European Journal of Inclusive Education (EJIE) 2024 Vol. 3, Issue 1, https://doi.org/ 10.7146/ejie.v3i1.145185

Inclusive education in Sweden: A survey of teachers' attitudes, self-efficacy and collaboration towards better meeting pupils' learning

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Abstract

Background and aim: Teachers' positive attitudes towards inclusive education are taken to be critical to providing education that better meets all pupils' learning. Studies have therefore tried to clarify interaction between teachers' attitudes and inclusive education. The present study reports data on teachers' attitudes, self-efficacy and collaboration towards inclusive education in Sweden. Nation-wide data were collected from teachers before they joined a national professional development programme aimed at strengthening schools' competence in adapting teaching to pupils' learning.

Methods: Participants were 2,348 (51,6%) out of 4,553 targeted teachers that answered an online survey. The survey included three instruments: the Ohio State Teacher Efficacy Scale (OSTES), the Sentiments, Attitudes and Concerns about Inclusive Education – Revised (SACIE-R), and bespoke questions about teachers' attitudes towards collegial learning (TACL). Mean values and correlations were assessed. Responses to an open question about teachers' expectations ahead of starting their training programme were analysed in NVivo, using word frequency analysis.

Results: Three-quarters of respondents show overall positive responses towards adapting their teaching to pupils' learning. However, almost two-thirds of teachers do also report significant concerns about their ability to do inclusive education well. Scores remained largely unaffected by public or private school ownership, nor did the affluence of school catchment areas affect teacher scores.

Conclusions: The self-reported attitudes, self-efficacy and collaboration among teachers in Sweden towards adapting their teaching to pupils' learning support positive research conclusions: although they do have concerns likely to be founded on professional considerations, teachers are by and large positive about better meeting all pupils' learning.

Key words

Swedish education; Inclusive education; teacher efficacy; teacher attitude; teacher collaboration

Points of interest

- A wave of studies has supposed that including more pupils in regular schools will require positive attitudes among school teachers. We investigated this among 2,348 teachers working in regular schools across Sweden.
- Three-quarters (75,5%) of the teachers have a positive attitude towards including more pupils in regular classrooms. Hence teachers' attitudes do not seem a barrier to more inclusive education in Sweden.
- There was little difference in the attitudes of private and public school teachers, while no difference was found for teachers working in more or in less well-off areas.
- Two-thirds (61%) of teachers do have practical concerns about doing more inclusive education well. Teachers ask for clear guidance and reliable tools that help them to teach well in more inclusive classrooms.



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• Giving teachers practical training in teaching more diverse pupils will therefore be more beneficial than trying to further improve their already positive attitudes towards inclusive education.

Introduction

Education systems worldwide vary in the extent to which pupils attend mainstream schools (Forlin et al., 2007; Pijl & Frissen, 2009). Instead of some pupils being educated in separate classes and/or schools, global education policy favours inclusive education; in essence, the idea that ordinary schools and teachers should be able to meet the learning characteristics of all pupils (Flem et al., 2004; UNESCO, 1994). This means that mainstream schools and teachers are expected to welcome a large diversity of pupils and provide differentiated education (Tejero Hughes et al., 1996). Reliable insight into what is needed to do educational inclusion well is however proving elusive (Ainscow, 2000; Florian, 2008; Lindsay, 2003; Migliarini & Elder, 2023; Slee, 2001; Tilstone, 1998). Pupils considered to have adverse educational outlook are therefore often taken to be generally better off in special schools, for example by special education teachers (Göransson et al., 2015, 2020); hence there is continued need for further research.

The extent to which pupils are welcome in mainstream settings is thought to depend in part on attitudes within mainstream school communities, including teachers. By teachers' attitudes are meant in this case beliefs that can vary along lines of being more positive or being more apprehensive about teaching pupils with special needs. Research has noted that teachers being positive correlates with being less apprehensive and having fewer concerns about welcoming pupils with special needs in the classroom (Aiello et al., 2019; Forlin et al., 2007; Forlin & Chambers, 2011; Özokcu, 2018).

Considerable research effort has been invested in understanding variation in teachers' attitudes to inclusive education. National differences in attitudes may mirror social and cultural variation that affect how teachers may think about more inclusive education (Bossaert et al., 2015; Fine-Davis & Faas, 2014; Nketsia et al., 2016; Saloviita, 2020a; Saloviita & Consegnati, 2019; Saloviita & Schaffus, 2016). Some studies have noted room for improvement in teacher attitudes (Avramidis et al., 2000; de Boer et al., 2011) while other studies noted that teachers' attitudes towards including pupils with special educational needs might be positively affected by special training interventions undertaken either during teacher training (Büssing et al., 2019; Forlin et al., 2007; Furlonger et al., 2010; Li & Cheung, 2021; Miesera & Gebhardt, 2018; Savolainen et al., 2012; Sharma et al., 2008), or as part of post-qualification professional development (Clipa et al., 2020; Ismailos et al., 2022; Srivastava et al., 2015; Yada & Savolainen, 2017).

Alongside school factors, social factors outside the schools may also affect teachers' attitudes to inclusive education. Public and independent schools may for example vary structurally in attending to inclusive education policy (Nwoko et al., 2022; Taylor, 2005; Thomas et al., 2023). About 16% of pupils in Sweden attend private school. There is ongoing discussion about private schools' effects on social cohesion (Ekonomifakta, 2022). Private schools are not allowed to charge fees in Sweden. However, parents have to apply to these schools and put their children in queues far in advance to receive a placement. This is likely to have a biasing effect on the kinds of pupils that attend private schools. School location may also play a role, with schools in less affluent locations perhaps offering different experiences of inclusive education to teachers and pupils than do schools in more affluent locations (Coutinho et al., 2002; Graham & Spandagou, 2011; Rademaker, 2015).

The attitudes of teachers towards pupils with special needs are however taken to interact particularly closely with two related factors that are critical to teaching effectively in more inclusive settings. The first of those is teachers' self-efficacy, defined as the competence needed to be able to attain one's goals or targets in teaching (Alnahdi & Schwab, 2021; Cimermanová, 2017; Collado-Sanchis et al., 2020; Desombre et al., 2019; Ekins et al., 2016). The second is teachers' collaboration with nearby colleagues, which is considered a precondition for achieving a consistent, transparent and dependable approach to teaching and learning and to good relations within a school (Bray, 2005; Hamman et al., 2013; Kugelmass, 2001; Milteniene & Venclovaite, 2012; Nel et al., 2014). In particular, a focus on professional collaboration is taken to move attention away from deficits in pupils to matters of pedagogy (Semon et al., 2021).



