

PHD THESIS

FRIDA POULSEN

Inclusion in the Faroese public school

From political vision to practice in tension between general education and special needs education



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PhD Thesis

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Frida Poulsen 25-09-2023



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Abstract

The research study focused on exploring the development of inclusive education in the Faroese public school from political vision to practice. The study used Situational Analysis as its theoretical and methodological framework and involved interviewing 97 actors in the Faroese school system and analysing school policy documents. The study aimed to understand how the global vision of inclusion is transferred, translated and transformed in the local environment of the Faroe Islands as a very small society.

The study revealed the absence of overarching initiatives and leadership to promote inclusive education in the Faroese school system. This is partly explained through the Faroese culture and the close relationship between culture/practice and the political sector in a small society like the Faroe Islands. The research raises the question of where the impetus for initiating and motivating inclusive development processes should come from. Although the Faroe Islands is a small society with a historical dependency on Denmark, it is also part of the global world and inspired by international policies and research that affect its practice. Hence, despite being subject to the basic conditions of a small society, there are also points of similarity with the international environment. The findings reveal that the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands finds itself caught in the middle of cross-pressures from different and divergent global school policy trends and special features of local policy practice and local traditions and culture.

The study argues that inclusive education should be an issue for an overarching school policy that applies to the entire school environment. It provides insights into pupils' perspectives, which can contribute to developing inclusive education. If pupils are listened to and heard as experts in their school lives, we can understand what it takes to achieve inclusion. In our search for effectiveness and quality of school life, pupils' perspectives can serve as a "directional indicator" for inclusion.

Understanding inclusion as a situational and involvement issue means that the development of inclusion is not just about the structure and organisational and strategic measures but also about social learning processes that require involvement from multiple standpoints. In the Faroese case, this primarily means involvement from the administrative and political sectors to initiate, motivate and lead inclusive school development processes while also involving stakeholders' experiences, perspectives, views, and positions from different social worlds and arenas to discuss and negotiate how to approach and develop inclusion.

The study focused on the tension between general education and special needs education problematised through a compensatory and inclusive approach. The empirical material reveals that the Faroe Islands' education system primarily has a narrow approach to translating inclusive principles into practice. Simultaneously, it also reveals that the actors view the inclusive approach as desirable but requiring significant changes in the legislation concerning political and local leadership, in structure, collaboration and with regard to understanding the concept of being professional. This research argues that developing inclusive education must be anchored in local policy and culture and may require combining compensatory and inclusive

approaches to work with and handle dilemmas. In the Faroe Islands, there is an increased demand for special educational needs settings with a compensatory approach, which may hinder the transformation of inclusive principles. This is because structural reforms without working to ensure that teachers, pedagogues, and other educational and advisory staff work inclusively do not lead to the transformation of inclusive principles into practice. Developing inclusive education requires recognising and working in and with dilemmas between special needs education and general education.

This study advocates a whole situational approach that has allowed me to develop and propose "situated inclusion" as a new concept in the global and local discourse on inclusive education. "Situated inclusion" addresses the four core involvement elements of community involvement, negotiating involvement, policy and administration involvement and argument involvement. This may be the direction to take to develop inclusive education in the Faroe Islands.

Abstract in Danish

Forskningen fokuserede på at udforske udviklingen af inkluderende undervisning i den færøske folkeskole, fra politisk vision til praksis. Undersøgelsen brugte Situationel Analyse (SA) som teoretiske og metodologisk ramme og inddrog interview med 97 aktører i det færøske skolesystem samt analyser af skolepolitiske dokumenter. Forskningen havde til formål at forstå, hvordan den globale vision om inklusion overføres, omsættes og transformeres i det lokale skolemiljø på Færøerne som et meget lille samfund.

Undersøgelsen afslørede fraværet af overordnede initiativer og ledelse til fremme af inkluderende undervisning i det færøske skolesystem. Dette forklares dels gennem det særlige ved den færøske kultur og på grund af det tætte forhold mellem kultur/praksis og den politiske sektor i et lille samfund som Færøerne. Forskningen rejser spørgsmålet om, hvor drivkraften til at igangsætte og motivere inkluderende udviklingsprocesser skal komme fra. Selvom Færøerne er et lille samfund med en historisk afhængighed af Danmark, er det også en del af den globale verden og inspireret af international politik og forskning, der påvirker dets praksis. Derfor er der, på trods af at de er underlagt et lille samfunds grundlæggende betingelser, også lighedspunkter med de internationale rammer. Forskningen viser, at udviklingen af inkluderende undervisning på Færøerne befinder sig midt i krydspres fra forskellige og divergerende globale skolepolitiske tendenser og særlige træk ved lokal politikpraksis og lokale traditioner og kultur.

Forskningen argumenterer for, at inkluderende undervisning bør være et emne for en overordnet skolepolitik, der gælder for hele skolesituationen. Undersøgelsen giver indsigt i elevernes perspektiver, som kan bidrage til at udvikle inkluderende undervisning. Hvis eleverne bliver lyttet til og hørt som eksperter i deres skoleliv, kan vi forstå, hvad der skal til for at udvikle inkluderende skolemiljøer. I vores søgen efter effektivitet og kvalitet i skolelivet kan elevernes perspektiver fungere som en "retningsindikator" for inklusion.

At forstå inklusion som et situations- og involveringsspørgsmål betyder, at udviklingen af inklusion ikke kun handler om strukturen og organisatoriske og strategiske tiltag, men også om sociale læreprocesser, der kræver involvering fra flere ståsteder. I det færøske tilfælde betyder det primært involvering fra den administrative og politiske sektor til at igangsætte, motivere og lede inkluderende skoleudviklingsprocesser, samtidig med at interessenternes erfaringer, perspektiver, synspunkter og holdninger fra forskellige sociale verdener og arenaer inddrages til at diskutere og forhandle, hvordan man kan tilgå og udvikle inklusion.

Forskningen fokuserede på spændingen mellem almen pædagogik og special pædagogik, problematiseret gennem en kompenserende og inkluderende tilgang. Det empiriske materiale afslører, at Færøernes uddannelsessystem primært har en snæver tilgang til at omsætte inkluderende principper til praksis, samtidig med at aktørerne ser den inkluderende tilgang som ønskværdig, men som kræver væsentlige ændringer både i lovgivningen og vedrørende politisk og lokal ledelse, i struktur, samarbejde og vedrørende forståelsen af at være professionel. Denne forskning argumenterer for, at udvikling af inkluderende undervisning skal være forankret i lokal politik og kultur og kan kræve at kombinere kompenserende og inkluderende tilgange til at arbejde i og håndtere dilemmaer. På Færøerne er der en øget efterspørgsel efter specialpædagogiske skolemiljøer med en kompenserende tilgang, hvilket kan hindre transformationen af inkluderende principper. Sikring af strukturelle reformer, uden at man sikrer, at lærere, pædagoger og rådgivere arbejde inkluderende fører ikke til, at inkluderende principper omsættes til praksis. Udvikling af inkluderende undervisning kræver, at man anerkender og arbejder i dilemmaer mellem special pædagogik og almen pædagogik.

Denne forskning går ind for en situationel tilgang, der har givet mig mulighed for at udvikle og foreslå "situeret inklusion" som et nyt koncept i den globale og lokale diskurs om inkluderende undervisning. "Situeret inklusion" omhandler fire centrale involveringselementer. Disse involveringer omfatter samfundsinvolvering, forhandlingsinvolvering, politik og administrationsinvolvering og argumentations involvering.

Dette kan være en retning at tage for at udvikle inkluderende skoler på Færøerne.

Úrdráttur

Henda granskingarverkætlanin hevur sjóneykuna á menningina av inklusjón í føroyska fólkaskúlanum frá politiskari visjón til virkni. Verkætlanin hevur brúkt Støðuliga Analysu (Situational Analysis) sum ástøðiligan og háttalagsligan karm. Granskingin umfatar samrøður við 97 luttakarar í tí føroyska skúlaverkinum umframt annað skúlapolitiskt tilfar. Verkætlanin hevur havt sum endamál at kanna, hvussu globala visjónin um inklusjón er flutt, umsett og sett í verk í Føroyum.

Granskingin hevur avdúkað fráveru av yvirskipaðum framtakssemi og leiðslu at birta uppundir og stimbra menning av inklusjón í tí føroyska skúlaverkinum. Hetta er lutvíst forklárað við støði í tí føroysku mentanini og tætta sambandinum millum mentan/virkni og tann politiska geiran í ógvuliga smáum samfeløgum sum tað føroyska. Gransking setur spurnatekin við, hvar eggjanin/skumpini til menning av inklusjón skulu koma frá. Hóast Føroyar eru eitt ógvuliga lítið samfelag við søguligum tilknýti at Danmark, so eru Føroyar eisini partur av globala heiminum og er kveikt av altjóða politikki og gransking, sum ávirkar praksis. So hóast grundaleggjandi fortreytir sum eitt ógvuliga lítið samfelag, so eru tað eisini tekin um, at Føroyar eru sambæriligar á fleiri økjum við altjóða umhvørvi. Granskingin hevur funnið fram, at menningin av inkluderandi skúlaskapi í Føroyum er, á sama hátt sum aðrastaðni, fangað í spenningum millum ymisk og mótstríðandi altjóða skúlapolitisk rák og serligum støðubundnum skúlapolitiskum viðurskiftum og siðbundnari mentan.

Henda gransking peikar á, at inkluderandi skúlaskapur má vera eitt evni fyri tann yvirskipaða skúlapolitikkin, sum má umfata alt skúlaverkið. Kanningin gevur innlit í næmingasjónarhornið, sum kann viðvirka til at menna inkluderandi skúlar. Um næmingar vera tiknir við uppá ráð og hoyrdir sum serfrøðingar í teirra skúlalívi, so kunnu vit skilja, hvat skal til fyri at menna eitt inkluderandi skúlaverk. Í okkara stremban eftir at effektivisera og menna góðskuna av skúla og skúlalívi, kunnu sjónarmiðini hjá næmingunum í hesi gransking vera brúkt sum leiðvísi fyri menning av inklusjón í skúlaverkinum.

At skilja inklusjón sum støðulig og sum ein spurning um hugbinding ella uppíblanding viðførir at menningin av inkluderandi skúlaskapi ikki bert snýr seg um skipanir og arbeiðshættir, men um sosialar læritilgongdir, sum krevja hugbinding og uppíblanding úr ymiskum herðashornum. Í einum føroyskum samanhangi snýr tað seg serliga um uppíblanding og hugbinding frá tí politiska og leiðsluliga/fyrisitingarliga geiranum at seta í gongd, kveikja og leiða tilgondina at menna eina inkluderandi skúlaskipan. Hetta samstundis við at sjónarmið og royndir frá ymiskum leikararum/aktørum á teimum ymisku samfelagsligu- og skúlapallunum vera tikin við uppá ráð í kjaki og samráðingum um, hvussu inkluderandi skúlaskapur kann mennast.

Verkætlanin hevur sjóneykuna á spenningar millum almennu námsfrøðina og sernámsfrøðina, ið er problematiserað gjøgnum ávikavíst eina kompensatoriska og eina inkluderandi tilgond. Tað empiriska tilfarið avdúkar, at tað føroyska skúlaverkið í høvuðuheitinum hevur eina kompensatoriska og smala tilgongd at umseta inklusiónsprinsippini til at virka í verki. Samstundis vísir kanningin, at leikararnir/aktørarnir ynskja eina inkluderandi tilgongd, men

hon krevur avgerandi broytingar í lóggávu og hvat viðvíkur politiskari og støðubundnari leiðslu, í skipanum, í samstarvi og í fatanini av at vera starvsfólk og serfrøðingur í skúlaskipanini.

Henda kanningin peikar á, at menningin av inkluderandi skúlaskapi má vera ankrað í støðubundnum skúlapolitikk og mentan. Hetta kann krevja at man samskipar eina kompensatoriska og inkluderandi tilgongd fyri at kunna arbeiða í tvístøðum millum almenna námsfrøði og sernámsfrøði. Í Føroyum er tað eitt alsamt krav/ynski um serskiltar skúlaskipanir, t.e. serflokkar og serskúlar við einari kompenserandi tilgong, sum kann steðga menningini at umseta inklusjón til veruligt praksis. Hetta er tí at skipanarligar broytingar, ið ikki samstundis tryggja at fakfólk, so sum lærarar, námsfrøðingar, ráðgevarar o.o. arbeiða inkluderandi, fer ikki at viðføra at tey inkludrandi prinsippini koma at virka í gerandisdegnum í skúlunum. Menningin av inkluderandi skúlaskapi krevur, at mann javnt og samt arbeiðir í tvístøðum millum sernámsfrøði og almenna námsfrøði.

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## Translations of central concepts from Faroese to English and abbreviations

Barna- og útbúgvingarmálaráðið	Ministry of Children and Education	BUMR
Danna / dannilsi	Bildung (GR)/Bildning (SE)	
Fak / fakligir førleikar	Subject / subject competences	
Fólkaskúlin	Public school	
Fólkaskúlalógin	Public School Act	
Førleikastovur	Competence Centre (s)	CC (CCs)
Føroyar	The Faroe Islands	
Heim og Skúli	Home and School	
"Heima-flokkur"	"Home class"	
Lærarar	Teachers (general)	
Lærarafelagið	Teachers' Union	
Megd	The Faroese Disability Organisation	
Nám	Centre for educational development, material and e	xams
Námsfrøðingur / námsfrøðiligur stuðul	Pedagogue (pedagogical supporter)	
Næmingaráð	Pupils' council	
Námsvísindadeildin / Nád	Faculty of Education	
Pedagogfelagið	Pedagogues' Union	
Serflokkar, serskúlar	Special educational needs settings	
Serlærarar (ella lærarar sum arbeiða í serflo	okkum og serskúlum) Special needs teachers	
Sernám	Special needs education advisory centre	
Sernámsfrøðiliga øki	Special educational needs area	
Serundirvísing	Special needs education	
Skúlastýrið	School board	
Støðis førleikar	Competences	
Undirvísingarstýrið	Administration of Education	UVS
Vanligi skúlin	General school settings	
	Constructivist Grounded Theory	CGT
	Grounded Theory	GT
	Situational Analysis	SA
	State of the art	SoA

#### Reading guide

The dissertation is divided into four parts.

Part I introduces the research interest field, topic, and questions (chapter 1). Secondly, this part outlines the meta-theoretical and conceptual landscape of the dissertation with a description of central/key theories and concepts (chapter 2). Thirdly state of the art is described (chapter 3). Lastly, this part situates the research in the Faroe Islands (chapter 4).

Part II presents the methodological approach (SA), reflections, and methodological and analytical tools and steps (chapter 5).

Furthermore, this part presents the research design and empirical platform (chapter 6). Chapter 7 presents the methods used and elaborates on how to access the field, the researcher's position and other reflections. Lastly, this part elaborates on how I have worked with the empirical material and presents the analytical approach (chapter 8).

Part III is the analysis part, divided into six sections. The first and second sections focus on the global and local school policy documents and administrative layers concerning developing inclusion (chapters 10 and 11). The third section moves towards the Faroese societal and cultural platform to further analyse the actors within and surrounding the schools (chapter 12). Moving to the fourth section, the analysis turns to the experiences and perspectives of pupils in the Faroese public school (chapter 13). The fifth analysis section explores how different understandings of the relationship between general education and special needs education can influence ways of approaching inclusive school development (chapter 14). Finally, the last analysis section takes a whole situational approach and builds on the previous five analysis sections to understand inclusive education.

