence in how to identify and support students with reading and writing difficulties. Consequently they can feel insecurity about documentation. In addition they can also write the wrong things or avoid documenting reading and writing difficulties. One plausible interpretation is that avoidance of documentation has to do with the educational background of special educators. It was not until 2008 that there were specializations in reading and writing for special educators (Swärd, 2008; Von Ahlefeld Nisser, 2014). Moreover, Swedish Education for teachers in special educational needs has been criticized for not giving students much information or research literature on reading and writing difficulties (Swedish National Agency for Higher Education, 2006).

Furthermore, for many years it has been a tradition to view teachers in Swedish as those who have responsibility for students with reading and writing difficulties (Westlund, 2013). Although teachers across subject areas report that they have student with reading and writing difficulties they do not know what to do about it. This attitude does not seem to be a matter of having inadequate resources to follow up on the documentation. Rather this is a pedagogical problem. Special educators then do not take responsibility for the pedagogical leadership concerning student documentation. Currently, the responsibility seems to be in the hands of the subject teachers in languages and not the special educators. The odds of documentation by subject teachers in languages are almost 9 times that of other teachers. This raises concern about why special educators leave the responsibility in the hands of the subject teachers in languages. Given differences in educational qualifications they should have different criterions for making these decisions.

It seems as though formal education is not the only thing that matters, but also the inclination towards reading literacy research. Teachers who read more about reading and writing literacy research are supposedly more attentive to how to document when they suspect that a student has e.g. dyslexia or specific reading and writing difficulties (cf Morrison, Jacobs & Swinyard, 1998). Moreover, they are also more attentive to poor decoding ability or poor reading or listening comprehension.

Table 3. A logit model of documentation

Response Variable : Documentation	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Education and Experience					
Special Education (Yes)	0.58	0.58	0.19	0.15	-0.24
	(-0.48)	(-0.48)	(-0.49)	(0.71)	(0.72)
Language Subjects Education (Yes)	2.22***	2.22***	2.07***	2.13***	2.17***
	(-0.3)	(-0.3)	(0.31)	(0.37)	(0.44)
Teaching experience	0.02	0	0.02	0.01	0.02
	(-0.02)	(-0.06)	(-0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Teaching experience^2		0			
		(0)			
Attitudes literacy research			0,53***	0.62***	0.56**
			(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.19)
Special Needs Conditions					
Reading Needs Students				-0.03	-0.06
				(0.16)	(0.18)
Special Needs Resource (Yes)				0.12	0.15
				(0.36)	(0.43)
Special Needs competence (No)					-1.19***
					(0.43)
Constant	-0.62*	0.52	-2.59***	-2.68**	-1.8
	(0.32)	(-1.03)	(0.64)	(0.87)	(1.07)
LR chi2	69,82***	69,86***	81,36***	71.17***	72.92***
DF	3	4	4	6	7
Pseudo R^2	0,19	0,2	0,23	0.25	0.31

*Note; * sig at 5% ** sig at 1% *** sig at 0,1%*

However, that subject teachers in languages, and not special educators, are making these decisions should be worrying. Although special needs problems are a cross disciplinary concern, subject teachers in languages do not have the same formal training as special educators. As such, they are likely to consume reading literacy research with a different perspective than a special educator.

As indicated by Figure 1, the predicted marginal probability of documenting increases as attitudes towards reading literacy research increases. However, there is a distinct difference in effect size for subject teachers in languages compared to other teachers. Thus, subject teachers in languages who are not inclined towards keeping up to date with research are already at an over 60% probability of documenting compared to less than 20% of other teachers. Those subject teachers in

languages are mostly in agreement with keeping up to date with current research on reading literacy research, and are almost at a 90% probability of documenting compared to close to 50% of other teachers. Accordingly, I conclude that both special educators and teachers in languages invest in their education, although subject teachers in languages invest more by keeping themselves up to date with current research in reading and writing literacy.
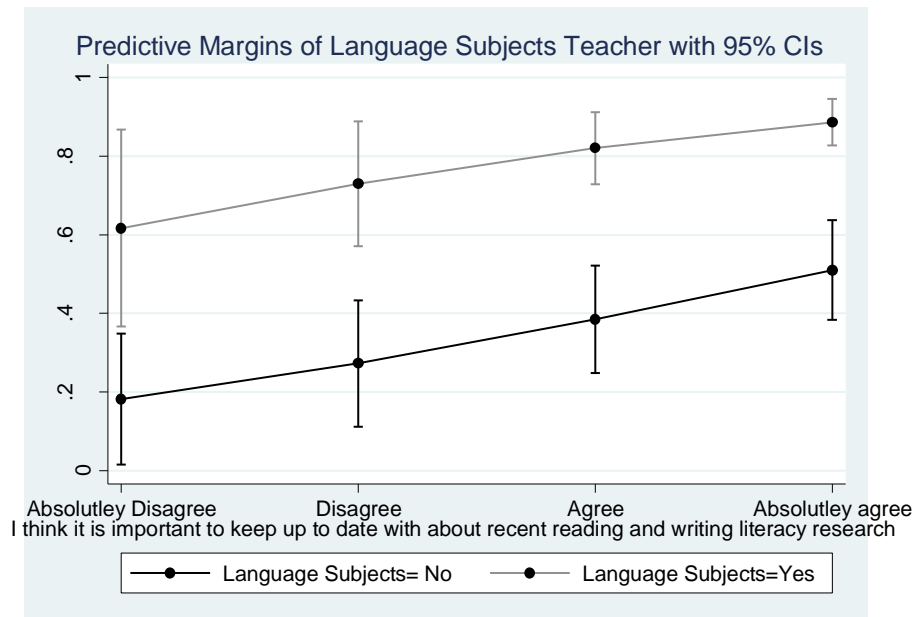