Teachers 'attitudes towards inclusive education in Sweden

In Sweden, the picture is mixed. Despite a national study reporting attitudinal deficits also among teachers in Sweden (Skolverket, 2019), positive attitudes towards including pupils with special needs have been found to be widespread, including also among physical education teachers (Jerlinder et al., 2010) and among preschool teachers (Engstrand & Roll-Pettersson, 2014; Sandberg & Ottosson, 2010). Compared to teachers elsewhere, Swedish teachers were found to have relatively positive views towards inclusive education (Helldin et al., 2011). This positive view is also apparent in teacher training (Takala et al., 2012, 2015). However, contrasting evidence has also been put forward, for example in lack of support among special needs school teachers for including pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties (EBD) in regular classrooms (e.g. Gidlund, 2018b). These latter findings were confirmed by Göransson et al. (2020) for the national population of teachers working in schools for pupils with intellectual disabilities. When comparing the attitudes of teachers working in schools for the latter lacked appropriate qualification. This suggests that special school teachers' professionalism puts them more in line with inclusive education (Göransson et al., 2017). To sum up, the evidence suggests a somewhat mixed picture, but Swedish teachers do seem generally supportive of inclusive education.

Teachers 'perceived self-efficacy

Self-efficacy denotes persons' self-belief in having the capacity for achieving a specified goal (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy determines, according to Bandura, even to what extent persons will commit to effort towards achieving a specific task or given end, including to what extent persons can persist with their efforts even when meeting resistance or barriers along the way. Teacher efficacy has also been loosely defined as the capacity to bring about desired outcomes of pupil engagement and learning, even among those pupils who may be difficult or unmotivated (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2001), and it has been linked to teacher autonomy, engagement and job satisfaction (Skaalvik & Skaalvik 2014).

In Sweden, it has been found that teachers' experience increases their perceived self-efficacy or teacher efficacy in the inclusive teaching of reading (Andreassen & Reichenberg, 2018). It has been shown that both teacher training and experience co-vary with perceived self-efficacy; and that both also co-vary with attitudes towards inclusive education, which in turn is thought to be an important factor in developing and maintaining inclusive teaching (Gidlund, 2018a; Uusimaki et al., 2020). Trained teachers expressed a higher level of perceived self-efficacy in relation to assessing pupils than those without training, while trained teachers also used the curriculum more in their teaching. Thus, teacher efficacy is something that comes both with experience and from further education.

Teachers 'perceptions about collegial working and learning

Teacher collaboration is thought to involve two continua, one concerning the degree of collaboration, and another concerned with relative and complementary expertise among collaborators (Granott, 2005). A further useful distinction has also been noted in cases of co-teaching collaboration, with teachers generally preferring equal sharing of pedagogical tasks, team teaching and parallel support, in which specialist teachers have concern only for pupils with special educational needs (Tzivinikou, 2015). A recent review of literature concluded that collaboration practice varies and that training in collaboration brings about more positive attitudes towards inclusive education, although collaboration training does not bring about greater knowledge of inclusive education in teachers, as such (Holmqvist & Lelinge, 2021). Collaboration among teachers has been found to be an effective way to raise teacher efficacy and so preempt stress (Gebbie et al., 2011). Special educators have likewise been found to need good collaboration is deemed a requisite for consistent pedagogy within a school (Lindsay, 2003). Teacher collaboration has been found to be a predictor of efficacy in inclusive education settings (Hamman et al., 2013). Good professional collaboration is therein thought to be a key issue in implementing inclusive education (Lyons et al., 2016; Paju et al., 2022).



In this study, teachers' orientation towards collaboration is pursued via questions that focus on collegial learning (Sagar, 2013; Sülau, 2019); this focus better suits the school-wide collegial training conditions under which the teachers partook in the survey.

The study's aim, research goal and questions

The present study was designed to enable a nationwide determination of how competent and ready teachers in mainstream schools in Sweden feel about adapting their teaching to a wider range of pupils, prior to them undertaking professionalisation training on this topic. Three elements of teachers' perspectives were investigated in the study: i) teachers' perceived self-efficacy (teacher efficacy), ii) teachers' attitudes and concerns about inclusive education, and iii) teachers perceptions about working with colleagues.

The research questions were:

- What attitudes do teachers in Sweden have towards more inclusive education?
- How do these attitudes interact with teacher-efficacy and collegial learning?
- How do these attitudes interact with school type (public/private school) and school catchment area affluence?
- What do teachers expect to gain from professional training concerning inclusive education?

Method

Data were collected from teachers across Sweden as part of an evaluation of a professional development programme for inclusive education hosted by the National Agency for Education, entitled *Specialpedagogik för lärande* (special pedagogy for learning, henceforth SFL). The one year-long SFL training programme focuses on developing schools, as well as teachers' competence in adapting teaching to the conditions and needs of pupils. School heads register their school's teachers collectively for undertaking the SFL programme. The SFL programme's teaching and learning is then done by and within the schools themselves, using online modules and guidance. Schools receive a grant from the National Agency for enabling the SFL programme's professional development.

Our evaluation of the SFL programme was commissioned by the National Agency. We collected survey data on teachers' attitudes, self-efficacy and collaboration towards inclusive education both before and after teachers followed the SFL programme. The data reported here concern the data collected before teachers started their training. The online questionnaires could only be submitted when fully completed, to avoid introducing response selection bias.

Participant recruitment

In August 2018, the entire annual cohort of 4,553 Swedish schoolteachers—in schools that were nationally distributed—scheduled to begin SFL training were approached via email and invited to complete an online survey prior to starting their training. A total of n=2,348 teachers (51,6%) completed the data collection survey, that also included information about teachers' age, gender, teaching years and years spent in post-compulsory education, see table 1 for participant information.



Participant information	N Total	Men	Women	Other	Range years
Number (N) Percent (%)	2348 100	450 19.2	1887 80.4	11 .5	-
Age M(SD)	45.6 (10.2)	45.5 (10.7)	45.6 (10.0)	43.7 (10.9)	20 - 70
Years in profession M (SD)	16.0 (10.1)	15.6 (9.9)	16.1 (10.2)	16.4 (8.9)	0 - 40
Years of education M (SD)	4.5 (1.4)	4.6 (1.6)	4.5 (1.4)	5.7 (2.4)	0 - 10

Table 1 Participant information

Participating schools

The 450 participating schools and 2,348 teachers were spread across Sweden, across rural districts and cities, across different school sizes and across independent and public schools. The teachers mostly teach in regular schools for pupils aged 7–16, including schools for Sami pupils (Sami pupils being part of a traditional and formally recognized minority population in Sweden). A small minority of teachers undertaking the SFL training were based in schools for drop-out pupils. Table 2 lists the region types and organization forms of participating schools.