Part IV elaborates on the whole research. In chapter 16, the threads from all analysis sections are combined in search of answers to the four processual questions that form the research guidelines for this dissertation. A discussion on the research processes follows this, the research findings and contributions (chapter 17). In the final chapter, 18, a short conclusion is presented.

### Part I: Introduction to the research and theoretical, conceptual, and situational landscape

Part I introduces the research interest field, topic, and questions (chapter 1). Secondly, this part outlines the meta-theoretical and conceptual landscape of the dissertation with a description of central/key theories and concepts (chapter 2). Thirdly state of the art is described (chapter 3). Lastly, this part situates the research in the Faroe Islands (chapter 4).

#### Chapter 1. Introduction to the research field

This dissertation examines the political vision of inclusive education¹ as a journey from policy into practice by exploring the interplay of various elements and actors in the Faroese public school system². This research project focuses on structural and organisational measures, collaborations, and tensions and dilemmas between special and general education measures. In addition, the research project will explore policy and practice and the possible influence of international and Danish trends on the Faroese political vision of an inclusive public school.

While the vision of inclusive schools and inclusive education has been on the global agenda since 1994 with the Salamanca Statement (1994), the vision still faces challenges (e.g. Slee, 2013a; Slee, 2013b). Researchers within the field have suggested different perspectives and solutions to the challenges to advance the principles of inclusive education into practice. Despite extensive research on inclusive education, there are still gaps in the knowledge as to how to understand and practice inclusive education.

There are different approaches and understandings of inclusive education and moreover there is no universal definition of inclusion (Dyson, 1999; Göransson & Nilholm, 2014; Haug, 2017; Magnússon, 2019; Nilholm, 2021; Slee, 2018). However, the vision of inclusion, from an educational standpoint and inspired by the Salamanca Statement, may, according to Ainscow, Boot, and Dyson, be summed up as follows:

The processes of increasing the participation of students in, and reducing their exclusion from, the curricula, cultures, and communities of local schools.

Restructuring the cultures, policies, and practices in schools so that they respond to the diversity of students in their locality.

The presence, participation, and achievement of all students vulnerable to exclusionary pressures, not only those with impairments of those who are categorized as "having special educational needs. (Ainscow et al., 2006, p. 25).

I accord with the view of Ainscow, Boot, and Dyson, who point out that certain features of inclusion are of particular importance. These features are:

Inclusion is concerned with all children and young people in schools; it is focused on presence, participation *and* achievement; inclusion and exclusion are linked together such that inclusion involves the active combating of exclusion; and inclusion is seen as a never-ending process. Thus, an inclusive school is one that is on the move, rather than one that reached a perfect state (Ainscow et al, 2006, p. 25).

While countries throughout the world have joined the Salamanca Statement, have incorporated the inclusive principles into local jurisdictions' educational policy, and have made efforts to change the principle into school practice, challenges remain. Haug (2017) points out that:

No country has yet succeeded in constructing a school system that lives up to the ideals and intentions of inclusion, as defined by different international organizations (p. 2).

¹ Inclusive education, inclusive schools and inclusion will be used in the same meaning in the dissertation.

 $^{^{2}}$  The public school refers to Fólkaskúlin in Faroese, a nine-year compulsory school where children start at the age of seven. When I use the term public school, it also includes the special school settings, e.g., special schools and private schools.

Developing inclusive education and inclusive schools must be understood in the local environment. Haug (2017) states that:

Each country must develop its own path to inclusive education (Mitchell 2005a). As a part of this process, it must also bring about its own understanding and perspectives concerning inclusive education. Without a doubt, countries and schools can learn from each other (p. 7).

Thus, according to scholars in the field of inclusion (e.g. Haug, 2017), inclusion must be understood and researched locally to develop inclusive education locally and to develop the conceptual understanding of inclusive education worldwide.

As a "very small society"³ (Gaini, 2015; Hayfield, 2018), with approximately 54,000 inhabitants scattered around 18 small islands in the north of the Atlantic Ocean, the Faroe Islands presents specific challenges and opportunities to bear in mind when developing inclusive education. These circumstances may differ substantially from those present in countries like Denmark, to which the Faroe Islands has had historical dependency since 1814. From 1948, when the Home-Rule arrangement was signed between Denmark and the Faroe Islands, the Faroe Islands has moved towards autonomy with gradual detachment. Now, The Faroe Islands is a self-governing realm within the Kingdom of Denmark and, through the Home Rule Act, control most jurisdictions, including education (Jákupsstovu, 2013; West, 2020). At first glance, the Faroe Islands may be seen as rural and remote, while a closer look unveils the Faroe Islands "*as microcosms reflecting the same properties that large urban communities take credit for*." (Gaini, 2013, p. 10). As such, the Faroe Islands can be seen as a small island society which is self-providing in terms of culture, policy, language, and economy. Faroese society has been described as being in a transition, moving from tradition to modernity, from a local to a global society (Gaini, 2015).

This ongoing movement towards a more modern, heterogenetic, secular, and global society may have impacted the school system and discussions surrounding children's rights, diversity, and inclusion.

Despite steps being made towards a more heterogenetic and diverse society, for example, legislation on the rights of homosexuals, the Faroe Islands is still characterised as a Christian conservative society when compared with other Nordic countries (Skorini et al., 2022). Hence, a comprehensive understanding of the situation of the Faroe Islands is a prerequisite to researching inclusive education if one should respect that inclusive education must be anchored locally. Haug (2017) highlights that a failure to situate the research locally may result in unfortunate outcomes:

It could be a temptation to copy definitions and approaches from the more experienced. There is a risk involved in directly importing inclusive solutions and strategies from others and, in that way, standardizing school systems. These solutions and strategies might not work, or they could even make things worse (p. 7).

In the Faroe Islands, the initiatives for inclusive schools highlight a distinction from the situation in many other countries, including nearly all the Nordic countries where inclusion is

³ I will use the term "very small society" further in the dissertation, explained in chapter 4.

mandated by political legislation, obligating schools to work inclusively, for example, in the Danish Act on inclusion (2012) and the Icelandic Compulsory School Act (2008) On the contrary, inclusive education is not stated in the Faroese Public School Act (1997). However, in 2009 the Faroes took the initiative to develop inclusive schools by joining the UN's Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006). Consequently, the Faroe Islands has committed to developing a school based on principles of inclusion. Recently, inclusive education has been mentioned in a few policy documents (see chapters 4.3 and 10.1). Therefore, there are some indications that the Faroe Islands has started the process of developing inclusive education.

I am curious to follow these processes and locate the challenges and opportunities in the Faroe Islands compared to global trends in developing inclusive education. Where are the gaps in knowledge that research on the situation in the Faroe Islands can shed light on? What can the Faroe Islands learn from international and Nordic research on inclusive education? And what can other countries learn from this study on developing inclusive education in a very small society?

Extensive studies have been conducted on strategies for developing inclusive education (e.g., Booth et al., 2004; Mitchell, 2013) This is done both on a societal level, at a welfare-institutional level, at the individual level and in the interaction between the levels (Hansen, 2019). Researchers in the field (e.g. Ainscow, 2020; Anderson et al., 2014; Messiou, 2017; Mitchell, 2018) point out the need for further research on inclusive education with an ecological approach, which entails a grounded and holistic perspective to the study.

A vast amount of research on inclusive education has been conducted worldwide. However, there is no Faroese research on conveying inclusive principles into practice in schools. As such, my research will stand on the shoulders of international research in the field, although I am to explore the current 'situation' in the Faroe Islands as a 'case' with the development processes on inclusion in Faroese public schools in mind, and hopefully I will be able to contribute to knowledge in the Faroe Islands and internationally.

Due to the lack of research on inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands and because the Faroe Islands is in a process, an ecological approach to the research field is called upon (Ainscow, 2020; Anderson et al., 2014; Mitchell, 2018). The ecological approach emphasises the current situation, which requires including various actors and actants in and surrounding the school system both on a political and practical level. To capture the processes of developing inclusive education, I will employ the concepts of "transfer, translate and transform" (Christensen & Ydesen, 2015; Cowen, 2006, 2009). These concepts will be unfolded in chapter 2.

Using an ecological approach and due to the unexplored nature of the field of inclusion in the Faroe Islands, I started my project using Urie Bronfenbrenner's bio ecological framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1976; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007). Using this framework, inspired by the Chicago School and interactionism, I could illustrate my research situation in micro/meso/macro assumptions (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015; Bronfenbrenner, 1976; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007).

Although I could use Brofenbrenner's framework in the first stage of my research formulation, it soon became clear that the framework did not have the tools to capture the research processes. My research had to have both an ecological and a grounded empirical approach. Therefore, I turned to grounded theory (GT). Grounded theory was initially developed by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967) and has been further developed by, for example, Kathy Charmaz (2006) with constructivist grounded theory (CGT). Grounded theory offered a theoretical research platform, but to gain analytical strategies in the research's movements between the empirical and theoretical field, I needed additional analytic tools, which situational analysis (SA) could offer (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2018)

Situational analysis is anchored in GT and CGT and expands these theories by providing analytic tools to capture different processes (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2018). Hence, SA is suitable for this research project, as the aim is to capture and unfold processes in developing inclusion and to reveal elements that could be developed further (chapter 2 unfolds SA further).

To capture the process of movements between global and local policy and practice in tension between general and special needs education, this research is grounded in the pedagogical, sociological, and philosophical disciplines as well as in political science. Lastly, the research is anchored in comparative educational studies to capture the transfer, translation, and transformation processes.

#### 1.2 Research topic and research question

The research topic is Inclusion in the Faroese public school: From political vision into educational practices in tensions between general and special needs education.

Due to the situatedness of the topic, the research has been approached with processual research questions to unfold the processes of the research topic. The overall research topic has thus been unfolded into these four processual research questions:

- 1. What is the motivation for the Faroese political vision for an inclusive public school and what are the political conditions, both national and international, that influence the decision to transfer, translate and transform the vison into the school system?
- 2. What are the strategies and structural and organisational measures to transfer, translate and transform the inclusive agenda into school culture and practice?
- 3. What are the experiences and activities of actors (teachers, school leaders, advisers, pupils, and parents) within the school system participating in the transferral, translating and transforming of the vision into school culture and practice with a focus on the tension between general and special needs education?
- 4. What are the views, perspectives, and positions of other professionals supporting, advising, educating, and administrating the school system and other stakeholders on inclusive education?

With these processual questions, the task of this dissertation is to unfold and analyse how the international and global vision of inclusion is being transferred, translated and transformed into school practice in a very small island society.

The processual research questions have been formulated along the ecological and situational approach, by initially mapping the situation (see chapter 5.3), as one of the analytical tools SA offers. Thus, the research questions result from my initial interpretation and knowledge about the situation guided by SA. Selecting SA is also grounded in and has formed the scientific position taken in this research.

#### 1.3 Researcher's position

Before zooming closer in on the research field, I will turn the lens on myself and the researcher's position in this research to recognise and take responsibility for my own situatedness within the research and the effect that it may have on the research setting, the research questions being asked, empirical material being gathered and its analytical interpretation. The purpose of this research is to gain insight and advance the development of inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands. Hence, I am positioned myself as an active participant in the field of inclusive education, with the aim of exploring the connection between political visions of inclusion, inclusive school culture, strategies, and practices. The aim with this research is also to stimulate inclusive education in Faroese public schools by contributing to the knowledge in the field (see further reflections on researcher's position in chapter 7.3).

#### Chapter 2. Theoretical and conceptual landscape

Theory is of value in empirical science only to the extent to which it connects fruitfully with the empirical world. Concepts are the means, and the only means of establishing such connection. (Blumer, 1969, p. 143)

As highlighted in chapter 1, the scientific position taken in this research is anchored in the theoretical and methodological framework of SA initially developed by Adela Clarke and later with co-authors (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2018). No similar research project has, to my knowledge, employed SA. This adds another layer of novelty to my research, as the theoretical and methodological framework of SA can contribute to the knowledge of inclusion internationally (see also chapter 17.2).

This chapter highlights the theoretical landscape of this research project, a theoretical landscape which will be interwoven with the methodological approach in the project. In Part II of the dissertation, I will return to the methodology and the methods used to gather the empirical material, including the analytical tools of SA (chapter 5) and the methods used in this research (chapter 6). Although splitting these three aspects of the SA framework apart in different chapters, I will emphasise that using SA as a theoretical and methodological framework constitutes the 'DNA' of this dissertation, guiding every step of this research project.

#### 2.1 The situation in SA and in this research

Scientific theories begin with situations.... Theories are responses to the contingencies of these situations – courses of action articulated with yet more courses of action. (Star, 1989, p. 15-16. In: Clarke et al, 2018, p. 24).

The main assumption behind the concept of situation, in Clarke's understanding, explains that the concept is not predefined, rather it is defined by the concrete research project. In that exposition, the whole situation is open to empirical investigation (Clarke et al., 2022). The concept of situation is anchored in Clarke et al.'s (2018; 2022) assumption inspired by Denzin (1970) and Haraway (1988) that, historically, qualitative studies have neglected to take the situatedness of the phenomenon studied seriously into account. Although inspired by different scholars (Blumer, 1969), the concept of "situation" in SA is distinguished by inventing a method that emphasises the situatedness of phenomena including both "*place, space* and *time*" attempting to "*analyzing the relationalities in the situation and their ecologies*" (Clarke et al., 2022 p. 18). Thus, the situation might contain different elements arranged through relations and is defined by the empirical investigation in concrete research (ibid).

Clarke et al. (2022) argue that to define the boundaries of a situation, the concept must be understood as elastic, capable of zooming in and out in search of relevance to the overall situation under study. Referring to the concept of gestalt (Blumer, 1969; Dewey, 1938; Massumi, 2002), Clarke et al. (2022) describe the situation as being a space that creates room to understand the processes that take place between the element. The situation is described as:

[...] palpable if not visible – relational and generative. SA itself builds on the generativity of the situation through empirical analysis (Clarke et al, 2022, p. 19).

Thus, following Clarke et al. (2018), the boundary of the situation is an empirical question:

The elasticity of concepts can make them very useful but also can make some people nervous who prefer things to be more set and defined...Learning to tolerate ambiguity and to work with elastic concepts is very valuable in becoming a qualitative analyst – using any interpretive method. We often need to dwell in gray areas, sometimes uncomfortably. But the analytic payoffs of doing so can make it truly worthwhile. (p. 118).

The concept of situation, as understood by SA, is a point of departure in this research. Because the situation in the Faroe Islands concerning inclusive education is much unexplored, I have drawn upon my pre-knowledge in the field in terms of my experiences and my search in the research literature. Thus, the situation is being created along with the research process. In this process, being involved both as a local Faroese with educational and vocational experiences in the field of research and as a researcher, I am part of the situation. To be involved in the situation while researching is challenging, as one must remain open to considering alternative perspectives or interpretations of the situation in focus and be alerted to sites of silence in the empirical material (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 35). As I am not a 'tabula rasa', I have striven to find opportunities to discover sites of silence hidden because of the tabula I bring in as a researcher. I will discuss questions of holding myself accountable in the research without discrediting my research through personal bias, trying to be reflective and remaining open to considering alternative perspectives or interpretations of the situation under study. These reflections will be unfolded in chapter 7.3. Here, as the researcher, I position myself through experiences, participation, and situatedness. Thus, the elements I bring into the situation under exploration are part of or constitute the situation, see chapters 6 and 7.

