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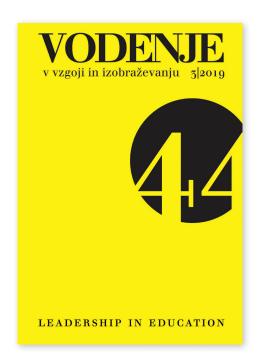
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How To Be Prepared for the Difficult Conversation

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In this paper, we present a minor research and development project with a group of teachers in primary school who, in agreement with the school management, have been trained and educated in the challenging task of facilitating 'The difficult conversation.' In the project, a reflecting team has been used as a method to consolidate empowerment as an opportunity for the teacher to lead various processes being part of many teachers' tasks. The main objective of the project was to research if this way of educating can lead to development of empowerment for the whole school. We also wanted to see if we could use a reflecting team in the mentoring process of learning. In their professional relationship with children and their parents, teachers must be more than regular educators. They need to be leaders of professional teams, cooperating with other professionals in dialogues with parents. Sometimes an individual teacher has to take part in difficult conversations and show both leadership and responsibility. Many teachers perceive this as an emotional challenge that concerns themselves as well as their counterparts. It is important to focus on their own teacher competence to facilitate such situations. A possible route to success is developing empowerment in teacher's professional work. By using a reflecting team in various situations, teachers will experience empowerment as strengthening support in their daily work. The reflecting team method was originally used in therapy, but has over time been redesigned and adapted to an educational method for mentoring, teambuilding, planning and problem solving.

Keywords: difficult conversation, reflecting team, empowerment, mentoring process of learning, leaders of professional teams

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

This paper refers to a joint project between Østfold University College and an elementary school affiliated with Østfold University College teacher education program. The subject of the project concerns a challenge to most schools and teachers in their work with children, colleagues, leaders, and guardians in the course of

the school mission; *The difficult conversation* (Drugli and Onsøien 2010). By this, we mean a conversation showing respect (making people feel that they are seen, heard and accepted) and focusing on the need for concrete problem solving. We use the word *conversation*; but maybe some would use the word *communication* in this setting. We understand *communication* as passing on some information or message, and conversation as mutual talk and reflecting upon a subject.

A teacher has to cooperate with many different people in the daily work, in addition to teaching. The school is a meeting point for everyone, and every single pupil needs attention in connection to his or her learning and needs. This is incorporated in the law (by the Education Act), which also grants rights to each individual child during the education period. In addition to this, there are certain children who are granted extended rights because they have special needs and are unable to benefit from ordinary teaching. In Norway, the Education Act grants these children extended rights, and providing them special education is the school's responsibility (Regjeringen 2006).

All parents want the best for their children, and it can be hard to accept that there is a need for special education. The school is responsible for identifying such needs and challenges and accommodating for the child in order to secure a good learning outcome. It can be challenging to convey these needs to the parents, to plan for them with colleagues, and to communicate them to the school owner and the management (Drugli 2012). These conversations are often professionally structured, but they can also reflect different perspectives on possibilities, resources, and ability to execute. On the other hand, parties in such conversations are all humans, influenced by their own feelings as well as with feelings concerning the needs and possibilities of the child (Kvarme, Früh, and Lidén 2017). According to teachers, not all teacher education programs prepare them for such situations and conversations, likely perceived as difficult since they concern both the pupil and all the pupil's microsystems (Bronfenbrenner 2005). These conversations may therefore create difficult situations and being prepared for them is wise.

Our project is about preparing for these difficult conversations. Given our previous work on the use of *reflective processes* and a *reflecting team* (Sträng, Sørmo, and Navestad 2016; Sträng and Sørmo 2017; Sørmo and Sträng 2018), we wanted to see whether we could also use *reflecting teams* as a method for this type

of learning. Andersen (1987) uses the term 'Reflecting team' because the team reflects on the conversation, which its members are listening to.

Theoretical Framework

It seemed natural to divide this chapter by topics that are the most relevant for the research question. We have chosen to look at teacher's role, selected topics in communication, and the importance of the *reflecting team*. We also tie our work with *reflecting team* to the term *empowerment* because it is that connection that makes teachers aware of and helps them strengthen their self-understanding and their skills beyond their professional skills (Askheim and Starrin 2012; Sørmo and Sträng 2018).