Table 2

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Region type	N total (%)	Public schools N (%)	Private schools* N (%)
Number (N)	2321	1913 (82)	408 (18)
Cities	815 (35)	677 (35)	138 (34)
Large towns	887 (38)	692 (36)	195 (48)
Small towns and municipalities	619 (27)	544 (28)	75 (18)
Missing data	27	-	-

Note: * Private schools are publicly financed and have no fees in Sweden.

A measure of pupils' family background socio-economic status (SES) was also used to check the national representativeness of participating schools. The SES data derive from Swedish regions' register information and are combined by the Swedish National Agency for Education with data on pupils' school results, percentage of qualified teachers, and so forth (Skolverket, 2020): this combined registry is called the SEI (socio-economic index). The SEI data measure the socio-economic status of pupils' family backgrounds among the participating schools. Since the SEI measure counts relative deprivation, high overall scores indicate low socioeconomic status. The SEI scores from participating schools were distributed across a 1–5 band, whereby band 1 schools are in most affluent and band 5 schools in least affluent catchment areas. As can be seen in table 3 the SEI bands are normally distributed among participating teachers and the participating schools are equally distributed over the five bands, see table 3 for exact figures.



Table 3

Socio-economic index	Ν	Percent
SEI 1*	351	14.9
SEI 2	372	15.8
SEI 3	820	34.9
SEI 4	389	16.6
SEI 5	389	16.6
Total	2321	98.8
Missing values	27	1.1

Number of participating teachers in five socio-economic index bands (SEI) for the participating schools.

Note: SEI value 1 denotes the highest socio-economic standard in the school's catchment area and value 5 the lowest standard.

Data collection instruments

The survey included the following three instruments: teachers' perceived self-efficacy (SACIE-R, Sentiments, Attitudes and Concerns about Inclusive Education – Revised), their attitudes and concerns towards inclusive education (OSTES, Ohio State Teacher Efficacy Scale), and their collaboration with colleagues (TACL, teachers' attitudes towards collegial learning). All three measures concern self-assessment only; they are described in more detail below, alongside an open question that pertained to teachers' expectations—what they hoped to learn—in joining the SFL programme.

The survey was piloted in two schools, in order to collect feedback on the translation and the suitability and comprehension of the questions. The 7-point Likert scale used in both the SACIE-R and the OSTES was also used in the bespoke questions we wrote for the TACL, to make comparisons possible.

The SACIE-R: Sentiments, Attitudes and Concerns about Inclusive Education – Revised

The SACIE-R instrument is well established and measures concerns and worries that teachers may experience in their interaction with pupils with special needs. The design of this instrument originally covered 60 psychometric items collected in three scales: the Interaction with Disabled Persons Scale (Forlin et al., 2001), the Attitudes Towards Inclusive Education Scale (Wilczenski, 1992), and the Concerns about Inclusive Education Scale (Sharma & Desai, 2002). The SACIE-R items cover one's feelings about interacting with disabled persons, the acceptance of pupils with special needs, and concerns about inclusive teaching. The instrument was validated in cross-country research and a reliability score of Cronbach α .74 was observed. Despite fair reliability and the value of the scale, the researchers do conclude that about half of the observed variation in responses are due to factors not covered by the SACIE-R (Forlin et al., 2011). The instrument is nevertheless fairly widely used and has shown good psychometric properties also across language translations (Murdaca et al., 2018), though this has not been tested in Sweden. In this study, four items covering respondents' sentiments about disability were removed from the instrument, because they use formulations that are no longer generally acceptable in describing interrelations between disabled and non-disabled people. The remaining 11 items covered two factors, 'acceptance' and 'concerns'. As a consequence, the reliability of the instrument sank to Cronbach α .69. The alpha-value ranges 0–1.0; values above .70 are typically considered to indicate good reliability.



The OSTES: Ohio State Teacher Efficacy Scale

Self-efficacy and teacher efficacy are well-established concepts in psychology and have been used to assess teachers' self-perceived competences in different contexts also via the OSTES (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2001). Co-variation between perceived competence and practical outcomes has since then been found for different groups in various contexts: for workers generally (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998), for teachers in particular (Gibson & Dembo, 1984; Klassen & Chiu, 2010), and also for school pupils (Bandura et al., 1996), including in relation to mathematics learning (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2004). The OSTES survey contains 12 items that in multiple tests obtained a high reliability rating (Cronbach α .92).

TACL: Teachers Attitudes towards Collegial Learning

The third instrument is one we developed as part of the SFL programme evaluation. It measures teachers' views on collegial professional development, covering three subsidiary interests: i) teachers' self-perceptions of their professional skills, ii) their views on professional development, and iii) collegial learning. To this end we combined elements from the Teachers Attitudes about Professional Development questionnaire (Torff et al., 2005) and the Professional Learning Activities Scale (PLAS: Kwakman, 2003). We refer to this third instrument as the TACL (Teachers' Attitudes towards Collegial Learning). In this study the instrument obtained a good reliability score, Cronbach α .83. The instrument's questions were written and piloted in Swedish; the English translations cited here have not been tested.

Teachers' expectations before starting professional development programme (SFL).

Teachers were also asked an open question that will be reported here. We asked them to list their expectations prior to undertaking the SFL programme. Teachers could list up to three different expectations, with room to write a paragraph under each. A total of 1,872 teachers (80% of the sample) responded to the open question, of which 92% listed three expectations. In total, 5,332 answers were given and analysed with NVivo's word frequency analysis tools.

Data analyses

Three sets of data analyses were done. In a first analysis, three two-way ANOVAs were conducted on all three instruments to assess the supposition that local socio-economic conditions affect teachers' attitudes towards inclusive education, their self-efficacy, and/or their attitudes towards collegial learning. In that assessment Likert scores were the within individual factors and the socioeconomic status of schools' catchment area, as measured by a national socioeconomic indicator (SEI) divided into five SEI bands; this was the between group factor (schools). Two mediating factors were assessed: i) school ownership (being employed in public or in private schools), and ii) the socioeconomic well-being of schools' catchment area.

In a second analysis, mean scores and standard deviations were computed on each instrument separately (OSTES, SACIE, TACL) and post hoc tests with independent t-tests were carried out to assess the supposition that either organization form (public or private school), age, and/or gender affect teachers' attitudes towards inclusive education, their self-efficacy, and/or their attitudes towards collegial learning.

In a third analysis, a stepwise regression analysis was conducted in order to assess the supposition that the two composite factors of the SACIE-R—teachers' inclusive education 'attitudes' and 'concerns'— could be predicted by teachers' age, gender, and thus predicting the scores on teacher-efficacy (OSTES) and/or attitude scores on collegial learning (TACL). The strength of these relations will be reported.