The knowledge production ambition is to produce knowledge about the coming processes of developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands as being a unique situation influenced by the global and local actors and actants. My ambition is to produce situated knowledge as opposed to absolute knowledge. As this research is grounded in having an ecological approach, it means that knowledge is grounded and produced by the actors and actants in the situation. (see also chapter 7.5 and 17.2 on quality criteria).

#### 2.2 Situated conceptual landscape of school policy

The research focuses on school policy and practice situated in a particular local political, social, and cultural linkage. This research moves both on a global and local school policy sphere where school policy is being produced in written texts and by people producing these policies and among people acting within the schools and surrounding schools who are to administrate, advise, educate, or be educated and have interest in the school field. As I see the world as changeable, moveable, and interactive in an interconnectedness influencing how the situation is in the world and how the world is in the situation, I am interested in how 'social realities' are

created. I do not consider that social reality exists independently of human understanding and interpretation.

The research theme evolves around the concept of global and local school policy and practice as political, social/cultural, and pedagogical/educational processes in tension between general school and education and special needs education. The understanding of school policy and practice adopted draws on Ball et al.'s (2012) understanding of school policy as processes of enactments in and around schools. The concept of enactment enables us to consider the policy activity of negotiations and coalition building and linking text to practices as much more than just implementation. With an implemental approach, teachers and other professionals in and surrounding the schools are written out of the policy process or considered merely actors who implement. The perspective of the transformation of policy to practice by the concept of enactment offers opportunities to understand policy more as circular processes.

This conceptual thinking of what is the substance of school policy and practices has shaped the theoretical and methodological approach of this research. Inspired by the metaphor of rhizomes (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987a), school policy and school practice as a whole situation, is formed by actors and actants in play simultaneously, making it difficult to measure where something begins, ends, and connects.

#### 2.3 Interdisciplinary approach

As said before, the emphasis is on the current situation, including a diversity of actors and actants in and surrounding the school system and at all levels, that is, from the pupils to the school policy administration. The aim is to capture the complexities of school policy and practice as "*complex social assemblages, including the jumbled, messy, contested, creative and mundane social interactions*" (Ball et al, 2012, p. 2).

Although using Ball's understanding of school policy, I find it fruitful to supplement Ball's understanding of "transforming", which can expand the understanding of the complexity of converting international school policy into local practices. As I situate this project in a global local perspective, I have found the concepts of transfer, translate, and transform, as coined by Cowen (2006; 2009), helpful in this research, as the ambition is to gain knowledge by following processes of international school policy ideas into local school policy and into practice. These processes are not approached as linear processes but as interacting ones. Therefore, the three concepts of transfer, translate, and transform will be used as analytical concepts flowing back and forth between policy and practice through the different epistemological fixpoints that are unfolded in Part II. Along with these concepts, this research also takes an interdisciplinary approach grounded in political science, sociological, pedagogical/philosophical, and comparative educational studies.

As said, this research draws on Cowen's (2006; 2009) understanding of the three interrelated concepts of transfer, translate and transform, which are defined as follows:

*transfer* is the movement of an educational idea or practice in supra-national or trans-national or international space: the 'space-gate' moment, with its politics of attraction and so on;

*translation* is the shape-shifting of educational institutions or the re-interpretation of educational ideas which routinely occurs with the transfer in space: 'the chameleon process'; and

*transformations* are the metamorphoses which the compression of social and economic power into education in the new context imposes on the initial translation: that is, a range of transformations which cover both the indigenisation and the extinction of the translated form (2006, p. 566).

Christensen and Ydesen (2015) interpret Cowen's concepts into the concepts of impact, space and movement and point out that possible changes of the ideas during the journey from the global to the local are not easy to capture methodologically in contemporary impact studies. Often the journey is considered a simple chronological systemic process starting from an idea towards initiatives to intervention and impact in the local environment, which does not capture the complexity of these processes. By using the theoretical lenses in SA, the aim is to capture the complexities and messiness of these processes through interviewing, ethnographic studies and the analysis of school policy documents as well as including extant discourse materials found in the situation, including narrative, visual, and historical material (Clarke et al., 2022). Clarke et al. (2022, p. 62) point out that:

SA mapping enhances visibility of epistemic diversity via the explicit recognition that different ways of knowing or local epistemologies may be lively in the situation. SA seeks to represent all the actors and discourses in the situation regardless of their power, rupturing taken-for-granted hierarchies. This thorough representational work is a key feature of SA as a poststructuralist and interpretive approach with strong critical edge. To deal with the messiness and avoid hygienic.

This is the very heart of SA, to create a theoretical approach that "*emphasizes the situatedness of phenomena (including collective organizational entities) and their social relations*" (Clarke et al, 2022, p. 17), not in conditional matrix terms or in contexts but "*as entities in relation to each other are constitutive of each other*" (Clarke et al, 2022, p. 18).

Situational analysis invites an interdisciplinary approach by emphasising that "*Disciplines are ways of organizing questions about the world*" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 367). Thus, to research the becoming processes of developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands through the theoretical lens of SA, the research must use interdisciplinarity to make a situational analysis of the situation in the Faroe Islands. Scholars (Kalenda, 2016) point out that although interdisciplinary research is necessary, it needs to be more developed, for example in the social sciences. This is due to institutional barriers and a need for suitable theoretical and methodological frameworks capable of unifying a variety of theoretical, epistemological, empirical and methodological interdisciplinarity (Kalenda, 2016), making SA compatible with approaches that share similar bases across social sciences. In this research, the interdisciplinary of political science, sociology and educational science are particularly close. In all the disciplines, we can see the disappearance of a boundary delimited by theoretical concepts focused narrowly on each of these sciences (society and culture, educational practices, and policymaking). As such, SA innovates the project of symbolic interactionism itself and opens

a space for academic cooperation between all disciplines trying to understand the interaction between actors and actants.

#### 2.4 Symbolic interactionism, pragmatism, constructivism, and poststructuralism

Interactionism, if it is to thrive and grow, must incorporate elements of post-structural and postmodern theory (e.g., the work of Barthes, Derrida, Foucault, Baudrillard, etc.) into its underlying views of history, culture and politics. (Denzin, 1992, xvii in: Clarke et al, 2018, p. 77).

In line with SA, my epistemological position as to how to gain knowledge and insight about the world is grounded in pragmatic symbolic interactionism, constructivism and poststructuralism—acknowledging knowledge production through researching what is going on in the world, where meaning is re-located from reality out there to reality as experienced by the perceiver. Thus, interpretations are not universal but must be located and situated in space and time.

Interpretation per se is conditioned by historic geopolitical and cultural perspectives mediated by symbols and practices (Clarke et al, 2022, p. 52).

Taking this viewpoint from SA inspired from symbolic interactionism, pragmatism, constructivism and poststructuralism, the assumptions are that society is socially constructed by the meanings we attach to social interactions and events. This implies that, in the interpretive view of social interaction, in contrast to the normative paradigm, that:

...the meanings of situations and actions are interpretations formulated on particular occasions and ... subject to reformulations (Wilson, 1970, p. 701, In: (Clarke, 2021).

Meaning is re-located from reality out there to reality as experienced by the perceiver and thus interpretations are not universal but must be located and situated in space and time. In social constructionism terms, it is assuming that people (including the researcher) construct or interpret the realities in which they participate through their own situated perspectives, as highlighted previously in this chapter. Leaning on Mead (1934), Blumer points out, that:

the position of Symbolic Interactionism is that the "worlds" that exist for human beings and for their groups are composed of "objects" and that these objects are the product of symbolic interaction (1969, pp. 10-11).

Inspired by "*relational ecological mapping*" (Clarke et al. 2018, p. 65) this research project knowledge production is also approached through the lens of poststructuralism. The most important contribution of incorporating poststructuralism into the SA thinking is the emphasis of the impact of 'things' and the 'nonhuman', because "*we do end at our skins but exist in relations – even co-constitution – with all kinds of things, living and not*" (Clarke & Keller, 2014, [55]).

With the post-structural and interpretive turn, SA attempts to break with the dualistic approach to action versus structure and regarded micro/meso/macro assumptions as highly problematic as they possibly blur silenced elements (Clarke et al, 2018). Instead of splitting structure and action/processes, SA combined with post-structural thinking argues that the entities at all levels

of organisational complexities and all social relations are going across all levels, which makes those phenomena co-constitutive (Clarke et al, 2018). As pointed out earlier, it is through this argumentation that the concept of situation emerges, as the situation itself becomes the major unit of analysis instead of human action in the centre.

Although not using ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967) directly, I am inspired by ethnomethodology's understanding that the social world's facticity is accomplished by way of members' constitutive interactional work focusing on how members of social worlds do social life, aiming in particular to the "*concretely construct and sustain social entities*" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 490). Gubrium & Holstein (2000) points out that:

Recently, ethnomethodological sensibilities have been appropriated to the constructionist move (see Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994,1997), heightening and broadening its analytic acuity. At the same time yet riding a different current in the discursive and linguistic flow of the social science, poststructuralist discourse analysis has suffused constructionism with cultural, institutional, and historical concerns as well (p. 487).

On a meta-theoretical level, the research is between poststructuralism and constructionism, and in between in the situation where things happen, and including different empirical material of both human and nonhuman actors and actants trying to grip different positions, views, activities, and movements. My research is based on the epistemological and ontological assumption that the subject's creation is an interactive process in a mutual construction between actors and actants acting in the emergence of the becoming process in the future. Leaning on Foucault's utterance below, the patterns in one's culture creates the practice of the subject:

I would say that if now I am interested, in fact, in the way in which the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by the practices of self, these practices are nevertheless not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture, and which as proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group (Foucault, 1988, p. 11).

Foucault points out in the essay The Eye of Power (Foucault, 1980a, p. 155) that:

Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorizing to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself.

The surveillance mode of the disciplining gaze using Jeremy Bentham's panopticon (Clarke et al., 2018) as a metaphor and the present research study's use of the bird's perspective, in the sense of having a gaze to the research field from above while at the same time using a grounded situational approach, makes Foucault relevant to this research project. A panopticon is a circular form of prison in which the guard tower is in the middle, and the prisoners' cell walls facing that direction are only barred. "*Thus, guards can always see in, though they are not necessarily visible inside their tower – and may not even be present*" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 79). SA uses Foucault's gaze "*seeking to engage questions of not only power but also minority views and marginal positions*" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 80). Due to the unique features of the Faroe Islands, as will be unfolded in chapter 4, it is difficult to analyse the empirical material with a Foucauldian approach. According to Foucault, it is the systems watching and exercising

control. As will be further unfolded in chapter 4 and the analysis section, this differs from the case in the Faroe Islands. On the other hand, analysing with SA matches this project perfectly.

#### 2.5 Abduction

The aim of this research, in line with SA, is to develop thick analysis to address complexity, differences, contradictions, and heterogeneity rather than attempting to develop a formal/static theory. This research has an abductive approach that uses theorizing generated through tacking back and forth between the nitty-gritty specificities of empirical data and more abstract ways of conceptualizing them (Clarke et al., 2018), and therefore differs from the inductive– deductive approach used in first generation GT by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The present research aims at an interpretive analysis that views the research field not as static but in movements and acknowledges the messy and complex nature of social life. The use of abduction in SA has its roots in American pragmatism and modern philosophy, referring to Charles Sanders Peirce's (1839-1914) understanding of abduction (see Clarke et al., 2018, p. 28). Although not randomly guessing, Peirce's understanding of abduction, has its roots in pragmatist guessing, looking for specific and methodologically significant reasons, as abductive guessing seeks to go beyond the knowledge and the data per se, seeing the abductive process as a puzzle and as a detecting process (Clarke et al., 2018, pp. 28-29), involving the researcher as well (see further reflection on researcher position in chapter 7.3).

Thus, the abductive approach also means an emphasis, using and valuing the:

[...] prior knowledge, perspective, and experiences of the researcher not being denied but instead *examined through the lenses of abduction and reflectivity* (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 31).

As a native researcher in the Faroe Islands, I have been contemplating my position in the research process. By adopting an abductive approach, I have taken a creative and flexible approach to the research, combining both inductive and deductive reasoning to form a holistic understanding of the empirical material. However, it is essential to acknowledge the potential of cultural blindness to cloud my perception of the Faroese society, leading to flawed conclusions.

To mitigate the effects of cultural blindness, theoretical and methodological approaches such as SA, can be utilised in conjunction with the abductive approach (see also chapter 7.3 and 17.2). This approach emphasises the significance of understanding the situation in which behaviour occurs, including the cultural factors shaping it. Incorporating this perspective can provide a more inclusive and comprehensive view of the Faroese society. It is crucial to recognise the far-reaching implications of cultural blindness in the research process. This includes the selection of research methods, empirical interpretation, and conclusion formation. By adopting an abductive approach and acknowledging the potential for cultural blindness, I can strive to minimize its impact and ensure that my work accurately reflects the complexity and richness of Faroese society.

#### Chapter 3. State of the art

This chapter provides insight into the current state of knowledge and highlights gaps in the existing literature in the research field that pertains to the research topic and research questions of this study. This will help to refine the focus of the research and identify areas where further investigation is needed. This chapter on the state of the art focuses on research literature on inclusive educational policy and practice, while chapter 4, which situates the research in the Faroe Islands, will present historical and research literature on small-islands studies and the Faroe Islands.

Following abductive approach this state-of-the-art chapter is inspired by the hermeneutic literature review approach (Boell & Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2014). The criteria for selecting the research literature are gradually developed as the research progresses and my understanding of the research field advances. This implies that the process of narrating this research literature review has been interactive, iterative, and interpretive (Boell & Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2014).

Using key researchers to inform and form this literature review, I primarily use reference tracking, "the snowball" method, to pin down relevant researchers (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Boell & Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2015).

I select studies from the abundant research literature that are relevant to my dissertation and examine the key trends within the existing literature. This process is presented in a narrative format, as described by Paré et al. (2015). To narrow my search, I utilise various sources such as cross-referencing, bibliographies, recommendations from other researchers and my supervisors, as well as my own understanding of the research field⁴. By adopting this approach, I ensure that my findings are based on a comprehensive and representative sample of the available literature.

#### 3.1 Focus and limitations

The literature review draws on written research literature from both the Anglo-American and Nordic⁵ regions. The Anglo-American literature is included because in many areas they are pioneers in the field. The Nordic literature primarily consists of Danish studies, as Denmark has influenced special needs education and school development, and general school culture in the Faroe Islands. Additionally, literature from other Nordic countries is incorporated to capture the trends of the neighbouring countries.

As this literature review explores existing research knowledge on the interplay between different actors inside and surrounding the school system influencing the possibilities for

⁴ As pointed out previously, I have not been a "Tabula Rasa" before entering the research field and consider myself an element in the situation. Thus, my experiences and knowledge of the research field are to be considered data in the "mapping" of relevant research literature (Clarke et al., 2018). To be a Faroese researcher in the Faroe Islands is addressed in chapter 7.3.

⁵ See chap. 4: Situating the research in the Faroe Islands.

development, the aim is not to produce evidence-based knowledge, but rather to research possibilities to further develop an inclusive school system and inclusive education.