Figure 1. Margins plot.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The practice of documenting students with reading and writing difficulties is a shared responsibility of all teachers. Such documentation practice has the purpose of identifying students with special educational needs. Nonetheless documenting a student with reading and writing difficulties remains a controversial issue. Researchers have argued that documentation is a way of exercising power on students identity as a learner, i.e. being documented as a SEN student and hence as a "slow learner". Little is known about the predictors of documentation or why teachers document. Consequently, the major purpose of this study was to predict and explain teachers' documentation practices of students' reading and writing difficulties.

First, 98% of the teachers in this study have students with reading and writing difficulties and there are almost 3 students with such SEN per teacher. This descrip-

tive finding supports the conclusion that decisions on whether to document or not become what Ball (1987) calls an issue of "micro-politics" of schools.

Secondly, the study concludes that subject teachers in languages are more likely to document reading and writing difficulties than other teachers, including special educators (cf Westlund, 2013). As such, it seems as there is a traditional division of labour with respect to documentation. Documentation is not a shared concern by special educators and other teachers; rather it is in the hands of the subject teachers in languages. The schools traditional division of labour implies different teachers bring different kinds of teaching expertise and practices. Multiple perspectives can lead to a joint problem solving culture (Ainscow & Sandill, 2010) and are needed to reduce the likelihood of under-/over-documentation (Clark, 1999).

Thirdly, the study concludes that teachers' lack of special needs competence in how to identify reading and writing difficulties (SPLD) impacted their practice of documenting these difficulties. The lack of competence makes teachers avoid documenting. This finding confirms previous research that many teachers lack confidence about how to document (Andreasson, Asp-Onsjö & Isaksson, 2013; Ball, 2003). As such, teachers are put in an awkward position. On the one hand, the pressure on teachers to document is greater than ever due to NPM policy (Ball, 2003). On the other hand, teachers are not equipped with the special needs competence to do so. As such, many teachers seem to take the responsibility of avoiding to document in order to not make poor decisions. However, there is a risk of teachers' failing to document and thus not intervening at an early stage of reading and writing difficulties. This may lead to exclusion of students at a later stage because many teachers are not equipped with the right kind of special needs competence needed for the challenges of making schools more inclusive (Hausstätter & Takala, 2011).

Fourthly, the study concludes that teachers' attitudes towards reading literacy research increases the likelihood of documenting reading and writing difficulties. This effect seems to be even more powerful for subject teachers in languages. This raises concerns about how subject teachers in languages consume the research regarding identifying and supporting reading and writing difficulties. Subject teachers in languages are not necessarily professionally trained in how to identify and support reading and writing difficulties and hence they probably have different criterions for evaluating new knowledge. Compared to subject teachers in languages, special educators in Sweden spend a considerable time of their education to acquire a critical understanding of documentation and diagnosing of special educational needs. However, Swedish special educators may lack subject area expertise in how to identify and support reading and writing difficulties. This is because it was not until 2008 that there was specialization in reading and writing for special educators (Von Ahlefeld Nisser, 2014). An education that was criticised in 2014 by Swedish Higher Education Authority (2014) for having "inadequate quality". This will possibly place special educators in awkward positions. On the one hand, special educators are more aware of the problems with diagnoses within literacy research such as dyslexia. On the other hand, they may have limited subject area knowledge

about when/how to diagnose and intervene. This puts subject teachers in languages in a more powerful position than special educators for making decisions on documentation.

Fifthly, this study concludes that documentation does not seem to be a matter of special needs resources. The results suggest that education more resources should be on teacher education and professional development. Therefore policy makers and school leaders should be concerned with being equipped with the right kind of special needs competence in how to identify reading and writing difficulties (Takala & Uusitalo-Malmivaara, 2012).

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