Research ethics

Advice on ethical approval for the study was sought from the Swedish Ethical Review Authority, and the advice received (in writing) was that no special permissions or measures were needed. A list of school-based email addresses of teachers joining SFL training was provided by the National Agency for Education. The data were anonymized (names and mail addresses were removed) prior to analysis in SPSS. All data are presented on group level.

Results

The results are organized as follows: the effects of school organization on school climate are reported first. Second, data from the three attitude instruments (OSTES, SACIE-R, TACL) are presented with mean values, frequencies, and standard deviations. Post hoc tests assessed effects of gender, age and school organization. Third, the effects of socio-economic standard on teacher attitudes are presented. Forth and last, correlations between the three instruments are tested. Significant correlations are tested in a regression model where teachers' attitudes and concerns (SACIE-R) are the outcome variable, and teacher efficacy and collegial learning ability are predictors.

School organization and school climate

Local conditions and school organization that prevail at participating schools that may influence teachers' attitudes about inclusive education are reported. Teachers responded to i) a statement about their school's receptiveness to change, ii) of administrative or economic hurdles standing in the way of development in their school. Comparisons were made between public and private schools. Table 4 reports teachers' estimates of prevailing school conditions and their estimation about economic or administrative hurdles standing in the way of school development.

Table 4

School conditions	Ν	Total (SD)	Ν	Public* M (SD)	Ν	Private M (SD)	Pub vs. priv (p-values)	Cohen's d effect sizes
Open for changes** (1-7)	2348	5.56 (1.16)	1913	5.49 (1.17)	408	5.90 (1.07)	p < .001	.30
Experience admin. restrictions** (1-7)	2348	4.22 (1.65)	1913	4.31 (1.59)	408	3.80 (1.84)	p < .001	.25
Experience economic restrictions** (1-7)	2348	4.98 (1.71)	1913	5.12 (1.68)	408	4.39 (1.71)	p < .001	.43

Teachers' experiences of school conditions in publicly and privately organized schools in mean Likert scale scores

Note: * Private schools are publicly financed and have no fees in Sweden. ** Score on a seven grade Likert scale: 1 = strongly disagree -7 = strongly agree.

As can be seen in table 4, participants found their schools open to change (M=5.6) but experienced both economic (M=5.0) and to a bit lesser extent, administrative restrictions (4.2) at their schools. Noteworthy is that there were significant differences between public and privately organized schools in all three variables. Privately employed teachers experienced more openness for change, and less economic and administrative restrictions as compared to public schools. These differences indicate a small to medium effect, see table 4 for effect sizes in Cohen's d.



Teachers 'attitudes in the three instruments: 1) teacher efficacy (OSTES), 2) inclusion ability (SACIE-R), and 3) collegial learning (TACL)

The OSTES instrument (Ohio State Teacher Efficacy Scale)

In the OSTES scale, that measures teachers' beliefs in their own capacity of inclusive education, results show an overall high score (M= 5.0) on the seven-graded Likert scale. This means that almost two thirds of all participants (\approx 65%) agree to some extent that they manage most challenges that pupils with special needs may present (scores 5,6,7). The number of teachers who have less faith in their ability for inclusive education totals just below five percent (scores 1,2,3). See exact mean values and percentages in table 5 below.

Table 5

Teachers' beliefs about their self-efficacy (OSTES) in Likert scale scores

OSTES	Ν	M (SD)	Frequency in % (Scale 1= strongly disagree, 7 strongly agree)							
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Use a variety of assessment strategies. (O1)	2348	4.7 (1.1)	.5	1.9	6.9	39.7	30.9	10.9	9.2	
Provide alternative explanations or examples. (O2)	2348	5.2 (1.1)	.0	.5	2.1	23.2	39.3	17.7	17.2	
Craft good questions for our pupils. (O3)	2348	5.0 (1.0)	.0	.3	2.6	34.9	35.9	14.7	11.4	
Implement alternative strategies in your classroom. (O4)	2348	5.1 (1.1)	.0	.5	3.6	27.8	37.5	17.4	13.2	
Control disruptive behavior in the classroom. (O5)	2348	5.0 (1.2)	.3	1.1	5.7	29.1	33.6	16.8	13.2	
Get pupils to follow classroom rules. (O6)	2348	5.1 (1.1)	.2	.6	3.6	27.1	33.3	19.4	15.8	
Calm a pupil who is disruptive or noisy. (O7)	2348	5.0 (1.1)	.2	1.0	4.4	30.1	35.6	17.1	11.8	
Create classroom management systems after pupil groups. (O8)	2348	5.1 (1.1)	.1	.6	2.5	28.4	36.3	18.9	13.1	
Get pupils to believe they can do well in schoolwork. (O9)	2348	5.4 (1.0)	.0	.2	1.0	19.3	39.8	21.1	18.6	
Help your pupils value learning. (O10)	2348	5.0 (1.0)	.1	.3	2.5	33.9	37.3	14.4	11.5	
Motivate pupils who show low interest in schoolwork. (O11)	2348	4.8 (1.0)	.1	.7	5.2	38.7	35.1	12.8	7.4	
Assist families in helping their children do well in school. (O12)	2348	4.8 (1.1)	.6	1.2	5.8	37.0	32.7	13.3	9.5	
Total mean score	2348	5.0 (0.2)	.14	.74	4.0	30.8	35.8	16.2	12.7	



Cronbach alpha	.918	
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Note: OSTES = Ohio State Teacher Efficacy Scale, (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2001).

Post hoc tests for effects of: i) school organization form, ii) gender, and iii) age were conducted on all twelve OSTES questions. First, an independent samples t-test showed no effect at all in public vs. private schools in any of the twelve questions.

A second post hoc t-test that took gender differences into account. Male teachers felt more competent in one question, all other question responses were equal for gender. In the answers to controlling disruptive behaviour in the classroom (5.2 vs. 4.9, t(2335)= 3.88, p<.001), the effect size for gender was small (Cohen's d= .20). An opposite pattern was found were female teachers felt more competent in assisting parents of pupils with special needs (4.8 vs. 4.5, t(2335) = -4.87, p< .001). This difference had a small to medium effect size (Cohen's d=.26).

A third post hoc estimated the influence of age on teacher efficacy. A bivariate Pearson correlation showed a significant effect of age on all twelve questions. Older teachers felt more confident about efficacy than younger teachers. All significances had a value of p<.001, which made them survive a Bonferroni correction. However, effect sizes of all correlations were small (Pearson's r between = .10 - .14.)