There have been several attempts to create evidence-based recommendations or guidelines to develop inclusive education (e.g., Ainscow, 2020; Mitchell, 2018). In a search for universal theories to push the inclusive school further, researchers in the field of inclusive education acknowledge that a variety of intertwined factors must be considered in the development of theories. Such theories must be examined in their capacity to change practice, as Nilholm argues:

[...] it is necessary to analyse the policy, the organisation and financing of the school system, teacher education, laws and regulations, and prevailing cultural ideologies in order to understand both the system in itself and the system as a context for more concrete studies (2021, p. 364).

Haug (2020b) points out that inclusive education must be understood and developed in the actual social environment. As my research investigates abilities and possibilities to develop inclusive education in the future, situated in a particular environment, the focus on the past is limited, which is the basis for evidence-based research.

This dissertation examines the interactions between actors and systems within, between, and surrounding the school, but does not delve into individual perspectives or focus on specific schools, classes, or teaching methods⁶. The ecological and holistic perspective entails that the literature review draws on an interdisciplinary research approach within the political, sociological, educational science, and philosophical traditions.

According to the European Agency Statistics on Inclusive Education (EASIE), there is a "gap in evidence" in the field of inclusive education due to different approaches taken (Haug, 2017). On the one hand, inclusion is analysed on a general level as a societal, equitable, democratic educational goal advocated in international policy. On the other hand, inclusion is examined on the practical level within and across national education systems (Ramberg & Watkins, 2020).

Thus, among researchers within the field, there seems to be a discrepancy between the need for theories that address both the global and local school systems. However, Clarke et al. (2018) and Haraway (1988) highlight that visions are never universal and must be situated in their particular social environment. Consequently, it is challenging to understand inclusive education without considering the local environment in which the research takes place.

This literature review focuses on studies that take a holistic approach to inclusion, rather than isolating different aspects of it. The objective is not to establish a universal theory but to synthesise different academic disciplines and perspectives.

This literature review begins with a discussion of Gunnlaugur Magnússon's interpretation of the Salamanca Statement (Magnússon, 2019), supported by additional insights from key researchers such as Göransson & Nilholm (2014) and Nilholm (2021). The framework for this review is rooted in the different discourses of inclusion as described by Alan Dyson (1999) and

⁶ To guarantee anonymity the research prevails on an overall system level, even though the research has collected knowledge and empirical data from individuals about individual systems and actors. See chapter 7.5 concerning ethical reflections.

later discussed in the context of Peder Haug's perceptions of inclusion (Haug, 2017). The relationship between special needs education and general education is also explored, drawing on the works of Lani Florian (2014a) and Norwich (2013). Finally, the focus turns to the pupil in the school environment and the principles necessary for creating an inclusive school, as outlined by Peter Farrell (2004).

#### The birth of research literature on inclusion

The Salamanca Statement (1994) has been open to huge variations in perception and interpretation and has therefore also been widely and differently adopted (Dyson, 1999; Magnússon, 2019; Nilholm, 2021). As the Salamanca Statement is the first international declaration on the principles, policy and practice of inclusion, this literature review employs the Salamanca Statement as a starting point for the review on inclusive education and inclusive school.

In 1994, the *Salamanca Statement and framework for action on special needs education* (the Salamanca Statement henceforth) was approved by 92 governments and 25 international organisations in the Spanish city of Salamanca (The Salamanca Statement, 1994). The Salamanca Statement was on principles, policy, and practice in special needs education and was rooted in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a continuation of the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, and the 1993 United Nations Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (The Salamanca Statement, 1994).

The Salamanca Statement has five statements and a descriptive framework with 85 points for action on special needs education and contains a chapter on new thinking in special needs education and guidelines for action at a national, regional and international level. The 47-page Statement proclaims that the documents in the Statement intend:

...to further the objective of Education for All by considering the fundamental policy shifts required to promote the approach of inclusive education, namely enabling schools to serve all children, particularly those with special educational needs ... The Conference adopted the Salamanca Statement on Principles, Policy and Practice in Special Needs Education and a Framework for Action. These documents are informed by the principle of inclusion, by recognition of the need to work towards "schools for all" - institutions which include everybody, celebrate differences, support learning, and respond to individual needs. As such, they constitute an important contribution to the agenda for achieving Education for All and for making schools educationally more effective (my highlights with bold and cursive) (UNESCO, 1994).

The citation highlights that the Salamanca Statement, while ambitious, is also ambiguous along many dimensions, leading to multiple ways of practicing and interpreting inclusive education (Dyson, 1999; Magnússon, 2019; Nilholm, 2021). This pertains to discussions regarding inclusive schools, both as a policy idea, a pedagogical practice notion, a concept related to values and ethics, and an idea of what the most effective school design is (Dyson, 1999). Being characterised as "*an amalgam of ideals*" (Magnússon, 2019), the Salamanca Statement has led to tremendous amounts of research material both worldwide and locally on the policy, principles, and practice of inclusive education (e.g., Florian, 2014; Magnússon, 2019; Nilholm, 2021).

#### 3.2 The framework

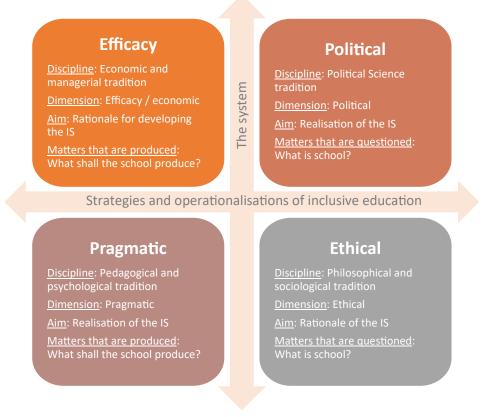
To make sense of the vast body of research on inclusive education, I have created a framework to categorise and organise the relevant findings for my study. While a poststructuralist or grounded approach might question the use of a framework in literature research, I will argue that a hermeneutic approach supports it. This approach focuses on interpreting the meaning and understanding in texts and helps us comprehend various perspectives, theories, and findings in a literature review. The framework serves as a tool for interpretation and understanding, helping to organise and structure the elements of the literature, categorise information, and identify relationships and patterns. Thus, using a framework enables us to gain a deeper understanding of the topic and literature and guides further exploration as an integral part of the hermeneutic approach. The framework is not intended to rigidly define the structure or processes, but rather to provide a comprehensive overview of the field. Although a framework, as said, may clash with a poststructuralist approach to research, I use it to navigate the vast literature in the field and to gain a better understanding of the field with an ecological approach.

The framework includes four different discourses on inclusion based on Dyson's framework (Dyson, 1999). Within each discourse, there are different aims and questions asked (Dyson, 1999). The vertical and horizontal dimensions are based on Haug (2017). I have added the different disciplines related to the different discourse to illustrate the multidisciplinarity in researching inclusive education and schooling with an ecological approach.

Figure 1 below illustrates the four different discourses *Efficacy*, *Political*, *Ethical* and *Pragmatic*, put forward by Alan Dyson in 1999 as an interpretation of the different discourses in the Salamanca Statement. Although Dyson's interpretation came just after the publication of the Salamanca Statement in 1994, I still find it relevant in helping us understand how the fluidness and moveableness of inclusive education can be transferred, translated and transformed into different experienced realities. Presuming that discourses are constantly movable and changeable, the model is meant to serve as an overall frame for understandings of inclusive education, also allowing up-to-date dimensions to be highlighted within this frame.

By incorporating the four discourses (Dyson, 1999) in a model combined with Haug's (2017) two dimensions of understanding inclusive education, I have thus interpreted newer and relevant research literature in the concept of Dyson's four discourses. I aim to expand upon this framework by incorporating the latest developments in inclusive education research. Furthermore, I aim to apply the research literature to the situation in the Faroe Islands together with additional literature research in chapter 4 on the situation in the Faroe Islands.

#### Figure 1 The four discourses on inclusion and the two dimensions



Source: The four different discourses on inclusion are based on Dyson's framework (1999). Within each discourse, there are different aims and questions asked (Dyson, 1999). The vertical and horizontal dimensions are based on Haug (2017). I have added the different disciplines related to the different discourses to illustrate the multidisciplinarity in researching inclusive education and schooling with an ecological approach.

Starting with following Dyson's interpretation as illustrated in figure 1, the plural issues raised in the Salamanca Statement can be categorised into four interrelated discourses: An efficacy discourse, a political discourse, and ethical discourse, and a pragmatic discourse "through which different theoretical notions on inclusion are constructed" (Dyson, 1999, p. 36). These four discourses of inclusive education are grouped into two broad categories. One category concerns the argument or the rationale for inclusive education and the other category concerns how to practice inclusive education or how to realise the intentions with the idea of inclusive education. According to Dyson, the discourses on ethics and efficacy are about *the rationale* for inclusive school. As another layer to this framework of discourses, Dyson suggests that these four different discourses intend to answer different questions. The pragmatic and efficacy discourses deal with questions about what school shall produce, that is, what kind of output is expected from school. The other two discourses, the political and ethical discourses deal with questions about be.

The vertical and horizontal dimensions illustrate a model that distinguish between the concept of inclusion into two different understandings. The horizontal dimension is the practical

dimension involving the general understanding and operationalising of inclusive education while the vertical dimension concerns ideals and coherence between the different political and organizational levels in society and school. Haug stresses that it is the combination of these dimensions that creates the basis for understanding and practising inclusion (Haug, 2017).

# 3.2.1 The efficacy discourse

The efficacy discourse highlights arguments focusing on what is the most efficient way of practising inclusion in schools. The Salamanca Statement argues that inclusive schools are the most efficient and cost-effective school setting for all pupils, both regarding benefits to society and educational benefits, when compared with segregated school settings:

regular schools with this inclusive orientation are the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all; moreover, they provide effective education to the majority of children and improve the efficiency and ultimately the cost-effectiveness of the entire education system. (The Salamanca Statement, 1994)

Hence, the argument in the Salamanca Statement also applies to the good of the whole society as the inclusive school system is seen as providing the most effective labour for the *competitive state* (Pedersen, 2016). In that sense, the efficacy discourse is also rooted in an economic and managerial tradition that is occupied with matters about efficacy and economic dimensions of the school system and optimising the production of the school system.

In these arguments, it follows that the cost and efficiency of classic and traditional special needs settings are contested. Several studies attempt to prove this rationale for moving special needs education into regular settings in the name of developing inclusive education (Artiles et al., 2006). Within the efficacy discourse, it is also argued that inclusive education is needed because segregated/separate special needs education programmes and settings have proven not to be effective enough in the terms of learning and development skills of special needs pupils (although many of studies on the outcome of special settings compared with general settings for pupils in special needs education indicate lower achievement in general settings, this might be due to insufficient support in the general environment).

Within the discourse of efficiency, neo-liberal economic theory has had an impact on the landscape of educational thoughts where social efficiency and the competitive state has become a superior goal of educational policy makers worldwide (Halldorsdottir Gudjonsson et al., 2016). These policy directions have directly had an impact on the development of inclusive education, for example, by influencing which focus professionals have on inclusion in their practice (Hedegaard-Soerensen & Grumloese, 2020). Hedegaard-Sørensen and Grumloese (2020) point out that even though achievement and inclusion should be equally prioritised, teachers focus on achievement as their primary professional goal and thereby, maybe not intentionally, promote excluding practices. Similar research results are found in Iceland (Gunnþórsdóttir & Bjarnason, 2014; Gunnþórsdóttir & Jóhannesson, 2014).

Among scholars, there seems to be agreement that, due to neoliberal discourses of competitive individualism and the focus on test performances, schools are producing exclusionary practices at the same time as the schools intend to practise inclusive environments (Hamre, 2019; Slee,

2013a, 2013b). Engsig and Johnstone (2015) point out *the paradoxical inclusive policy* in Denmark that is embodied by Danish legislation on inclusive education (Inklusionsloven, 2012) that was accompanied by the unrolling of a political ambition that the majority of pupils in public school must be proficient in the national tests, which measure the same subjects as in the Programme for International Student Assessment, here forth PISA, and that the percentage of the most proficient students must increase every year. Thus, Engsig and Johnstone (2015) argue that the inclusion discourse in Denmark "*lies on a continuum that ranges from Salamanca-inspired, equity-focused inclusion to a more US-inspired, accountability-focused inclusion*" (p. 469).

The accountability focus on inclusion is stated in powerful global institution as the World Bank which argues for an inclusive school because of investment incitements. The World Bank Group for Education Strategy 2020 emphasises (World Bank, 2015):

- Invest early because the ability to learn throughout life is best acquired in early childhood.
- Invest smartly because national, family and donor resources are limited and must yield results.
- Invest for all because a nation can prosper only when all students including girls and disadvantaged groups can learn.

Nordic research literature (Haug, 2020a; Magnússon et al., 2019) finds that there is a contradiction between the inclusive school as a welfare benefit and the inclusive school as an economic rationale in terms of the citizens having to develop competences to maintain and develop the competition state (Pedersen, 2016). Questions arise as to whether these two understandings are opposites and incompatible, whether it is necessary to choose between them, or whether there is some way to prioritize.

These large-scale assessment-based activities influencing policy, research and practice are problematised by Pettersson, Popkewitz and Lindblad who elaborate on the matter in a systematic research review containing 11,000 articles on international large-scale assessment research (Pettersson et al., 2017). They point out that several activities, which they for analytical purpose call "grey-zone activities" are legitimised by the "*formal radar*" (ibid., p. 30) of science and governmental policy. These grey-zone activities have also had an impact on or have been the direct reason for developing large-scale measurement for education, for example, PISA assessment which has been the cause of introducing national tests in many countries including the Faroe Islands.

To summarise, the global neo-liberal accountability discourse has an impact on the efficacy discourse on inclusion, in the sense that the individualised cost-effective outcome of education has become the dominating discourse. This has had an impact on, for example, how teachers prioritise their practice between learning outcomes and inclusion, where learning outcomes are the prevailing barometer for professional success. The global, neo-liberal accountability discourse has had an impact on school policy and practice in many countries, for example, in Denmark and Iceland where research has found that the efficacy discourse is the dominant discourse, influenced by global neo-liberal school policy and large-scale assessment-based activities.

Although the Faroese school system is influenced by these global discourses and participates in PISA and has enrolled national tests, the efficacy discourse is not as dominant in the Faroe Islands as it is in Denmark and other countries. This might be due to a different school culture, close relations, views on children in a small-island society. These matters will be expanded on in chapters 4 and 10.

# 3.2.2 The ethical discourse

The rationale behind inclusive education is rooted in ethical values of social justice, as reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006). The concept of inclusive education is firmly grounded in the ethical discourse that advocates the right of all children, including those who are vulnerable to marginalisation, to receive education in regular schools. This supports the promotion of democracy and social justice, referred to as social welfare in Nordic countries, and as social justice and equity in the United States and the United Kingdom. In this sense, inclusive education is highly normative, and it is challenging to argue against it from an ethical perspective, potentially excluding a discourse on efficacy and practicality.

The European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education even states that the discussion has moved beyond the question of what inclusion is and why it is necessary; the primary concern now is how to achieve it (European Agency, 2014).

This self-prophetic argument in favour of inclusive education has been problematised by several researchers (e.g.Ainscow, 2020; Dyson, 1999; Haug, 2017). Dyson points out that being anchored in an ethical justification of inclusive education, the vison is based on answers rather than questions.