The Role of the Teacher

What is perceived as a difficult conversation depends on the persons and the circumstances they find themselves in. When working with children, we think of conversation between school and home first, but also of the direct conversation with children in a difficult situation (Drugli 2012). In addition to this, various situations may arise when the teacher cooperates with colleagues or receives signals from the administration. Each group requires a different form of attention and a unique approach. Teachers therefore need the ability to relate to different groups, and may find these conversations difficult in some way (Westergård 2012). As humans, we are also moved by emotional circumstances that affect both our own attitude and how we deal with situations that we are exposed to. Facing disagreement could be a good way to calibrate knowledge and attitudes toward other people's experience of different life situations (Drugli and Onsøien 2010).

Both in kindergarten and in school, teachers may find that their opinions differ from professionals as well as pupils and their parents. Such situations may communicate to children and their guardians that some circumstances are less than useful in a learning situation. For example, behavior could be unacceptable, rooted in upbringing and pedagogical circumstances, but also related to traumatic circumstances, neurological damage or pedagogically inadequate reasoning in teaching (Nordahl et al. 2014). Circumstances like these may be stigmatizing statements and perceptions where the teacher, child and parents are unable

to understand the other side when facing a challenge or a problem. Such a situation can end up with a statement against statement where the parties are unable to listen and understand the whole situation, possibly because the topic in question touches the parties emotionally, professionally, and culturally (Lindseth 2009).

Another difficult situation arises when colleagues disagree on how to handle a certain case. In the planning and application phases of measures for children with special needs, professional disagreement can lead to situations that are difficult to deal with for both parties (Tinnesand 2007). Professional disagreement may appear resulting from different knowledge and experience, but also from easy and questionably founded solutions (Skaalvik and Skaalvik 2017). This may create tension when working with children with special challenges, needs or problems, and their families. Out of these situations, difficult to handle discussions and conversations may arise. Conveying to parents a message that their child is in need of a different type of a professional effort could well be challenging in itself, but sometimes it is also difficult because pedagogical professionals disagree on where the problem is or what measures to apply (Drugli 2013).

Difficult conversations are being a part of everyday life for most people. For various reasons, some people encounter them more often than others do. The difficult conversation does not occur only in direct teaching situations. Many people find that in addition to pedagogical reasoning and application of measures, life situation itself is challenging and leads to difficult conversations (Drugli and Onsøien 2010). This could be a divorce, a death or loss of family in different circumstances, traumatic experience, unstable economic or social circumstances, crime or addictions, or sexual assault and neglect (Smith 2004).

Sometimes it is easy to forget that teachers themselves can be affected by emotions and conditions, depending on their current situation as professionals or on private experiences. Many teachers are affected by their care and responsibility for children in difficult situations. Namely, the teacher shows responsibility that exceeds professional requirements and is therefore affected by the ups and downs in the child experiences. Teachers thereby take on responsibility for children who for different reasons are mentally absent. They take care of the way of communicating the circumstances of child's quality of life in kindergarten or in school. This could put the teacher in a situation where actions and conversa-

tions would be challenging and difficult, in addition to the emotional presence that colors the situation.

Professionally, a teacher is in a position defined by the structures of power (Nordahl and Drugli 2016). Teacher's mission consists of official tasks, expectations from the management, colleagues, parents, and children. As being responsible for the learning process, the teacher, in the role of a pedagogical professional, is in a situation of power (Saenz 2012). Teacher role is composed of the power of employer, society and culture, but the teacher does also execute power through the learning process. This is in many ways natural since learning can take place through relations best (Hughes and Chen 2011). A teacher must be aware of this power relation and know when the situation or communication needs to be symmetrical or asymmetrical. A teacher is often perceived as a person of power in an asymmetrical relation, because power is linked to the teacher role. Nevertheless, relations can be challenging and symmetrical in conjunction with cooperation, research, and development. This balance in the power structure can also play a part in how the teacher participates in difficult conversations where professional as well as relational and emotional factors play a part.

The Teacher and the Conversation

Awareness of Bateson's (1973) statement that 'everything is communication' is a good foundation for understanding that a conversation is much more than the exchange of verbal expressions. Conversation contains much more than digital words. It is also colored by intonation, facial expressions, body language, and context (Lindseth 2009). It is primarily in the analogue part of the conversation that emotional expressions emerge. These expressions are often difficult, and appear as a sort of burden added to the message of the words chosen. Laughter and smiles, anger and aggression all enhance the message. Prejudices and preconceptions influence the way conversation would be interpreted, both positively and negatively. If the recipient in a conversation has a positive attitude towards the sender, he or she will normally be inclined to interpret everything in a positive way. A suspicious or negative attitude, perhaps based on previous experience, rumors or professional perspective, can effectively hinder communication (Bateson 1973).