The SACIE-R instrument (Sentiments, Attitudes and Concerns about Inclusive Education – Revised)

The SACIE-R instrument measures teachers concerns, feelings, and acceptance of pupils with special needs. The data of this instrument showed overall high scores, meaning that teachers cared about and were concerned about pupils with special needs. The total mean score for all 11 questions was 4.9 on the seven-graded Likert scale, which means that teachers largely agree with the instrument's claims. There are however two items on which teachers scored lower: pupils following special needs curriculums should be in regular classes, scored to a lower extent (M= 3.6) question S6; and second, teachers were not so worried about special needs pupils not being accepted by their peers (M= 3.5) question S10. Overall, almost two-thirds of the teachers (~65%) scored on the highest three scores (5, 6, 7).

When assessing the two SACIE-R factors separately, attitudes (5 items) and concerns (5 items) the attitudes factor showed a high score (M 5.4) and 76 percent of teachers had positive attitudes to inclusion (scores 5, 6, 7). Whereas the second factor concerns showed a lower mean score (M=4.7), 61 percent displayed deep concerns regarding the difficulty to include all pupils in regular classrooms (scores 5, 6, 7); see table 6 below for details.

Table 6

(5 items) Frequency in %

Teachers' sentiments, attitudes and concerns about including pupils with special needs (SACIE-R) in Likert scale scores, also showing totals for the two measured factors, 'attitudes' (6 items) and 'concerns'

SACIE-R	Ν	M	(Scale 1= strongly disagree, 7 strongly agree)						gree)
		(SD)		2	3	4	5	6	7
—Attitudes (6 items)*:									
Pupils who have difficulty expressing their thoughts verbally should be in regular classes. (S1)	2348	5.7 (1.3)	.8	1.4	3.0	13.6	19.4	31.4	30.5
Pupils who frequently fail exams should be in regular classes. (S2)	2348	5.1 (1.5)	1.7	3.7	8.5	16.7	22.9	28.1	18.4



Pupils who need an individualized academic program should be in regular classes. (S3)	2348	5.7 (1.3)	.7	1.7	3.4	11.6	19.9	31.5	31.3
Pupils who are inattentive should be in regular classes. (S4)	2348	4.9 (1.5)	2.6	4.6	10.5	15.8	26.3	26.3	13.8
Pupils who require communicative technologies should be in regular classes. (S5)	2348	5.4 (1.4)	1.6	2.4	5.5	13.2	22.8	29.6	25.0
Pupils following the special needs curriculum should be in regular classes. (S6 assessed separately) *	2348	3.6 (1.6)	12.8	13.3	19.4	24.8	17.0	8.5	4.2
Factor Totals (5 items*)	2348	5.4 (1.1)	1.5	2.8	6.2	14.1	22.3	29.4	23.8
Least (Likert 1-3) and most (Likert 5-7) inclusive in attitude (%)				10.4			75.5		
-Concerns (5 items):									
I am concerned that my workload will increase if I have pupils with disabilities in my class. (S7)	2348	5.0 (1.7)	5.1	6.8	6.0	16.4	23.1	19.9	22.5
I am concerned that it will be difficult to give appropriate attention to all pupils in an inclusive classroom. (S8)	2348	5.8 (1.4)	1.7	3.1	3.8	7.8	18.1	24.6	41.0
I am concerned that I will be more stressed if I have pupils with disabilities in my class. (S9)	2348	5.1 (1.7)	4.6	5.7	5.4	17.1	22.2	19.2	25.9
I am concerned that pupils with disabilities will not be accepted by the rest of the class. (S10)	2348	3.5 (1.8)	17.5	17.9	14.7	20.6	15.4	8.5	5.3
I am concerned that I do not have knowledge and skills required to teach pupils with disabilities. (S11)	2348	4.7 (1.7)	6.0	7.5	9.5	16.1	25.0	19.0	16.9
Factor totals (5 items)	2348	4.7 (1.7)	7.0	8.2	7.9	15.6	20.8	18.2	22.3
Least (Likert 1-3) and most (Likert 5-7) concerned about inclusion (%)				23.1				61.3	
Total mean score SACIE-R (11)	2348	4.9 (1.5)	5.0	6.2	8.2	15.8	21.1	22.4	21.3
Cronbach alpha	.697								



Note: Sentiments, Attitudes and Concerns about Inclusive Education Revised (SACIE-R, Forlin et al., 2011). * Item S6 was dropped from the factor 'Attitudes'.

Post hoc test for effects of: i) organization form, ii) gender, and iii) age were conducted on all eleven SACIE-R questions. First, an independent t-test showed significant effects (after Bonferroni corrections) of *school organization* form in question S2, pupils who frequently fail exams should remain in ordinary classes to a higher extent according to teachers at private schools (M 5.1 vs. 5.3, t(2319)=2.79, p= .002) but the effect size was small (Cohen's d= .17). Question S4, pupils are inattentive should remain in regular classes, met with greater agreement among teachers in private schools (5.2 vs. 4.9, t(2319)=3.44, p< .001); here too the effect size was small (Cohen's d = .19).

Second, an independent t-test was conducted on SACIE-R with *gender* as independent variable. Results show a clear pattern across all questions: female teachers showed greater concern than male teachers, except for three questions where men and women scored the same. The three questions (S7, S10, S11) are all about worries: male and female teachers seem to worry at a similar level. Moreover, all p-values were p < .001 and survived Bonferroni corrections (p=.005). The effect sizes of the gender differences found were between Cohen's d = .18 - .37, so that most gender differences were of small to medium effect sizes.

Third, a post hoc estimate was a bivariate Pearson correlation measuring the influence of age on SACIE-R. No effects of age except for question S8 were found. Younger teachers were less worried about their ability to give appropriate attention to all pupils in the classroom. However, the effect size was small (Pearson r= -.131, p<.001).

Finally, the question 'I am concerned that it will be difficult to give appropriate attention to all pupils in an inclusive classroom' must be noted: 41% of teachers gave it the highest agreement score (7 on scale 1-7).

The TACL instrument (Teachers 'Attitudes towards Collegial Learning)

The TACL instrument measures teachers' self-perception of collegial learning. Here we find the highest scores of all instruments, with a total average score of 5.7 for the five questions collectively. Here almost nine tenths of the teachers (88%) scored on one of the highest scores (5,6,7) on the Likert scale. The lowest three scores (1,2,3) were only scored by less than five percent of the teachers (4,8%). See table 7 for all exact values.