Haug (2017) has characterised the Salamanca Declaration as "... *a rhetorical masterpiece lacking consensus which is easy to accept and difficult to be against or even criticize*" (p. 207). Haug points out that the danger of promising too much is that the vison is "over-sold" in the sense that it is very difficult to fulfil in practice. Haug argues (ibid) that due to a lack of formal normative consensus, the empirical evidence for inclusion is ambiguous, which increases the discrepancy between ideals and practice.

Ainscow's "Whole System Approach" focuses on five interconnected factors that play a role in promoting inclusion and equity within education systems (Ainscow, 2020). These factors include inclusion and equity as principles, community involvement, use of evidence, administration, and school development (Ainscow, 2020). According to Ainscow (2020), these factors are linked within an *"ecology of equity"* (p. 9) which should frame and guide our thinking when working to improve equitable education systems (ibid.).

Ainscow highlights the dilemma that inclusive education is justified in both efficacy and ethical discourses and emphasizes the importance of evidence in supporting inclusive education. He notes that the challenge of using evidence lies in determining what types of evidence to collect and how to use it effectively. Ainscow suggests that a common understanding of what

constitutes inclusive education is necessary to accurately measure and value its impact (Ainscow, 2020). He defines inclusive education as a process concerned with identifying and removing barriers to the presence, participation, and achievement of all students, with a particular emphasis on those at risk of marginalisation or underachievement (Ainscow et al., 2006).

The ethical discourse argues that the benefit from inclusive schools is promoting equity and social justice and thus inclusive education can be a salvation to an unequal and unjust world (Ainscow, 2020). For example, in Iceland, the ethical discourse on inclusion is dominating and is also justified in the ideology of democracy and social justice (Biesta, 2007; Halldorsdottir Gudjonsson et al., 2016; Jónsson, 2016).

Inclusion is about the ideals and intentions of what schools ought to be (Brantlinger, 1997; Haug, 2020a; Magnússon, 2019). Leading on from this aim, inclusive education intends to solve challenges/problems in the school systems, which according to scholars (Florian, 2014a; Nusbaum, 2013) mainly stems from historical stigmatisation and exclusion of certain groups of children/pupils and a historical tradition of organising schools where special needs pedagogy and special needs education are separated from the general school system.

Although the vison on inclusive school can be considered as a "rhetoric masterpiece" (Haug, 2017) lacking realistic possibilities for practice, it can, as an organic ideology (Gramsci, 1971), inspire and provide direction for practice (Brantlinger, 1997). Brantlinger (1997) points out that *socially useful theories* are the outcome of communication between people's everyday activities and their visions of an equitable, humane society and if scholars fail to address deep cultural and structural causes of inequality, they are unlikely to have a constructive impact on the democratic ends that could be achieved through schooling (ibid). Thus, inclusion in practice involves deep considerations and negotiations about dilemmas and values. This dissertation considers the vison of inclusive education and inclusive schools as facilitating the discussion in policy and practice, and not as an end-goal.

Turning our gaze to how the vision on inclusion is communicated, and according to the extensive research literature on inclusive education worldwide, the vision on inclusion has almost drowned itself in words. However, in the Faroe Islands, the word *inclusion* almost does not exist, if one is to take the experts in and around the public school in the Faroe Islands seriously – as one of the informants in this study stated, *"the word 'inclusion' simply does not exist"* (Teacher, no. 28). (See also Part III on the analysis).

Since the principles of inclusive education are mainly justified in ethical discourses, these principles are classified by scholars as pure rhetoric that is difficult to practice (Haug, 2017; Magnússon, 2019). This due to other powerful discourses based on the pressure of measurable evidence of the outcome of education. Thus, there is a need for a common language on the principle and practice of inclusive education (Booth et al., 2004) as the ethical discourse on inclusive education is fading into the shadow of an accountability discourse on schooling. Scholars of inclusive education in Denmark have indicated that the ethical discourse as a rationale for developing inclusive education in Denmark has been overtaken by the efficacy or accountability discourse (Engsig & Johnstone, 2015).

In Faroe Islands, the ethical discourse seems to be the most dominant discourse concerning arguments for the inclusive school, whereas the discourses within the realisation dimension are fading into the shadow (see the analysis in Part III).

#### 3.2.3 The political discourse

The political discourse is affected by many different views, influences, and negotiations among stakeholders in and surrounding the school system and political actors in a complex web of international policy documents and local legislation, regulations, curricula, and structures of the educational system. However, from a broad perspective, politics can be viewed as statements about practice intended to bring ideal solutions to diagnosed problems (Bacchi, 2012; Ball, 2006a; Ball, 2011).

If viewing inclusive education as the ideal solution to diagnosed problems, one of the tools to operationalise the solution to change from a traditional separate special needs education system to an inclusive school system can only arise from political efforts and debates. The Salamanca Statement states that "government must give the highest policy and budgetary priority to improve education service so that all children could be included" (1994). Therefore, the Salamanca Statement calls for a total reform of the entire school system to realise this aim. However, efforts and negotiation among stakeholders and political actors are needed to realise these reforms. Hardy and Woodcock point out that discourses of inclusion in international and national contexts are varied, and there needs to be more consistency in how issues of inclusion are understood and portrayed in policy within and across many national settings (Hardy & Woodcock, 2015). The goal of The Salamanca Statement is to comprehensively reform the educational system, which can only be achieved through collaboration and negotiation among stakeholders and political entities. Hardy and Woodcock's observation of diversity in the discourse of inclusion highlights the need for a consistent approach to education reform. However, transferring, translating, and transforming a political vision into local policy and practice can be complex and challenging (Cowen, 2006; 2009), as the upcoming chapter 4, situating the research in the Faroe Islands, will discuss.

Magnússon, Gøransson and Lindquvist (Magnússon et al., 2019) argue that research about inclusive education is insufficient without analysis of the context of national educational policy. They point out that research concerning inclusive education, both in practice and at a system level development, must acknowledge the currents of political prioritisation and the development of policy environment, not only as regards inclusive education must be realised in contexts where options for action are restricted by several and often contradictory educational policies on different levels of the education system (Magnússon et al., 2019). They argue that inclusive education as a policy phenomenon contains a range of ideas about the purpose of education, the content of education and the organisation of education, which compete with other political ideals regarding education.

Thus, the political discourse concerning inclusive education must be seen as competing with other present issues on the overall political agenda and rooted in the historical, environmental,

and cultural environment of the situation in focus. As a result of compromises and political adaptions over a period (Ball, 2006b),⁷ policy is also a matter of interpretation and enactment (Ball et al., 2012). The transfer, translation and transformation of the global vision of inclusion into practice in the local environment are dynamic and is a matter of interaction between policy and practice informing each other and adapting accordingly over time. From that perspective, it is not surprising that the education system does not present a uniform image as regards inclusive education.

Researchers regard local policy on inclusive education as being blurred and pointing in different directions whereas other issues tend to be prioritised on the political agenda, for example in Denmark (Engsig & Johnstone, 2015), Sweden (Magnússon et al., 2019) and Iceland (Köpfer & Óskarsdóttir, 2019). Imsen, Blossing and Moos (Imsen et al., 2017) point out that the Nordic education model, as an essential part of the social democratic welfare state, is strongly influenced by international agencies, which has drawn education from the realm of politics into a global marketplace that affects the values of the Nordic model. Thus these influences by international agencies on local educational policies have support increased segregation and social differences leading to increased exclusion, unequal opportunities, and less democratic participation (Imsen et al., 2017). The Nordic education model in Scandinavian countries has, therefore, been vulnerable since the turn of the current millennium (ibid.), as the research cited here shows how the political discourse on inclusive education competes with other political issues and agendas.

Óskarsdóttir (2019) argues that for inclusive education to become a sustainable phenomenon integrated within the school system, those who have the power to shape schools must come together in a learning community to discuss and develop inclusive practices with the aim of meeting the needs of all learners. Without a deep and ideological conversation about inclusive practice and pedagogy in schools, inclusive education will not happen (Brantlinger, 1997; Óskarsdóttir, 2019). Óskarsdóttir (ibid.) stresses that in Iceland one of the problems is that inclusion is in the hands of those in charge of special needs education. Addressing the ideological clash, which they explain has to do with how various ideologies and practices, for example, inclusion and individualised learning, have piled up in the discourse, which creates patterns of contradictions and results in ideologies and practices being driven forward in contrast or opposition of each other. They argue that new policy emphasis on inclusion has been added to the old ones without mutual agreement as to how these ideas should be assimilated in an effort to reform the school community (Gunnþórsdóttir & Jóhannesson, 2014).

# 3.2.4 The pragmatic discourse

The pragmatic discourse focuses on organisation, strategies, methods, and pedagogical practices that can be used to promote and realise the criteria for inclusion. The discourse on pragmatic aspects of inclusion is occupied by and argues for finding best practices concerning inclusive education and inclusive school with a focus on organisations, systems, structures,

⁷ Ball distinguish policy between policy as text and policy as discourse, referring to Foucault's interpretation of discourses (Ball, 2006b).

strategies, professionalism, practice, and an ethos which are distinctively different from noninclusive schools. There is a large body of research in inclusive education, which has resulted in handbooks of guidelines and recommendations on how to develop inclusive education (Ainscow, 2020; Booth et al., 2004; Mitchell, 2013; Mitchell, 2018). These guidelines represent a wish for an evidence-based approach – or a wish to pick up the 'right' practice to develop the inclusive school as opposed to the political realisation dimension which is characterised as a battle of visions, values, and resources.

As comparative international research from European regional data has shown (Norwich, 2008), there is a correlation between population density and percentage of children attending special needs classes, which indicates that when the population is densea higher percentage of children attend special needs classes or special needs schools. The Faroe Islands comprises many small settlements scattered across the islands, and this may explain the relatively low number of pupils in special needs schools and special needs classes. The same applies in Iceland (Óskarsdóttir, 2019).

Since the beginnings of the inclusive education concept, there has been a gap between the understanding inclusive education and its realisations (Hardy & Woodcock, 2015; Haug, 2017). Some researchers have suggested collaboration to be a solution to the widening gap between ideas and practices (Ainscow, 2020; Florian, 2014a).

A research project in Denmark (Hansen et al., 2020) on how collaboration of professionals constitutes inclusion and exclusion processes compared different understandings of aims and problems in the work with inclusion. A conclusion from this study was that understandings of problems related to inclusive school development rarely involve changing the professional practice. Based on that, the research concludes that to develop inclusive education it is necessary to involve a process of transforming general and special needs education into inclusive education, which requires changes in content, teaching methods, approaches, structures, and strategies in education: "*In order to succeed, classroom practice is only one sub-practice among many sub-practices in a school practice that needs to be transformed*" (Hansen et al., 2020, p. 47).

Magnússon et al. (2019) show that, in Sweden, even though school professionals were committed to the vison on inclusive education policy, openness to school policy interpretation led to and allowed organisational approaches that are not in line with ambitions to reduce segregating and excluding practices. The goals of inclusion seem difficult for schools to achieve, in part due to the room of interpretation given at every level of the school system (Magnússon et al., 2019).

# 3.3 The horizontal and the vertical dimension of inclusion

This research focuses on transferring, translating and transforming principles and visions into educational practice. Haug (2017) explains the obstacles in this process by distinguishing between the horizontal and vertical dimensions of inclusion. The horizontal dimension encompasses the strategies and operationalisation of inclusive education, while the vertical dimension focuses on the system level, such as the organisational, administrative, and political

aspects. Haug emphasises that it is only by combining both dimensions that inclusion can be fully understood and practised, but this has proven challenging.

Haug (2020a) highlights the need for coherence in the vertical inclusion dimension. He claims that the inclusive rhetoric and high ambitions in Norwegian school policy have failed to develop inclusive schools. This can be attributed to the narrow and standardised measures that schools use, which do not meet the needs of some groups of pupils.

Florian (2014a) notes that the discourse on special needs education has been based on historical issues rather than breaking away from traditions. This is also evident in the Faroe Islands, where the classic conception of special needs education still prevails, and the discourse is based on historical issues (Hansen, 1996) instead of challenging established practices (see also chapters 4 and 14).

# 3.4 Different approaches and understanding of inclusive education

Internationally, we see both a narrow and a broad definition of inclusion (Ainscow et al., 2006; Tetler, 2019). The narrow definition includes certain groups of pupils, that is, pupils with special needs. In contrast, the broad definition of inclusion focuses on creating inclusive environments to meet the diversity of the whole pupil group.

Göransson and Nilholm (2014) have identified four different understandings of inclusive education, which are 1. inclusion as the placement of pupils with disabilities in mainstream classrooms, 2. inclusion as meeting the social/academic needs of pupils with disabilities, 3. inclusion as meeting the social/academic needs of all pupils and 4. inclusion as the creation of communities.



#### Figure 2 Different understandings and approaches to inclusion

Source: Göransson and Nilholm (2014); Haug (2017) Note: 4 different understandings of inclusion combined with a narrow and broad approach The figure above illustrates the four different understandings of inclusion combined with the narrow and broad approach. The narrow understanding of inclusion has only special educational needs in focus. This approach has been the dominant approach for decades because of the emphasis solely on placement and organisation to design special needs education. The second understanding of inclusion within the narrow approach concerns the best place for learning. The benefit then becomes superior to fellowship and participation. The broad definition of inclusion focuses on all pupils in risk of marginalisation. The second definition of inclusion within the broad definition focuses on using inclusive education to stimulate and promote society to be inclusive (Haug, 2017).

As seen in the figure, the different understandings and approaches can be seen as a progression in mindset towards special needs education and inclusive education. That is to say that the narrow approach is influenced by an old classic perception of special needs education. Researchers in inclusive and exclusive processes generally accept that special needs education must be combined and integrated into *an inclusive school*, for example by the concept of moderate inclusion (Norwich, 2013) and inclusive special needs education (Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2013). Moving on and making changes demands a break from the established conception of special needs education and general education and would presuppose a complete change in school policy and practice (Florian, 2014a). To affect all students positively, at least the broad definition of inclusion will demand a profound change in school structure and mentality (Haug, 2017). Different approaches to inclusion give birth to different dilemmas.

The level of understanding of inclusive education impacts the challenges there are to moving towards inclusive directions – as the level of understanding raises a discourse on the difference between (Florian, 2014a) and feeds dilemmas between general education and special needs education.

# 3.5 Special needs education and general education

On the theorising of special needs education (Clark et al., 1998) point out that:

[S]pecial needs education in a given national or local context—are actually the product of multiple forces and processes which temporarily find a point of resolution, but which create endemic stresses in that resolution which ultimately cause it to break apart (p. 170)

Clark et al. (1998, p. 170-171) analysis of special needs education identifies three dimensions of special needs education including a *"complexity dimension"* both in terms of practice and in terms of complex processes which produce it, a *"historical dimension"* as a way to explore how special needs education has been produced/developed and giving possibilities to reflect on how special needs education can develop or change in the future and a *"power dimension"*, which is about how power works in the production of special needs education. Clark et al. (1998) suggest it is time to reconnect special needs education with general education and to move on from respectively the individualistic, social constructivist and post-positive paradigm to a theoretical position which emphasises the connection between special needs education and fundamental educational issues. This position calls for an analysis of special needs education.