A teacher is often in contact with both children and parents who

are excessively passive and almost silent. For different reasons, they dare not take part in the conversation, which in turn may be unexpectedly and undesirably asymmetrical. Situations in which the other part due to different and perhaps unknown reasons does not wish to speak, increase the risk of the sender exerting power (Eastburg and Johnson 1990). In such situations we may wonder whether the conversation could turn complementary in the way that the more the teacher speaks, the quieter the other part becomes, and the more difficult it is to escape the situation through reciprocity and a common understanding.

A teacher's task is being able to face many different situations and people, and it is important that to be prepared for a scenario in which the school is perceived as difficult. This is also the focal point of our project on how the teacher and the school can prepare for *the difficult conversation*. Conversations between school and home often take place when the school invites parents to a conversation about their child's social and cognitive development. An important subject is how the parents perceive the child's possibilities, well-being and learning environment, as well (Regjeringen 2006).

Such a conversation is intended to form the basis for a common understanding and development of the work ahead, and the pupil's well-being. However, schools also report that parents more frequently contact the school to complain about the teacher's treatment of their child, and about methods of teaching (Drugli 2010). These instances may challenge teachers beyond professional scope, even if the teacher is prepared and expects to face them.

Empowerment

Meetings in the teaching profession, both in kindergarten and school, demand for more than just professional skills. Empowerment is about strengthening teacher's pedagogical and practical awareness and scope of action (Askheim and Starrin 2012). There are many ways for this to happen, but in our project, we have decided to focus on a *reflecting team* as a tool (Andersen 1991).

A teacher is required to cooperate with every group in their line of work and must be confident to fulfil the mission and to help in coming to understanding of what is important in the learning process and children's development for many different people. Children with special challenges or needs and adapted education, both ordinary and special education, demand a greater degree of cooperation between all parties. Parents may find the situation demanding in regard to the child as an individual as well as in the context of a system of connections to a greater whole. Therefore, cooperation is paramount, even when dealing with difficult topics. When faced with a child's special needs, the teacher needs a lot of flexibility and creativity. Working on empowerment strengthens teacher's understanding of pedagogical reasoning as well as the ability to plan and execute educational measures. Mentoring makes it possible for the teacher to get help in planning and executing measures that can create change for the child and the micro levels of that child (Bronfenbrenner 2005). Mentoring creates consciousness that can in turn increase empowerment of the teacher.

Reflecting Teams

Reflecting team was developed specifically for the field of family therapy by Professor Tom Andersen (1987). The method was originally designed to help families and individuals in need of change in their own lives or patterns of action. Over the years, the method has become a method of guidance in other contexts as well (Lauvås and Handal 2014). Through various development and research projects, it has emerged to be well suited in pedagogical contexts. Especially in cases where the school, the family and teachers work together facing behavioral, neurological and individual challenges (Sträng, Sørmo, and Navestad 2016; Sträng and Sørmo 2017; Sørmo and Sträng 2018). In addition to this, children's behavior may be a symptom of unrest and problems on various micro levels of a child. Understanding of Bronfenbrenner's (2005) 'meso-level' can contribute to change in the life situation of a child. The school represents a basic resource for the child in these situations.

Time is a limited resource for those who work with children, particularly the time available for cooperation and reaching a joint understanding of the learning and development processes. By working in a *reflecting team*, we find that short guidance meetings attended by all parties can release extra time and reduce stress (Sträng and Sørmo 2014).

The set-up for a reflecting team is three or four teachers meeting for guidance sessions. They agree on who will be the mentor and who will be the mentee. The mentee does not prepare a written guidance note, but turns up with thoughts and emotions that arise from the given situation. This is the starting point for a conversation on mentee's workday (Seikkula 2012). The mentor asks open questions about the topic and identifies which questions need to be addressed immediately and what can be put aside for a while. The team's general task is listening, but the mentor regularly opens for input from the team, namely reflections, questions and positive feedback (Schön 2001). The mentee listens, but is not allowed to take any part in the conversation with the team. Such team conversation lasts for a brief period of time, 2-3 minutes or so, before the mentor puts an end to it and asks the seeker to comment on what has been said. This way, the mentee is guided closer and closer to whatever he or she needs to understand or receive support in (Andersen 2007). The mentor eventually stops the conversation and initiates a meta-conversation on mentoring itself, and everyone sums up what the seeker needs to work on next.