Table 7

Teachers' attitudes towards collegial learning (TACL) in Likert scale scores

TACL	Ν	M (SD)	Frequency in % (Scale 1= strongly disagree, 7 strongly agree)						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I share my ideas about improving practice with colleagues. (T1)	2348	5.8 (1.1)	.6	1.1	1.7	6.0	26.1	35.0	29.6
I support colleagues when teaching problems arise. (T2)	2348	5.9 (1.0)	.3	1.0	1.4	4.5	24.6	39.3	29.0
I share my teaching methods with colleagues. (T3)	2348	5.8 (1.1)	.6	1.2	1.9	4.8	25.3	36.3	29.9
My colleagues share their teaching methods with me. (T4)	2348	5.4 (1.3)	1.3	2.1	5.2	9.4	31.3	31.8	19.0
My colleagues and I ensure that we are consistent in our dealings with pupils. (T5)	2348	5.5 (1.1)	.5	.9	3.7	10.7	24.8	42.5	16.9
Total mean score	2348	5.7 (1.1)	.7	1.3	2.8	7.1	26.4	37.0	24.9



Least (Likert 1-3) and most (Likert 5-7) concerned collegial learning (%)		4.8	88.3
Cronbach alpha	.832		

Note: Teachers' Attitudes towards Collegial Learning (bespoke questionnaire).

Post hoc tests for effects of i) organization form, ii) gender, and iii) age were conducted on all five TACL questions. A first post hoc estimate, an independent t-test on school organization form, showed no effect.

A second post hoc estimate, an independent t-test, with gender as independent variable, showed that female teachers indicated being more generous and sharing ideas and methods to a larger extent than male teachers (p values .001 - .009). Effect sizes were rather small (Cohen's d= .14 - .23). The only question on which female and male teachers scored the same was on question T4, recording their view on colleagues' ability to share their ideas with them.

A third post hoc estimate, the effect of age on TACL scores, a bivariate Pearson correlation was computed between the five TACL variables and age were used as a continuous variable. Results showed significant results in three of the five variables (variable 1,2,5). Older teachers thought to a greater extent that they shared their material and ideas than younger teachers. All p-values were > .01. The effect sizes were close to a nil finding (r-values between .054 - .085) but were all in the same direction.

Effects of socio-economic index (SEI) on teachers 'scores on teacher efficacy and concerns about inclusion.

To explore whether the socioeconomics of schools' catchment area influenced teachers' values on inclusion, we conducted three two-way ANOVA on each of the three instruments whereby Likert scores were the within individual factors and SEI was the between group factor.

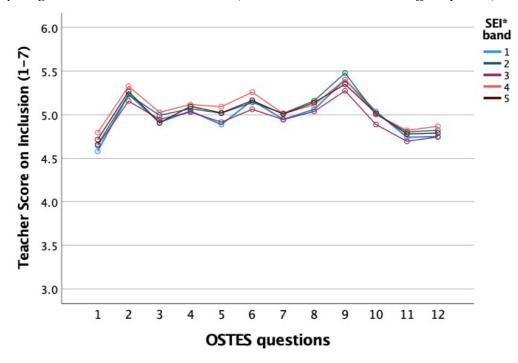
The SEI measure was categorized into five SEI bands (see table 3). Band 1 included schools located in catchment areas producing the highest SEI (least affluent) and Band 5 those with the lowest SEI (most affluent).

The first two-way ANOVA was made with OSTES scores as the within individual factor and SEI band as the between group factor. No main effect of SEI band was found, nor was an interaction between SEI band and teachers efficacy scores (OSTES) observed. In a post hoc analysis, independent sample t-tests were made for each variable separately and comparisons made between SEI band 1 versus 5 and SEI band 2 versus 5; once more, no significant differences were found. In all, no effect whatsoever was found between SEI band and teacher efficacy as measured by the OSTES score. See figure 1 for all scores on the twelve OSTES variables for each SEI band.



Figure 1

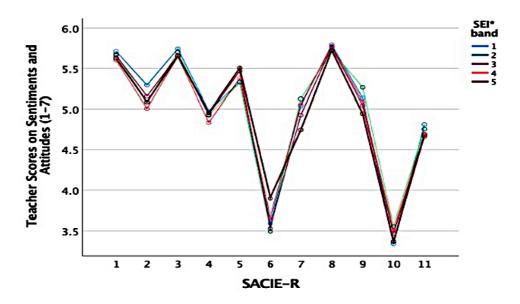
Teachers' Likert scores of their beliefs about their self-efficacy (OSTES) as a function of the participating schools' socio-economic index. (OSTES, Ohio State Teacher Efficacy Scale)



The second two-way ANOVA was made with SACIE-R scores as the within individual factor and SEI band as the between group factor. Again, neither a main effect of SEI band, nor an interaction between SEI band and SACIE-R scores were found. In a post hoc analysis, independent sample t-tests were made for each variable separately and comparisons made between SEI band 1 vs 5 and SEI band 2 vs. 5. A few variables came out as significant after Bonferroni corrections. However, effect sizes were small and data are not reported here, see figure 2 for an overview.

Figure 2

Teachers' Likert scores of their sentiments, attitudes, and concerns about inclusive education (SACIE-R) as a function of the participating schools' socio-economic index. (SACIE-R, Sentiments, Attitudes and Concerns about Inclusive Education Revised).



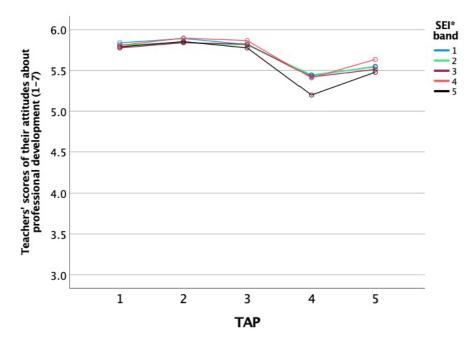
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The third two-way ANOVA was made with TACL scores as the within individual factor and SEI band as the between group factor. Neither a main effect of SEI band nor an interaction between SEI band and TACL scores were found. In a post hoc analysis, independent sample t-tests were made for each question separately and comparisons made between SEI band 1 vs 5 and SEI band 2 vs. 5. As can be seen in figure 3, question T4 stood out. An independent t-test showed that it was marginally significant for SEI band 1 vs. 5 (p-value = .019), indicating that colleagues of teachers of schools in more affluent catchment areas (SEI 1) shared their teaching methods to a greater extent than did colleagues of schools in less affluent catchment areas (SEI 5). See figure 3 for an overview.

Figure 3

Teachers' Likert scores of their attitudes towards collegial learning (TACL) as a function of the participating schools' socio-economic index. (TACL, Teachers' Attitudes towards Collegial Learning).