Brantlinger (1997) highlights the dichotomy between the so called traditionalists who advocate two separated approaches to education (one approach for general education and one for special need education) and the inclusionists who advocate reforms towards a more inclusive school. The gap between these two poles has been especially unfolded in the ethical and efficacy discourse, where the traditionalists have accused the inclusionists of being naive, dreamers and radical, while the inclusionists have accused the traditionalists of being conservative (Brantlinger, 1997). Florian highlights (2014a) the problem of "difference discourse":

[...] difference, deviance, ability and what is considered normal, interact in ways that produce, sustain, and reproduce the dilemmas of access and equity in education that special education was intended to address. As one of the mechanisms by which schools accommodate diversity, special education, as currently construed, reinforces the exclusionary practices of general education, in part because it relies on a "difference discourse" that essentially, though not entirely, agrees with the mainstream view that some children are qualitatively different from others and therefore require something different from that which is available to the majority (p. 11).

Florian (2014a) argues that the problem is that the history of "*a dual system has become part* of the field's view of itself rather than a history of the struggle to achieve education for all" (p. 15).

Norwich (2014) points out the interdependence of the special educational needs system with other key aspects of the school system where special educational needs and disability policy and practice are caught up in powerful political and economic dynamics (see a model of the interdependence of special educational needs with other key aspects of the school system in chapter 14.3).

Norwich (2008) argues that the basic dilemma in inclusive education discourse is whether to recognise or not to recognise differences. He points out that both options have some negative implications dealing with marginalisation, stigma, and deprivation of opportunities.

The basic dilemma of difference is whether to recognise or not to recognise differences, as either way there are negative implications or risks associated with stigma, devaluation, rejection or denial of relevant opportunities. (Norwich, 2008, p. 1).

Norwich (2013) argues that tensions and dilemmas must be addressed and worked. He further asserts that good policy making requires transparency about plural values, and how they relate to and affect decision-making: "*This is a challenge to how democracies work and has a major effect on education and inclusive education*" (p. 15). According to Norwich tensions between values are largely overlooked in educational practice and in relevant policies.

Nusbaum (2013) highlights the lack of dialogue as a dilemma in so-called inclusive schools that have segregated classes in the general school. She points out that lack of dialogue about the dilemmatic aspects of being an inclusive school while segregating some pupils in special pedagogical and educational needs leads to legitimising the systematic exclusion of pupils in the segregated classes without being confronted with the marginalisation and stigmatisation that the silence and absence of dialogue led to. Nusbaum (ibid.) goes on to argue that the silent

acceptance has led to normalising discourses that qualified or disqualified certain pupils and that this understanding of disability and difference became the prevailing one among teachers.

With a broad understanding of inclusion which concerns a more radical change of the school, demands are made for the transforming of inclusive measures. These initiatives implicitly include built-in dilemmas between general pedagogy and special pedagogy, which present concrete challenges for the development of inclusive practices. To handle these built-in dilemmas and ensure all children an optimal development on their own terms, there is a need to turn our gaze towards the pupils and what it means to be included, as one of the informants in the empirical material of the present research study states:

No one is questioning the rights of all children to be part of the general school. But from this standpoint and to really get the feeling inside the child that you are a part of the school is difficult. (Special needs teacher, no. 27)

# 3.6 Zooming in on the pupil

Although the Salamanca Statement aims to improve special needs education, the definition of pupil groups in focus is blurred. Sometimes the Salamanca Statement refers to pupils in special need and sometimes refers to all pupils who are vulnerable to marginalisation.

The guiding principle that informs this Framework [in the Salamanca Statement, red.] is that schools should accommodate all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic, or other conditions. This should include disabled and gifted children, street and working children, children from remote or nomadic populations, children from linguistic, ethnic, or cultural minorities and children from other disadvantaged or marginalized areas or groups. These conditions create a range of different challenges to school systems. In the context of this Framework, the term 'special educational needs' refers to all those children and youth whose needs arise from disabilities or learning difficulties. (The Salamanca Statement, 1994, point 3)

Thus, the focus group moved from just merely including children in special educational need to everybody potentially at risk of marginalisation and exclusion. As a result of the need to redefine the category of pupils vulnerable to marginalisation, the OECD (2007) identified three types of potentially marginalised pupils, which the organisation described as 1) *disabilities*, referring to educational needs arising from these disabilities; 2) *difficulties*, referring to behavioural or emotional challenges; and 3) *disadvantages* arising primarily from socio-economic, cultural, and/or linguistic factors (p. 20).

There is a lack of research literature on pupils' experiences of being included. The research that does exist on this matter primarily focuses on pupils in special pedagogical and educational need and their experiences of being included / excluded (Lewis & Porter, 2004; Skovlund, 2019; Vetoniemi & Kärnä, 2021).

The profound question in any research on inclusive schooling is the question of how inclusive pedagogy, inclusive education and inclusive environments can be measured. To answer that question, we need research questions pointing at the user of the school system, namely the pupils. To frame the interview guide to the pupils in the present study, I used Peter Farrell's

(2004) four conditions to that must prevail and be applied to all pupils in school if school are to be categorized as truly inclusive.

These conditions are physical presence in *their* local institution, acceptance and recognition from the institution's employees and other children, active participation in the community's activities and space for positive self-development (professional, social and personality). If schools are to be characterised as inclusive, it is necessary, according to Farrell (ibid.), that the school welcomes all pupils as full and active participants in the school community, where there is room for positive self-development.

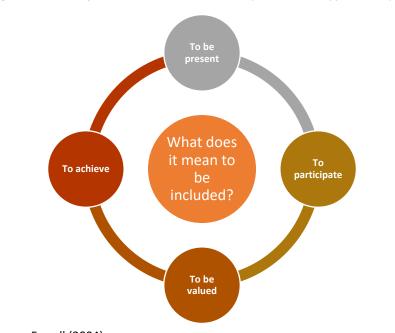


Figure 3 Conditions for the inclusive school that must prevail and be applied to all pupils

To train teachers in practice *responding to increasing student diversity*, a training module based on observations has been developed – the *Student Membership Snapshot (SMS)* system (Rivers, 1995). This modular system was developed in the USA in 1995 by Dianne L. Ferguson et al (Rivers, 1995). With inspiration from this material, K. Baltzer, S. Tetler and C. Boye together with D. Fergusson developed an observation tool adaptable to the Danish school system in 2012, to identify challenges in the learning environment as experienced/faced by some pupils (Baltzer et al., 2012). Together with the observation tool, the model suggests how to work with improvement and solutions to promote inclusive environments and education (Baltzer et al., 2012). In explaining the results of these measures, Ferguson (1992, p.20) states that "*They are in, but not of the class*". A children/pupils as researchers approach to research provides children's view as well as interviewing children (Lewis & Porter, 2004). Results from my empirical material gained by interviewing children reveal children's perspectives on differences and inclusion. The discourse among the professionals (adults) and the discourse among children differs, underpinning different understandings of difference, and can provide nuanced perspectives by asking different questions. What is the children's perspective on the

Source: Farrell (2004).

four conditions put forward by Farrell (2004), what is the school for children, and what could it be? Thus, these principles can also work as indicators for if and how a school system is experienced as inclusive by its users (pupils and parents).

### 3.7 Summing up the state of the art

This chapter has provided insight into the current state of knowledge, focusing on trends in developing inclusive education from the perspectives of international researchers in the field. Simultaneously, this literature review has directed its focus on the relevance of this research to the Faroese situation, where research in inclusive education is nearly unexplored. Using a grounded, ecological, and situational approach to the research, the literature review has an interdisciplinary approach. This implies that the review has incorporated both literature on political, ethical, pragmatic and efficacy dimensions of developing inclusive education. Additionally, the focus has been on literature concerning dilemmas between special needs education and general education as a significant aspect of understanding the development inclusive education. Lastly, the literature review has focused on existing research on understanding how inclusive education can be understood and approached through pupils' perspectives. Thus, with the research questions in focus, the research review has elaborated on policy, practice, and dilemmas concerning inclusive school development. Chapter 4, which situates the research in the Faroe Islands, will present historical and research literature on small-island studies and the Faroe Islands.

# Chapter 4. Situating the research in the Faroe Islands

This chapter sets the scene for this research, as the Faroe Islands will act as an analytical entity for this research. Hence this chapter will provide analytical threads to the empirical material sought in the different social worlds and arenas (see chapter 6) by zooming in on the distinguishing features of the Faroese situation. This is done by presenting relevant existing historical and research literature concerning the Faroe Islands and studies on special features of small societies. The chapter will highlight three perspectives and is divided according to these perspectives:

1. *The Faroe Islands in place and space:* The special feature of movements between the local and global and between tradition and modernity in place and space.

2. *Making school policy and practice in very small societies:* Zooms in on the special feature of policy-making and practice in very small societies.

*3. Developing a Faroese public school:* Focus is on how school policy and practice concerning general school and special needs education have developed throughout history.

# 4.1 The Faroe Islands in place and space

The Faroe Islands lies between Norway, Scotland, and Iceland and is one of the three West Nordic countries, which also comprise Greenland and Iceland. The Faroe Islands is the smallest of the West Nordic countries and consists of 18 islands (17 inhabited), with a total land area of 1,396 square kilometres and a sea area of 274,000 square kilometres.



Figure 4 Faroe Islands on the map

Source: Faroe Islands.fo

With a population of 53,800 (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2022a), the Faroe Islands can indeed be classified as a small society, even though there is a lack of agreed definition for small or micro-

societies. Grydehøj (2018, pp. 71-72) operates with a threshold of 100,000 inhabitants, arguing that these are "very small polities" compared to, for example, the Commonwealth, which works with a definition of microstates with less than 1.5 mill. inhabitants (The Commonwealth, 2022). There is a vast difference between a population of 1.5 million and 53,800, and thus I will use the term 'very small society'.

Despite being a part of the Danish realm, the Faroe Islands is a largely independent political entity because of its status as an independent political unit based on "The Home Rule policy jurisdictions" (West, 2018). West (2018) argues that:

The Home Rule system is formulated in a way that independent parts of the system are under total control by the Faroese political system. Overall, the Home Rule system re-introduced a legislatively empowered parliament, but also laid the foundation of a new political system, consisting of a parliament as well as a government. (p. 79).

As a very small society, the Faroe Islands is not a sovereign state but functions in almost all political affairs as a microstate (Hovgaard et al., 2014). Although the Faroe Islands might be characterised as a jurisdiction entity⁸ (West, 2018), the jurisdictional situation in the Faroe Islands is complex due to the multifaceted dependency relations with Denmark. Thus, the term "sub-jurisdiction" would perhaps be more accurate.

Today, there are around 30 semi-sovereign islands societies in the world with 60,000 or fewer inhabitants, among them Greenland and Faroe Islands (Hovgaard et al., 2014). Besides being a very small society, the Faroe Islands shares similarities with the Nordic countries by, for example, having adopted, to some extent, the Nordic welfare model (Jákupsstovu, 2007) (see also chapter 4.2.4).

Having had ancient parliamentary traditions since before the year 900 (West, 2018), the Faroe Islands is a democracy, like almost all small islands jurisdictions worldwide (Veenendaal, 2020). Despite having a long tradition of self-governance, the Faroe Islands is influenced by and has adopted several of Denmark's political-institutional frameworks, which has rarely been modified to suit the small-island context (Sutton, 2007; Veenendaal, 2020). The Faroe Islands is not formally a former colony of Denmark, referring to the UN definition of a colony⁹, as Denmark did not report the Faroe Islands (or Greenland¹⁰) as colonies (Justinussen, 2019). Furthermore, Koci & Baar (2021) states that the Faroe Islands, like Iceland which gained independence from Denmark in 1944, was not considered a colony formally. However, the Faroe Islands arguably has colonial structures, although the post-colonial development has been different for the three West Nordic countries (the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Iceland) in the context of local culture, ethnicity, and language development (Adler-Nielsen, 2014; Kočí & Baar, 2021; Mitchinson, 2010, 2012).

⁹ Defined after the 2nd W.W.

¹⁰ Denmark later reported Greenland as a former colony.

The population in the Faroe Islands is spread over more than 100 villages organised in 29 municipalities, and around 40% live in the capital area of Tórshavn. Today, the living standard in the Faroe Islands, by the measure of gross domestic product (GDP), is among the highest in the world. The Faroese Government explains this is due to a highly industrial economy mainly based on fisheries and aquaculture (Føroya Landstýri, 2022).

The Faroe Islands' language is Faroese, a Germanic language derived from Norse between the 9th and 15th centuries. Until the 15th century, the Faroese had an orthography like Icelandic and Norwegian. However, after the Reformation in 1536, Denmark outlawed using the Faroese language in schools, churches, and official documents (Sølvará, 2016). Nevertheless, the Faroese people continue to use the language in ballads, folktales, and everyday life. This maintained a rich spoken tradition, but for almost 300 years, the Faroese language was not used in written form (Føroya Landsstýri, 2022b). In 1846, the Faroese language was reconstructed as a written language by Faroese and Icelandic scholars but only got equal rights with Danish in the school and church in 1939 (Sølvará, 2016). In 1948, Faroese became the '*main*' language in the Faroe Islands (Sølvará, 2016, p. 10).

In 1948, the Faroe Islands gained a home-rule resolution (Heimastýrislógin, 1948) after being under the sovereign rule of Denmark for several hundred years. West (2018) points out that scholars (e.g. Adler-Nielsen, 2014) refer to the Home Rule Act as being one of the most advanced self-governing arrangements for overseas regions today (West, 2018). With the Home Rule Act, the Faroese Government, consisting of a democratically elected parliament, Løgtingið, regained its former status as a legislative power (ibid.), and the newly established Landsstýrið achieved administrative power over Faroese policy areas. Through the Home Rule Act, the Faroese have gradually moved towards autonomy with gradual detachment stated in a so-called 'positive takeover list', which means progressively taking over jurisdictions. Through the Home Rule Act, the Faroe Islands controls most jurisdictions, including education.

In 2005, the Takeover Act (Yvirtøkulógin, 2005) came into force, stating five exemptions to Faroese jurisdiction. These are the constitution, citizenship, the Supreme Court, currency, foreign affairs, security policy, and defence policy (Yvirtøkulógin, 2005). Although education and most of the social and welfare sector jurisdictions are Faroese today, there are, some areas of joint responsibility.

The Faroe Islands still receives an annual block grant from Denmark, which, including the financing of Danish institutions in the Faroe Islands, is about 5% of GDP or 10% of the Faroese national expenses (West, 2018). This subsidy has decreased radically on the initiative of the Faroe Islands. In 2020, the subsidy made up 2% of the current Faroese GDP, compared to 11.2% in 2000, and it funded 9.5% of the national budget in 2020, compared to 28.7% in 2000 (Føroya Landsstýri, 2022a).

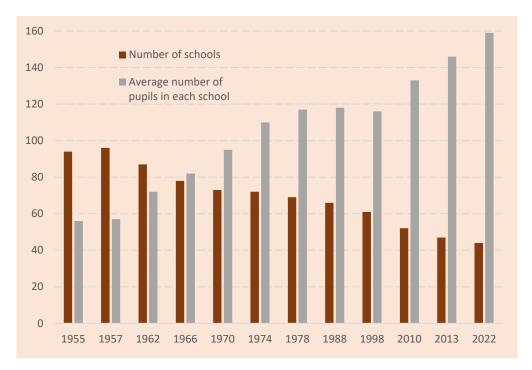
Hovgaard et al. (2014) point out that this gradual sovereignty has been possible because the Faroe Islands has never been a fully integrated part of Denmark, the Faroese Parliament having autonomy in deciding which public sectors to take responsibility for and how to finance them

(Hovgaard et al., 2014). Apart from the Takeover Act of 2005, the Foreign Policy Authority Act (Lóg um altjóðarættarligu sáttmálar, 2005) also came into force in 2005. While the Foreign Policy Authority Act of 2005 allowed the Faroe Islands to participate in the international arena (West, 2018, p. 79) concerning Home Rule jurisdictions (Section 1) and as the Kingdom of Denmark, concerning Faroe Islands (Section 2), it did not entail taking over foreign policy. Thus, the Faroe Islands has its own agreements, for example, regarding the EU and joins several international organisations as an autonomous actor, for example, UNESCO and other international agreements and conventions, for example, the conventions on Children's Rights (1989) and the Rights of the Persons with Disabilities (2006).