Method

Through our projects on *reflecting team* we have received feedback from participants, telling us that the teacher has to face a lot of difficult ethical decisions alone (Skagen 2013). On workdays, teachers have limited access to colleagues and management. Furthermore, teachers are not a homogenous group and the employees have different skills, competence and experience ... We have used a *reflecting team* in various situations, especially for developing empowerment. Empowerment may change teacher's day and contribute to better learning conditions for the pupils.

After using the *reflecting team* method of mentoring for several years, we wanted to see if we could use this tool as a method of preparing teachers for 'The difficult conversation.' Based on our experience from previous projects (Sträng and Sørmo 2014), we focused on this topic ... We invited an elementary school nearby Østfold University College to take part in in a small project on this subject. The school showed great interest in the subject and we made an agreement and a letter of intent. The school management was thrilled with our initiative. We also made an agreement with the management to fulfil a project between the school and the university college for the duration of roughly one year. The principal informed the staff that they could participate in the upcoming project.

The professional skills of teachers were connected to the ele-

mentary school level. One of them was also a special needs educator. None of the teachers had formal training in mentoring, and they were not familiar with reflecting teams. We agreed on monthly meetings to work as a team. Teachers were expected to write down and send us personal log entries from every meeting during the entire period. We also invited them to take part in a research conference, presenting their experience from our project. The university college provided a mentor and a metaobserver. The role of the meta-observer was to supervise the guidance setting without interacting or commenting on anything that happened (Johnsen 2013). The observer was supposed to survey all forms of communication and cooperation during the course of the project (Cronholm, Guss, and Bruno 2006). Everything the observer noted was carefully analyzed and communicated to participants after mentoring (Johnsen 2013). Observation is also a task for the reflective team, but the team is limited to communicate what they see and hear during the ongoing guidance.

The meetings were organized in three stages. The first stage, around 20 minutes of length, was a brief introduction to the method and its various elements. These lectures focused on important terms, roles, and methods of the guidance. During the second stage, the members decided who was going to receive guidance. The rest made up the reflecting team. The roles were changed in every meeting so all of them got experience in different roles. Each mentoring session lasted 50–60 minutes. In the third and last stage, we summarized what had happened and received feedback from the meta-observer. After each session, everyone wrote down their individual experiences in a log. Those logs, along with the analysis from the meta-observer, created a solid foundation for reflection on usefulness and results of mentoring, in the light of the difficult conversation.

Results

Observations from the mentoring showed that emerging themes often revolved around stress factors, lack of time to collaborate, and concern for pupils with special needs. Frustrations around the resource situation also emerged, making teachers worry about whether the child received sufficient help from the school ... The teacher's role in the local community and its impact on the teacher-parent collaboration was also noticed. When teachers met parents in their spare time, it often lead to spontaneous conversa-

tions about various situations. Teachers reported stress over such situations because they were unprepared and normally lacked time for such meetings.

Meta-observations showed that body language through facial expressions had high impact on how the message was communicated (Bressendorf 2009). Sometimes, the body language seemed a little out of tune with the spoken message. The teacher smiling in an intolerable and taxing situation would be a good example. A signal to the counterpart could therefore be confusing and contradictory (Bateson 1973). Awareness of body language became an important point that the teachers had to work with. The body language also disclosed whether question topics were uncomfortable or unexpected (Lindseth 2009). Teachers showed that by clenching their fists or crossing their arms, leaning forward or backward, or becoming quiet and shy. On the other hand, there was an obvious correlation between the verbal message and the body language displayed. The movements and facial expressions helped underline the seeker's messages.

The logs told us that teachers' experience from the reflecting team sessions gradually became part of their reasoning behind actions in the classroom and among colleagues. In the logs, the team members elaborated on what the conversations had meant to their self-image, and to their relations with colleagues, pupils, and parents. Feedback from the conversation and the team's reflections helped the participants to get a clearer pictures of their role as a teacher, and cemented their personal confidence in their profession. Learning is about building relations (Drugli 2012). Through increased belief in their own abilities, participants strengthened their professional skills and their empowerment. The log entries and summarizing conversations made it clear that this had an impact on how the teachers practiced their profession while facing daily challenges.