Perceived teacher-efficacy (OSTES) and attitudes towards collegial learning (TACL) as predictors of teachers 'attitudes towards and concerns about inclusive education (SACIE-R)

To explore if teachers' attitudes and concerns could predict teacher's efficacy of their ability of inclusion two Pearson bivariate correlation analyses were conducted on the two SACIE-R factors (attitudes and concerns), to see whether these two composite variables predict teachers' self-efficacy (OSTES). Both 'attitudes' (5 items) and 'concerns' (5 items) proved able to predict teachers' self-efficacy (OSTES) scores (p<.001), with Pearson correlations ranging r=.06–.14 for 'attitudes' and r=-.17–-.25 for 'concerns'. Note that directions are opposite for SACIE-R attitudes and SACIE-R concerns: high scores on attitudes are related to high scores on teacher efficacy, while high scores on concerns are related to low scores on teacher efficacy; see table 8 for details.

Table 8



Bivariate correlations between teachers' attitudes towards pupil inclusion (SACIE-R; composite variables) and teachers' beliefs about their self-efficacy (OSTES); see tables 5 and 6 for instrument auestions

ques													
	OSTES	01	02	03	04	05	O6	07	08	09	O10	011	012
SACIE-R 'attitudes' (S1–5)	Pearson correlation	.115	.107	.062	.106	.111	.102	.105	.149	.105	.097	.109	.132
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	.003	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
SACIE-R 'concerns' (S7–11)	Pearson correlation	232	195	173	221	222	170	212	250	165	184	234	173
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
	Ν	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348

The same two correlation analyses were made for teachers' attitudes towards collegial learning (TACL) scores as well (item S6 was removed).

The two bivariate correlations between teachers' views of collegial learning (TACL) and teachers' inclusive education attitudes, as measured by the two SACIE-R factors 'attitudes' and 'concerns' were measured. Significant but small effects were found for inclusive education 'attitudes' (r = .10-.13) and even smaller for 'concerns' (r = .01-.07) Again, it must be noted that the two factors lie in opposite directions, but the effect on teachers' worries were negligible, see table 9 for exact figures.

Table 9

Bivariate correlations between teachers' attitudes and concerns towards pupil inclusion (SACIE-R; composite variables) and teachers' attitudes towards collegial learning (TACL), see tables 5 and 7 for instrument questions.

	TACL	T1	T2	Т3	T4	T5
SACIE-R 'atttitudes' (S1–5)	Pearson (r) Correlation	.130	.105	.100	.110	.110
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
SACIE-R 'concerns' (S7–11)	Pearson (r) Correlation	064	058	072-	012	086
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.005	<.001	.554	<.001
	Ν	2348	2348	2348	2348	2348

To further explore how teachers' attitudes and concerns were influenced by teachers' self-efficacy and their experience of collegial learning, and whether these attitudes were affected by gender and age (work experience) two hierarchical stepwise regression models with all variables included were conducted. The first stepwise regression had the 'attitudes' factor of the SACIE-R as outcome variable and age, gender, OSTES (teacher efficacy), and TACL (collegial learning) as predictors. The model proved significant, but the total amount of variance explained by the model remained modest ($r^2 = 4.8$). Age did not contribute anything to attitudes, but gender ($r^2 2.2$), women more including) and teacher efficacy ($r^2 2.4$) did. Collegial learning (TACL) attitudes contributed marginally (0.4%); see table 10 below.

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Table 10

Stepwise regression analysis with 'attitudes' (SACIE-R factor) as outcome variable. Predictors were: step 1 age, step 2 gender, step 3 the OSTES (meta variable teacher efficacy, and step 4 TACL (meta variable collegial learning

Model summary	R value	Adjusted R ²	R ² Change	df	F-value	p-value
Step 1 age	.021	.000	.000	(1, 2346)	1.04	.308
Step 2 gender	.1150	.021	.022	(2,2344)	17.90	<.001
Step 3 OSTES (teacher efficacy)	.215	.044	.024	(1,2343)	28.31	<.001
Step 4 TACL (collegial learning)	.224	.048	.004	(1,2342)	24.75	.001

The second stepwise regression had 'concerns' factor of the SACIE-R as outcome variable and age, gender, OSTES (teacher efficacy), and TACL (collegial learning) as predictors. The model proved significant and this time the variance explained by the model was larger than the 'attitudes' model (r^2 = 7.0). 'Concerns' are marginally affected by age (r^2 0.8) and gender (r^2 0.7). The most prominent effect came from OSTES (teacher efficacy) scores, that explained 5.5% of the variance(r^2 =.055). The effect of TACL (collegial learning) on teachers concerns was negligible; see table 11 below.

Table 11

Stepwise regression analysis with 'concerns' (SACIE-R factor) as outcome variable. Predictors were: step 1 age, step 2 gender, step 3 the OSTES (meta variable teacher efficacy, and step 4 TACL (meta variable collegial learning

Model summary	R value	Adjusted R ²	R ² Change	df	F-value	p-value
Step1 age	.090	.008	.008	(1,2346)	19.22	<.001
Step 2 gender	.124	.014	.007	(2,2344)	12.26	<.001
Step 3 OSTES (teacher efficacy)	.265	.069	.055	(1,2343)	44.22	<.001
Step 4 TACL (collegial learning)	.269	.070	.002	(1,2342)	36.45	.024

Teachers 'expectations of the SFL programme

An open question was included in the survey that asked participating teachers what their three biggest expectations were in undertaking the SFL programme. Eighty percent of participating teachers (1,872 out of 2,348), chose to answer the question. Since up to three different expectations could be formulated, the data cover 5,332 responses in all.

Excluding function words ('and') and expected words ('pupil', 'I') two nouns readily stood out as highest in frequency, and nearby to one another in frequency score: these were 'tips' and 'tools', with 447 and 438 mentions each. Notable is however that the two words were rarely co-present, just 24 times. Tips and tools tended to be listed as two distinct and separate desirables. Both terms collocated with adjectives such as 'practical', 'reliable', 'specific' and 'pedagogical'. In 66 instances the focus word collocated with the verb 'to help' or the substantive 'help', in 20 more cases with the verb 'to support' and the substantive 'support'. There was self-evidently much co-occurrence with 'pupil' (378 instances),



'need' (100 instances), 'work' (85 instances) and 'teaching' (52 instances). The following are therefore typical examples of answers that were given:

'Get new tips that help me adjust my teaching.'

'Get more tools to support pupils with learning problems.'

'Get tips on how to handle pupils' inappropriate behaviour.'

'For me and my colleagues to get practical tools and tips that will actually work in real teaching practice.'

Taken in general, teachers seemed to expect practical tips for how to include more pupils, and to get robust educational tools for making inclusion work for all. The words 'colleagues' and 'collegial' appeared 614 times in the same sentence as mentions of tips or tools, a collocation that suggests that teachers expected to discuss with their work colleagues how to pursue educational inclusion with the help of practical tips and tools.