# 4.1.1 A picture of the Faroese public school

Today, the Faroese school system is under Faroese jurisdictions and is financed by the Faroese Government. Nevertheless, as part of the Kingdom of Denmark, the school system in the Faroe Islands has evolved under a strong influence of Danish school legislation and school development, as the Faroese school system was a subject of Danish affairs until 1979, when the Faroe Islands gained authority over the school system (Nielsen, 1998; Petersen, 1994). Although strongly influenced by Denmark legislatively and administratively, the school has been Faroese culturally to a wide extent (Hovgaard et al., 2014; Jákupsstovu, 2007) (For more information on the Faroese school system and the special educational needs area, see chapter 4.3).

The Faroe Islands provides compulsory schooling from first to ninth grade as well as the optional tenth year. Some of the schools also offer optional preschool education. Public schools are regulated by the Faroese legislation from 1997 on public schools (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997). There is one special educational needs school in the Faroe Islands, which has its own legislation (Serskúlalógin, 2005).



#### Figure 5 Number of public schools in the Faroe Islands

Source: *Tilmælið um skúlabygnað og læriumstøður* (Mentamálaráðið, 2014a) and number of schools in 2022 is taken from (Undirvísingarstýrið, 2022).

The figure above is taken from recommendations on school structure and learning environments in the Faroese public school to the Ministry of Education (Mentamálaráðið, 2014a). In these recommendations, it is stated that in the last sixty years the number of schools has been reduced by half, while the average number of pupils in each school has almost tripled. Furthermore, the recommendation says that (my translation from Faroese)¹¹:

The idea in the Faroes has been, that the pupils as far as possible should receive basic education in their home village, and in the late 19th and early 20th centuries schools were built in many villages. Also traveling teachers were appointed, where the teacher taught in several schools as well as in schools that were on several islands. As a main rule it was the teacher, who moved between schools and not the pupils. The school and the church were the transmitters of culture and information (upplysing). It has taken a lot of time to change the cultural heritage of teaching locally, despite the road network running throughout the country, and public transportation options being available. There have been some initiatives to decrease the number of schools, for example in the sixty and seventy years, but since then number of schools has been fairly stable, until recently when municipalities have voluntarily merged or when the number of children in the periphery has decreased so much that there are no children left in the village

¹¹ Søguliga gongdin seinastu seksti árini er, at skúlatalið er fækkað niður í helvt, meðan miðal næmingatalið fyri hvønn skúla er næstan trífaldað. Hugburðurin í Føroyum hevur verið, sum stabbamyndin omanfyri vísir, at næmingarnir so vítt gjørligt skuldu fáa undirvísing í síni heimbygd, og tí vóru síðst í 19. og fyrst í 20. øld skúlar bygdir í nógvum bygdum. Eisini vórðu ferðalærara størv skipað, har lærarin undirvísti í fleiri skúlum eisini í skúlum, ið ikki vóru í somu oyggj. Tað var sum meginregla lærarin, sum flutti millum skúlar og ikki næmingarnir. Skúli og kirkja vóru mentanarberar og karmar um upplýsing og mentan. Tað hevur tikið drúgva tíð at nomið við henda siðaarv við undirvísing á staðnum, hóast vegakervið røkkur um alt landið, og almennir flutningsmøguleikar eru tøkir. Tað hava tó verið gjørdar nakrar royndir at minka um skúlatalið m.a. í seksti og sjeyti árunum, men síðani hevur skúlatalið verið rættiliga støðugt, til kommunur seinastu árini sjálvbodnar hava lagt saman, ella at barnatalið í útjaðaranum er so nógv minkað, at eingi børn hava verið eftir í bygdini ella, at foreldur hava valt at skriva børn síni inn í ein størri skúla (Mentamálaráðið. (2014a). *Tilmæli um skúlabygnað og læriumstøður*. Faroe Islands: Mentamálaráðið.

or that parents have chosen to enrol their children in one of the bigger schools (Mentamálaráðið, 2014a, p. 12).

In the school year 2022/2023, there are 41 public schools, one special educational needs school, and three private schools. As seen in the figure above, the number of schools has decreased over the years. In 1957, there were 97 schools in the Faroes with an average number of pupils of 57, while the number as of today is 44 with an average number of pupils of 159. The size of the schools varies as there are two schools with more than 700 pupils and one school has just one pupil (Undirvísingarstýrið, 2022).

In recent years, that is, from the 1960's and to the present, the Faroe Islands has integrated almost every child as close to their home as possible, although there has been one special educational needs school, which started as a school for pupils with hearing disability in 1962. Previously, pupils with special educational needs were sent to Denmark (see also chapter 4.4.3). The total number of public school pupils is about 7000 in the Faroe Islands. In recent years, special needs classes for pupils with special educational needs have been established within the public schools around the Faroe Islands with the intent of offering special needs education within the local general school.

The map below (figure 6) shows the location of all the public and private schools and the special educational needs settings in the Faroe Islands. The map depicts schools with special needs classes in red, public schools in green, and private schools in blue. Lastly, the special educational needs school is marked in orange (Nám, 2022a).

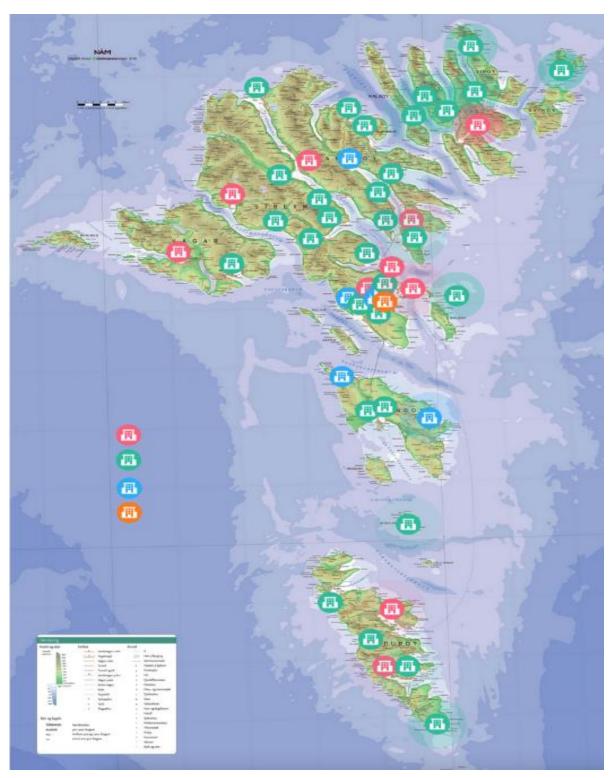


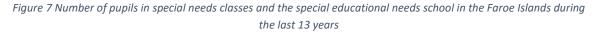
Figure 6 Overview of all the public and private schools, and the special educational needs school in the Faroe Islands

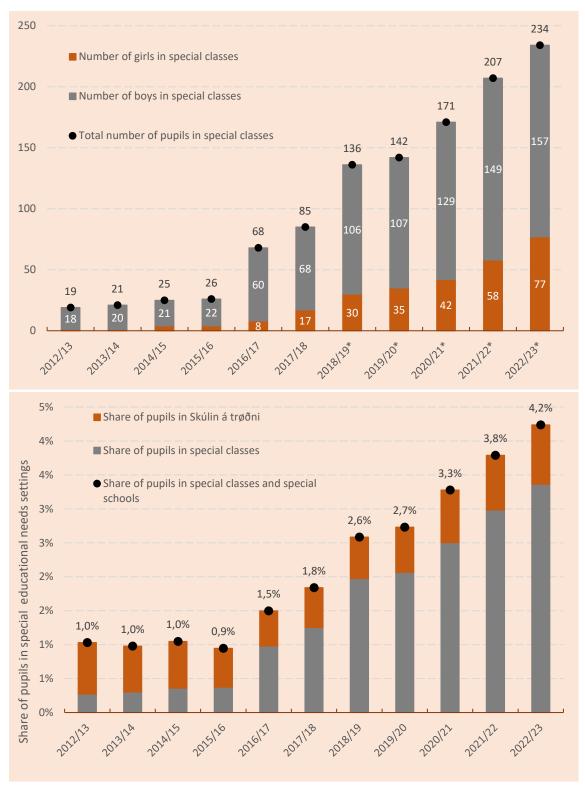
Source: Nám (2022b)

Note: This map of the Faroe Islands depicts an overview of all public, private, and special educational needs schools. Schools with special educational needs classes are marked with red, public schools are marked with green, and private schools are marked with blue. Lastly, the special educational needs school is marked with orange.

All the schools in the Faroe Islands as of the school year 2022/23 are illustrated on the map. As seen, schools are in almost all areas and islands, even though the transport infrastructure today means school locations could be centralised as the infrastructure has been improved with ferries, bridges, tunnels, and undersea tunnels to connect almost all the islands within a reach of a maximum of a couple of hours (but centralising and reducing the number of schools would go against the tradition of children receiving basic education in their home village).

As illustrated in the figure (7) below, there is a remarkable increase in the number of pupils attending special educational needs settings in recent years. Especially after 2016, when the number of special needs classes really started to grow. As of the school year 2022/23, approximately 4,2 % of the total number of pupils in the Faroese public school are in special educational needs settings.





Source: Undirvísingarstýrið (2022)

Note: *Including Lopfjølin: 4 girls and 6 boys are in special needs classes in Lopfjølin 2018/19, 8 girls and one boy in 2019/20, 9 girls and 2 boys in 2020/21, 9 girls and 3 boys in 2021/22, and 8 girls and 8 boys in 2022/23.

As mentioned above, historically schools have been established in almost every village, and there is only one dedicated special educational needs school, which hosts less than 1% of the total amount of pupils. The number of schools has decreased radically while the number of segregated settings has been increasing in recent years, now accounting for 4.2 % of all the pupils in the Faroese public schools. I will return to the development of the school system in chapter 4.3. In the following section, I will dwell on changing patterns in Faroese society that are considered significant for developing inclusive education in the Faroese public schools.

#### 4.1.2 The Faroese society and culture

If we follow the threads of how the infrastructures of public school in the Faroe Islands have developed, the infrastructure to a large extent has maintained its geographically dispersed and localised character, despite the transport infrastructures having connected island localities that were once remote from each other. Thus, it has taken a long time to change the cultural heritage of locating schools locally, despite improved infrastructure (Mentamálaráðið, 2014a, p. 12). The improved infrastructure both locally and globally has had an impact on the Faroes situation - also concerning the composition of pupils. This might have had an impact on the discussion on developing inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands, due to improved transport possibilities abroad and due to improvements in the infrastructure in Faroe Islands. Thus, today the Faroese frequently move to places/villages where they do not have any family relations. Additionally, it has been more common in recent years to find people with other ethnic background than Faroese in the Faroe Islands. Immigration is a recent phenomenon, in 2022 4% of the 53,800 inhabitants had other citizenship than Nordic, counting 122 different citizenships (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2022a). Although immigration is increasing, scholars in Faroese society and culture (e.g. Hayfield, 2018) point out that the Faroe Islands can hardly be considered a multiethnic society. Additionally, Faroese society has also been a relatively socially equal society, and as of today, is the most equal society among the Nordic countries according to the "Gini index¹²" (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2022b).

On the other hand, the Faroese have a long tradition and history of migration (Gaini, 2015; Hayfield, 2017; Knudsen, 2016), especially to Denmark due to the historical dependency. Based on figures from Statistics Faroe Islands from 2011, Hayfield (2018) points out that almost 40% of the population and two thirds of 30–44-year-olds, mainly Faroese, have lived elsewhere, which indicates that the Faroese have a long tradition of migrating.

Despite this tradition of migration, the Faroe Islands must still be characterised as a traditional society with "late-modern characteristics" (Johannesen, 2012, p. 32) and as being in a transition "*moving between tradition and modernity, between local and global society*" (Gaini, 2015, p. 27). Researchers in Faroese society and culture additionally indicate that Faroese society is slowly moving from a traditional Christian and male-dominated society into a more secular and gender-equal society (Gaini, 2015; Jákupsstovu, 2007; Skorini et al., 2022). This point is strengthened by the research of Skorini et al. (2022), where they argue that the Faroe Islands

¹² The **Gini coefficient** is used as a measure of income inequality. If all citizens in a country have the same income, the country's income Gini coefficient would be 0. If one household earns all of the country's income, the income Gini coefficient would be 100.

is in the middle of a value-political cultural struggle, where old norms are being challenged by new demands and values (see also chapter 12). For example with the ongoing struggle for the rights of LGBT and other minorities, which may lead to an increased urge and pressure for more cultural and religious diversity (Skorini et al., 2022, p. 4). Skorini et al. (2022) point out that the cultural struggle is primarily based on the role and function of Christianity in Faroese politics, culture, and society, as the Christianity in Faroe Islands is much more dominant here compared to other Nordic countries.

# 4.1.3 A family-based society

Gaini (2009) points out that the Faroe Islands is still "family based", where "family capital" matters lot. Further strengthening the point that family is highly prioritised, it is interesting to note that the birth rate is 2.3 which is the highest in Europe (World Bank, 2020). Gaini (2013) points out that the individualism in the Faroe Islands is "family-based individualism" (p.41) which "can be portrayed as a state of being accompanied as an independent person rather than being alone in the middle of a crowd" (p. 41).

Along with a family-based society, Gaini (2013) points out that children are very central in Faroese society, which he characterises as "*child centred*" (p.43). Gaini (2013) points out the "*laissez faire*" (p. 44) attitudes and upbringing of children in the Faroe Islands, where there almost are no places that deny entry to children and where "*even small children enjoy a strong personal autonomy, which is intentionally offered by parents*" (p. 44). Gaini (2013) explains that:

Faroese children are expected to find friends on their own and to entertain themselves without parental guidance or interference. That is how they, step by step, get in touch with the Faroese individualism [...] which is family-based individualism (p. 45).

Despite this "*child-centred*" and "*laissez faire*" (pp. 43,44) attitude towards children, there is a kind of silence or suppressed discourse on childhood, children's rights and in general on educational issues in the Faroe Islands (Gaini, 2015). An example of a reluctance to interfere politically in the upbringing of children is the fact that although the Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified in 1992 in the Faroe Islands (only three years after the Convention was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly), it was not until 2007 that it was forbidden by law to use physical violence against children in the Faroe Islands (Føroya Løgting, 2006). The family-based society and reluctance to interfere on a political and systemic level in children's life and upbringing may shed light on the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. It could also possibly explain what I argue is an absence of a public debate on educational matters, as will be discussed later in the empirical findings in the analysis chapters (especially chapters 12, 13 and 14).