Teachers clearly became more aware of what their body language signaled to pupils and colleagues. They also became emboldened to share how they perceived collaborations, and to draw lines for parents and the local community.

Discussion

The Reflecting Team

To a certain degree, this project breaks with the idea of a 'knownothing' attitude. Andersen (2007) maintained that the parties

should meet without preconceptions or prejudices toward the seeker's (client's) needs or background. The focal point is the conversation and the open questions that are relevant in order to discover the important topics of discussion, as well as the insignificant ones. The results of our project show that teachers work closely together and hold a lot of silent knowledge on each other's strengths and weaknesses, without ever discussing or talking about it. Silent knowledge means knowledge based on experience, which is difficult to put into words, either in writing or in a conversation. It just exists between people and is further developed in social settings. Conversation and the log entries show that participants add to this knowledge by voicing the reflections they have made about themselves and their colleagues. The reflecting team leads towards constructive feedback, reflections, and questions that both challenge and reveal the seeker's message (Andersen 2007). Log entries show that this will strengthen each individual participant.

The teacher's profession, whether it is in kindergarten or school, is one where time is often experienced as a scarcity (Glaser 2016). Teachers in our projects pushed themselves hard to be able to participate, because they felt that participation would be useful for them. The log entries show that they consider participation in sessions as a form of investment. The stress factor in participating has decreased, and all the participants report having gained a lot from the attendance.

In previous studies we have noticed that the school leaders have acknowledged the importance of this kind of development work. If groups like this are firmly anchored with the school management, they will help relieve the leader and increase the professional skills needed to solve the tasks at hand with more trust and greater control (Sträng, Sørmo, and Navestad 2016).

Participants in our projects have previously not been familiar with a *reflecting team*. That is why we provided a certain amount of training before we started the mentoring. The subject of how to prepare for the difficult conversation was fully accepted by them. Through mentoring sessions, we received clear signals on their insecurities when faced with challenges both in the classroom and outside it. Participants managed, through mentoring, to present what was of importance to them when preparing for conversations with colleagues, parents, and the school management. The received feedback prevented preconceived statements and created trust.

Guidance normally focuses on the language and how it can help people to express opinions and emotions (Lauvås and Handal 2014). Courage to address difficult subjects demands a confident teacher who is secure with the surroundings. Log entries from the participants show that positive feedback and controlled way of question-posing are paramount for progressing and identifying good solutions or new paths to walk. When mentor uses open questions, the mentee is challenged to give reasons for the actions and plans for future measures. Closed questions usually steer in the direction the guide wants, and provide only limited possibilities for the seeker to signal what is important to address.

The Reflections

The reflective team's task is contributing to guidance by listening and observation, without participating in the actual conversation. Their questions and reflections do not necessarily capture what the seeker says, but rather what they hear the seeker saying. There is a divergence or difference here (Bateson 1973). Reflecting processes in the team clarify what they perceive from the seeker. When the team members comment on what they hear, they help clarify the seeker's intention. This can take place in the following manner:

Team: I hear that the seeker is afraid to approach the boy's mother. I wonder why, because she appears so calm and clear. She seems unafraid and well-reflected.

Mentor: Now you have heard what the team thinks of what you said. What comments do you have to this representation?

Mentee: That was not at all how I meant it. I was afraid that the mother would find an excuse to avoid talking about her son with us after so many had complained about him.

The act of listening to the mentee crystallizes the true meaning in the statement. Reflections from the listening role of the team thus help clarify the statement's meaning. In that way, various conversations demonstrate how mentee is led to identify what is important to talk about in depth.

One of the participants wrote in her log:

I experienced the conversation as exciting; many of my experiences with 'the difficult conversation' came to me again. I find it interesting to get feedback from the observers and

it was a good feeling to explain some of the statements they where wondering about.

Another participant wrote in her log about what mentoring did for her:

I am fascinated with the final results. I think that many of the episodes and challenges we talked about represent something that has (so far) shaped me as a professional and a teacher.

This shows how the participant felt empowered by mentoring. This strengthens the seeker and increases the scope of action and the possibility to deal with difficult questions, thereby increasing teacher's empowerment and consequently possibilities to help the pupil and the family.