Discussion

The main results

Our data suggest that Swedish teachers' sense of self-efficacy, their attitudes and concerns towards inclusive education, and their orientation towards collaborative working are all high. The participating teachers report considerable confidence and overall positive attitude towards educational inclusion. Three-quarters of respondents (75.5%) show overall robust attitudes towards including more pupils in regular classrooms; just 10 percent had less supportive views. Teachers expect via professional development to receive robust, 'real world' tips and tools, which indicates a professional concern with doing inclusive teaching well. Privately employed teachers experienced more openness for change, and less economic and administrative restrictions, compared with teachers in public schools. The socio-economic location of schools, as measured by the SEI index on schools' catchment area, seems to play a negligible role in teachers' capacity for inclusion. Teachers across Sweden's schools show similar scores on all three instruments, irrespective of the relative affluence of schools' catchment areas.

While effect sizes of correlations were small, all relations where in the same and predicted directions. Taken together, the correlations therefore support two general observations: i) the effects of teacher efficacy on teachers' inclusive education 'concerns' (medium size) is larger than the impact on inclusive education 'attitudes' (small); ii) the two effects lie in opposite directions. Thus, the more self-efficacy confidence teachers bring to inclusive education concerns, the greater their readiness to include more pupils.

Neither gender, age nor the TACL scores for collegial learning explained very much of teachers' attitudes towards or concerns about doing more inclusive education. The factor that stood out in both regressions was teacher efficacy (OSTES): the more teachers believed in their own efficacy, the more positive they were in attitudes and the less concerned about including pupils.

The main results in research context

The findings suggest three conclusions: (i) attitudes among teachers are, at least in Sweden and on the basis of self-reporting measures, not much of a barrier towards greater inclusion; (ii) given how little variance is explained by our instruments' focus on teachers' views, it does not seem promising to pursue greater inclusive education programmes by way of great focus on changing teachers' attitudes towards it; and (iii), teachers' attitudes do not seem much of an obstacle to greater inclusive education in Sweden. However, the picture is more complex when concerns are taken into account: almost two-thirds of teachers (61%) report significant concerns about their ability to do inclusive education well despite generally positive attitudes; just one-quarter (23%) show less concern about including more pupils in regular classrooms. More than 6 out of 10 teachers experience this conflict. Researchers report such patterns among attitudes and concerns also in neighbouring Denmark (Engsig et al., 2024), while the finding seems in line too with earlier research in Sweden (e.g. Bölte et al., 2021). Note that different views among teachers on what it means to include pupils is likely to partly explain this finding. A rather



big gender difference was also found: female teachers were more concerned and felt greater worries. These worries also increased with teaching experience. Notable with respect to teachers' inclusive education attitudes is furthermore that they seem relatively less in favour of including pupils who follow special needs curricula (i.e., pupils attending special schools). They collectively show relatively less worry about these pupils not being accepted by peers. Biggest concern among teachers is being able to give appropriate attention to all pupils. Such concerns have been noted elsewhere (de Boer et al., 2011; Saloviita, 2018, 2020b).

The scores on all the three instruments were high (5 and above on the seven grade scales). The highest score (5.7) was found on teacher collaboration and development, the TACL instrument: teachers orient strongly towards collegial ways to strengthen teaching. Small effects were found on gender, with female teaches noting more collaboration. More experienced teachers more often noted sharing their material. Findings of this sort too have been noted elsewhere (Boyle et al., 2013; Bükki & Fehérvári, 2021; Jerlinder et al., 2010; Mora-Ruano et al., 2018).

Other factors

The experience of administrative and economic hinders at schools did have some impact on teachers' attitudes. These hinders were less experienced in private compared to public schools. Whether these administrative hinders affected teachers' work is beyond the scope of this study.

Of particular interest was that socioeconomic index had very little impact for teachers scores on the three instruments. Teachers working in less affluent catchment areas prefer separate classes to a greater extent than teachers working in more affluent catchment areas; they also worry more about increased workload. Most strikingly, there were no effects whatsoever of pupils' socioeconomic background on teacher scores in any of the three instruments. This means that teachers working in schools with a low socioeconomic index have the same values as teachers working in high index districts. Interestingly, the opposite is found in earlier research, where pupils' SES seemed to affect teachers' expectations on pupils (Auwarter & Aruguete, 2008; Glock & Kleen, 2020). However, from the fact that SES among pupils seems to be considered of increasing importance for school achievements over the last thirty years (Gustafsson & Yang Hansen, 2018) it does not follow that teacher attitudes are the cause.

Conclusions

While there are surely always minor gains to be made with respect to changing attitudes, our data suggest that treating attitudes as key to unlocking educational inclusion, including a focus on 'bettering' attitudes via professional development, is akin to treating a patient showing few signs of illness. With this in mind one can ponder the sound basis for the national strategy towards professionalising teachers in relation to inclusive education in Sweden. If teacher views reported in the present paper are valid, then work on attitudes is less needed than is advanced training aimed at differentiating classroom work. There are examples of efficient training programs for teaching pupils with special needs that could be applied in Swedish schools, for example in relation to reading disability (Galuschka et al., 2014; Wolff, 2011) and behavioural problems (van der Oord & Tripp, 2020).

It is worth discriminating between the two composite factors of teachers' orientation towards inclusion, namely attitudes and concerns. While teachers taking part in our study are generally highly supportive of greater educational inclusion, they do at the same time have clear concerns about doing so. That does not so much indicate an attitudinal problem as, we suggest, entirely reasonable professional considerations that apply to doing educational inclusion well. That a fairly sizable number of teachers are less supportive of including pupils presently attending special schools in their regular classrooms accords well with the views of special education teachers working in the special education sector in Sweden (Göransson et al., 2020). It seems that both regular and special education teachers in Sweden share a professional conviction that pupils being educated in special schools are perhaps best educated there. We see neither good reason to treat that conviction as a problem of attitude among teachers, nor do we consider this a challenge to educational inclusion. Swedish teachers in both mainstream and in special schools may quite reasonably believe that special schools are an important inclusive education



pillar in an inclusive education system. Whether this strikes as a contradiction depends on the definition of inclusive education that is under consideration.

Our final conclusion is therefore that research may well project a skewed picture of compromised teacher attitudes that is less sensitive to teachers' professional convictions and their collective experience. Indeed, in the context of widespread obsession with 'more' inclusive education, a skewed picture of teachers' attitudes may keep research into this topic alive: researchers, policy makers and teacher trainers may both productively and with self-reinforcing assent aspire to improve the attitudes of teachers and proclaim that better education results.

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