A participant wrote in her log:

We talked about having different perspectives, and this is what I think to be essential when it comes to conversations. It is rather important to have sympathy and skills to see and understand the situation for the parents, their worries and what they wish for the children.

Mentoring made the teacher conscious and aware of the perspective for the parents. Kierkegaard wrote that this is necessary to be in a helping position (Pedersen 2007).

The size of a *reflecting team* may vary (Andersen 2007). In the project, there were 2–3 participants in the team. This enabled them to talk to each other and avoid the temptation to communicate with the seeker. Such situation would be confusing, as it could give an impression of having several guides at one time. You can also be a reflective team on your own by talking aloud to yourself in a mirror, but this requires some practice (Andersen 2007). When Andersen had no one to use in a reflecting team, he turned his chair and told his client to listen to a one-man-talk, with himself, about the subject (Andersen 2007). After this 'talk' he turned his chair back again and asked his client for feedback.

Ethical Remarks

Each mentoring session is a situation in which information flows back and forth (Lauvås and Handal 2014). What is said during guidance remains in the room, but each participant brings experience and reflections back into the daily work. It is important for

credibility of work and safety of participants that everyone in a *reflecting team* understand what this means. If mentee's thoughts and knowledge find different ways, the work will create concern and worries instead of being sustainable. This is also fundamental for the teacher's mission in kindergarten and in school. The confidentiality agreement spans all information that surfaces in connection with work, the only exception being information that expresses criminal behavior towards children (Norwegian Public Administration Act §13). Needless to say, this also applies when working in *reflecting teams*.

During our previous projects, we have sometimes received questions regarding ethics of the *reflective team* method. This is no surprise, as the *reflective team* method originates from the field of therapy. Misgivings towards the method or the tool stem from idea that it could be perceived as therapeutic and invasive towards participants (Lauvås and Handal 2014). The original method, as used by Andersen, was closely connected to family therapy. Andersen noticed that it was hard to work with people without the context of their surroundings, most often their own family and their local community.

In educational or special education perspective, work in *reflecting teams* is connected to professional mission. Nonetheless, it is natural to see a connection between the mission and the person performing it. They are connected in a way that enables the teacher to teach. Any conversation between people is a chance to be influenced or to influence others. This leads to reflection and thinking about one's own point of view, but also other related matters. Some people will always perceive such development as a form of therapy.

In our use of *reflective teams*, the mission is closely tied to educational work with people. Since the concept of empowerment is a key feature in the process, it means that this tool helps creating change and positive attitude towards one's own work and mission. This is especially true when working with vulnerable groups such as children with special needs. The attention is given to professional situation, not the personal development of an individual participant, even though everyone is affected by the situation.

Conclusions

In this paper we have shown how working in *reflecting teams* can be used as a tool in preparing for difficult conversations. Rela-

tions and cooperation between different parties are important in learning processes (Eide and Eide 2017). There is often little time left for solid, pedagogical reasoning when planning, executing and working together in the teaching processes. Parents are responsible for children learning, therefore collaboration between school and home is important. Situations may arise, for different reasons, where disagreement and concerns in relation to child development can cause problems and challenges for teacher's mission and work. All parties are vulnerable in such situations, and it is paramount that the teacher has skills and confidence that challenges can be solved for the good of the child. By using a reflecting team as a tool in this project, we have shown that awareness of educational challenges can be increased and can also develop empowerment in teachers. This requires some knowledge and skills about the tool, as well as communication and reflection skills. Some time and resources are also required.

On the other hand, project participants report that this way of working decreases the stress level and helps individuals to identify elements potentially difficult to improve. Participants recognize a *reflecting team* to be useful, a tool helping them make a difference for children in need of special attention and assistance. Challenges in a difficult conversation may vary. Solid preparations through peer structures may help the teacher take a firmer stance both when working with children with special needs and in creating cooperation and understanding among colleagues, parents, and the school management.

In order to make this tool sustainable, it is necessary to have endorsement, support and responsibility from the school management. Also, the teacher needs to be comfortable working in such a way and aware of his or her own development.

In light of previous projects, we see that *reflecting team* can be used in different ways and in many contexts, but always with a critical view of the process and the results. The goal is that strong pedagogical reasoning and deliberate choices of actions will help pave the way for good teaching and social development for each individual child.

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