Although in some ways comparable with the Nordic welfare model, the Faroese welfare model is different. This may be due to the traditional family patterns (see chapter 4.3.4) and informal communities undertaking welfare tasks in the form of voluntary and charity work (Hayfield, 2020; Jákupsstovu, 2007). This said, the welfare model in the Faroe Islands has improved in the last 20 years and must be considered on par with the welfare schemes in other Nordic

countries (Hayfield, 2020). The Faroese approach to the welfare model and the local understanding of communities addressed here will be further elaborated on in the empirical findings and analysis, especially in chapter 16 where I discuss them in relation to the concepts of a 'whole situational approach' and 'situated inclusion' that I have developed and put forward in this research project to understand and develop inclusive education.

# 4.2 Making school policy and practice in very small societies

The second perspective zooms in on the special feature of policy-making and practice in verysmall post-colonial societies, assuming this has an impact on the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. Ball et al. (2012), highlight that:

[...] schools are complex and sometimes incoherent social assemblages (p. 2) [...] school policy must be understood both in texts and "things" (legislation and national strategies) and cannot simply be implemented! They have to be translated from text to action – put into practice – in relation to history and to context, with the resources available (p. 3)

Based on Ball et al.'s (2012) understanding of policy enactment, school policy must be understood in the environment where the policy in enacted and practiced. Accordingly, making policy and school policy in a society consisting of approximately 54,000 people must be different from school policy enactment in larger societies.

#### 4.2.1 The social ecology of smallness

Researchers in small islands society studies indicate special patterns of relations in small-scale societies (e.g. Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018; Hayfield, 2021; Hayfield & Schug, 2019; Pugh, 2007). Baldacchino & Veenendaal (2018) even argue for a "*social ecology of smallness*" (p. 340). Because people in small-scale societies observe each other carrying out various social roles and positions, the hierarchies, also in political and administrative terms, tend to be flat and less formal (Pugh, 2007). This means interactions both in personal, professional, and institutional contexts are more person-centred with a more extensive social control (Philo et al., 2017). Veenedaal (2020) points out that the formal institutional frameworks in small islands societies are often overruled by informal political dynamics due to social interconnectedness and intimacy. This may result in an extensive part of the political processes being conducted outside the official political networks, characterised by face-to-face relations, which shape the interaction between formal institutional structures and the prevalent informal political dynamics on islands (Veenendaal, 2020).

Because of the small population in small island societies, power and influence are often concentrated in a few persons, who might also have multiple roles and positions (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018). This has an impact on the distribution of power in the political, societal, and economic sector, as there is a danger of power representation being less diverse due to the concentration of power in the hands of single individuals (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018, p. 341). Not only are there fewer roles in a small-scale societies, but because of the smallness of the number of people, many roles are played by relatively few individuals (ibid, p. 345), as is the case in the Faroe Islands (see e.g. Gaini, 2013; Hayfield, 2018).

The special feature of relations in small-scale societies influences not only policy-making, but also the work of professionals such as teachers, pedagogical supporters, advisors, and administrators (Pugh, 2007). These circumstances place demands on professionals' relational competencies as their professional work is infused with social interaction and informed by social linkages (Gaffin, 1996; Gaini, 2013, 2015; Johannesen, 2012). It is common in the Faroe Islands to socially navigate professionally according to what "kin"¹³ the person comes from (Hayfield & Schug, 2019). As many researchers have shown (e.g. Hattie & Clarke, 2019; Klinge, 2016; Meyer, 2019), relational capabilities are one of the most important factors for developing good learning environments. In a Faroese context, relational competency might imply and thus also require a different and more comprehensive approach to the term, which I will return to in the analysis, especially in chapters 12 and 13.

Researchers (e.g. Sutton, 2006; 2007) point out that often the public sector in small societies is characterised by personalism, limited resources resulting in an individual performance of multiple roles and responsibilities, and lacking public services provision. This is due to a general inability of reaching economies of scale and a relatively high degree of dependence on foreign management consultants, typically sourced from the former colonial powers, who may promote and apply practices that do not necessarily suit the small island state context (Sutton, 2006, pp. 13 - 15). Based on these research points addressed by Sutton (2006), knowledge production and knowledge dissemination in the Faroe Islands might also be influenced particularly by Danish interests, given the Faroe Islands' historical and educational dependency on Denmark.

# 4.3 The development of a Faroese public school

In my literature research on school policy and practice in the Faroe Islands, I found little research-based literature. There is a lot of descriptive literature describing the school history and the history of the teacher education and the teachers' union, as the teacher training study programme, which has its origins in 1870, is one of the oldest formal higher education programmes in the Faroe Islands (that said, recently, a couple of researches on teacher training in the Faroe Islands have been published (Harryson, 2023; Vijayavarathan-R, 2023; Vijayavarathan-R & Óskarsdóttir, 2023). Volckmar (2019) points out that "previous research on the development of Faroese education is insufficient and few secondary sources are available" (p. 121). Volckmar (2019) states further that: "Neither the history of education nor education policy are topics at the University of the Faroe Islands both regarding general school and special needs education might be an indication of the role and status education has had in Faroese society, an issue which is addressed as an analytical point in the analysis chapter 12.7.

¹³ In Faroese: *Hvat slag ein er av.* 

#### 4.3.1 Historical background

The school in the Faroe Islands has evolved since the 12th century when the Faroe Islands became a special bishopric, although primary-level teaching was practiced by the parents up until the 19th century (Petersen, 1994). A so-called *Latin school* was established in Tórshavn and prevailed until the *Danish school* in 1632 was established for those "incapable" in Latin (Petersen, 1994). *Tórshavn Almueskole* was the only official school in the years 1805-1845.

A new school system in the Faroe Islands came into force in 1846 on the initiative of the Danish authorities with a view to establishing schools throughout the Faroe Islands, with a teacher attached to one or several schools (Debes, 1993). This new Danish school system¹⁴ was a Danish measure that was met with opposition in the Faroe Islands and also by Danish officials who considered the system as being disconnected from Faroese culture and society (Debes, 1993, p. 100). On the recommendation from priests and teachers in the Faroe Islands, this Danish school system in the Faroe Islands was abolished in 1854, and at the same time, compulsory education¹⁵ came into force in the Faroe Islands.

#### Teacher Education

After a political debate in the Faroese Parliament in 1869 on how to recruit Faroese teachers to the school, the Teacher Training School was established in 1870. This was established despite opposition from the Danish chief administrative officer¹⁶ in the Faroe Islands who considered this as training for "*indigenous Faroese, which were in principle, consciously or not, separatists*"¹⁷ and recommended sending Danish teachers to the Faroe Islands (Debes, 1993, p. 101). Together with Faroese officials¹⁸ and Danish authorities in Denmark, these objections were nullified, given the language and other cultural barriers faced by Danish teachers in schools in the Faroe Islands. Thus in 1872, the first Faroese teachers were trained¹⁹.

#### The Faroese Teachers' Union

Despite objections both from Danes and Faroese that Faroese teachers could already be members of the Danish Teachers' Union, in 1898, the Faroese Teachers' Union was founded. The Faroese Teachers' Union has had a tremendous impact on the school and cultural life in the Faroe Islands. From the beginning, the Faroese Teachers' Union's aim has been to enlighten Faroese society and to produce teaching material in the Faroese language, while also being active in the public and political debate concerning school improvement, language and education (Petersen, 1994, p. 158). The union also initiated exchanges of teachers and pupils to other Nordic countries, already in 1935 (Petersen, 1994).

#### Faroese language, nation building and school development

By the Danish royal decree²⁰ of 16 January 1912, oral Faroese became an obligatory subject in the schools, but the decree also stated that the education in the different subjects and especially for the older pupils should be in Danish. The battle for Faroese in the schools continued until

¹⁴ Provisorisk Reglement

¹⁵Undirvísingarskylda

¹⁶ Amtmaður

¹⁷ (fra princippets side, bevidst eller ubevidst, separatiskt)

¹⁸ E.g. V.U.Hammershaimb and Ríkisstjórnin

¹⁹ The same year as the village school measure came into force (Kommunulógin)

²⁰ kongelige anordning

1938, when Faroese by legislation became both the oral and written language in the Faroese schools. Thus the Faroese school history also writes itself into the national movement focused on language and school policies in its project for nation building in the Faroe Islands (Gaini, 2015). Patursson wrote in the Faroese newspaper in 1888 that: "*If we lose our mother language, we will soon stop being an independent people … it is harmful, how we let our children be educated in "almueskolen"*" (In: Petersen, 1994, p. 284).

The Faroese Teachers' Union (1898) and the Faroese Teacher Training Programme (1870) have had a tremendous influence on language development by producing reading material for Faroese children and adults (Dahl, 1998) as the school has been seen as an important cultural transmitter. The fact that schools were established in almost all villages and remote islands (and still exist) indicates the importance of schools as a cultural institution and culture bearer across the Faroe Islands (Mentamálaráðið, 2014a). Consequently, the discussion concerning the public school has been on language, preserving local culture and contributing to nation building, which has resulted in other important pedagogical and educational issues fading into the background (Gaini, 2015; Sølvará, 2016).

Debes (1993, p. 101) argues that, on the basis of the 1872 legislation, the demands on the content of school teaching were quite basic, as the only demand was "the necessary teaching", which meant Christianity and reading to be able to be "confirmed" in church. Petersen (1994, p. 75) is of another opinion than Debes (1993), pointing out that teaching "... was seen as a sacred duty, and honour was given in giving the children as good a spiritual ballast as possible²¹". Petersen (ibid.) asserts also that the ordinary Faroese fathers were complaining about too much teaching to the children and posits that the Faroese wanted a slow school development.

#### Faroese attitudes to education

Petersen (1994, p. 79) stresses that in the Faroe Islands, in contrast to other countries in the 19th Century, the development of teaching and schooling was not epoch making. This point is supported by Sølvará (2005) who points out that the European national movements and other emancipation movements came later to Faroe Islands than Iceland, for example, due to less enlightenment among the native Faroese people compared with the Icelanders (Sølvará, 2005, pp. 122-123). He explains the main reasons for this difference between the history of the Faroe Islands and Iceland can be found in the different development of the written language and experiences of authorities in the two societies. Recently, the same features have been described concerning attitudes of parents towards education and schools in the 20th century. Gaini points out that:

Powerful families with a strong position in the local community can expect serious social and economic degradation if they do not embrace modern educational values in the near future²² (2021, p. 28).

²¹ (Man så det for en hellig pligt og satte en ære I at give børnene så god en åndelig ballast som muligt.

²² Magtfulde familier med en stærk position i lokalsamfundet kan forvente en alvorlig social og økonomisk degradering, hvis ikke de i den nærmeste fremtid tager de moderne uddannelsesværdier til sig.

During the 19th century, Faroese society was transformed from a peasant society of common people without organised teaching, where the culture mainly was preserved and transformed through oral traditions, to a fishing society with an organised public school and an educated local elite (Sølvará, 2005), which according to Petersen (1994, p. 79) were not at all compatible with other developments in Faroese society. The Danish authorities were not to blame, Petersen claims (ibid.), but the Faroese people, as they often were reluctant to try new trends especially when it came to schools, rejected establishing a school in their village. The interest in schooling escalated in 1900, when the Faroese Parliament 1905 could claim that it now had "*established an orderly school system in almost all Faroese parishes*"²³(Petersen, 1994, p. 79). Other improvements were also made during this period, for example, improvement in teachers' wages and the establishment of teachers' courses. Supplementary training has been offered during all years up to present, both in the University of the Faroe Islands and longer supplementary education at Denmark's "Lærerehøjskole", now DPU.

It is evident that the development of the Faroese public school has, despite the Danish influence, been anchored in the Faroese tradition and local culture and reinforced by the early establishment of the Faroese Teachers' Training Programme and the Faroese Teachers' Union. Volckmar (2019) addresses the special characteristics of school development in the Faroe Islands being both anchored in the Faroese traditional culture while also being influenced by Denmark and Norway and in recent years also affected by global school policy, for example by participating in PISA. Volckmar (2019) concludes that changes in the Faroese public schools, for example the extended compulsory comprehensive schooling, the lowering of the school-start age and the implementation of national tests, came late compared to other Nordic countries. Despite this "delay", Volckmar (2019) points out that the development of the Faroese education system continues to move more towards globalisation:

[...] changes in governance structures and economic conditions are determinant factors that have had impact on the extent to which the Faroese have been responsible for their own educational development. Strong economic growth in recent years has allowed the Faroe Islands to adopt what is considered to be "global education" and "international standards (p. 137).

Despite participation in the PISA tests since 2006, Volckmar (2019) points out that:

[...] the relevance of the PISA test for Faroese education and the Faroese society is a heatedly discussed topic. Many question whether participating in the PISA test and national tests has any benefit for what they want in the Faroese society (p. 129).

I will further discuss transferral, translation, and transformation of global school policy into Faroese school policy and practice, see chapter 10.3 on participating in international assessments. In the analysis sections, chapters 10 and 15, I will address the different approaches to OECD measures in the form of for example PISA compared with the UN Convention on People with Disabilities, the Salamanca Statement and thus also the inclusive vision.

²³ oprettet et ordnet skolevæsen I så godt som alle færøske sogne

### 4.3.2 The school administration, authorities, and legislation

Until the public school legislation in 1962, the Faroese school had been governed by the legislation of 1 March 1854 and the royal decree from 1912. The Education Act of 1962 introduced seven-year compulsory education, which came late compared to other Nordic countries. Seven years of compulsory education were introduced in Denmark in 1814 and in Norway in 1936 (Volckmar, 2019, p. 126).

Even though the Faroese school was under the Danish Crown, the administration and supervision of the school were undertaken by the local School Commissions²⁴ and a School Board²⁵ in the Faroe Islands, even though some members will have been Danish officials, priests and "other honourable men" (Petersen, 1994, p. 307)²⁶. Petersen (1994, p 309) points out that because of Faroese society's special circumstances, the Board of Schools had much wider power than other Boards of Schools in other parts of the Danish Kingdom²⁷. The school system has also been served by local subject advisers and school consultants.

When the Faroese public school was handed to the Faroese authorities in 1979, the Faroese public school was regulated by Faroese legislation which was almost the same as the Danish school legislation from 1974. In 1997, new Faroese public school legislation came into force which resembled the Danish public school legislation from 1994. The Public School Act from 1997 is still in force, although with amendments.

With the withdrawal of the public school from Denmark in 1979, the overall school administration was organised into a School Administration²⁸ which was a department of the Ministry of Education. In 1996, the School Administration became a more integral part of the Ministry of Education. In 2019, an Administration of Education²⁹ was established and presently the public school is administered by the Administration of Education. The administration and the content of the public school are regulated centrally under the Ministry of Education, while the municipalities take responsibility for the school buildings and school materials. After the Parliament election in November 2022, the Ministry of Education changed to the Ministry of Children and Education. From 2019 until 2022 the Ministry of Education was named the Ministry of Education and Foreign Affairs.

The organisation of the total activity of the Ministry of Children and Education (BUMR) is illustrated in the figure below.

²⁴ Skolekommission

²⁵ Skole direction

²⁶ The School Board consisted e.g., in 1962 of the ombudsmen (rigsombudmanden), as the head of the Board, the provost, and three elected parliament members.

According to legislation, the election of the Board of School changed after a couple of years and the Board got 5 members where 3 were elected by the Faroese parliament, 1 by the Faroese Government, and 1 by the Danish Ministry of Education. ²⁸ Landsskúlafyrisiting

²⁹ Undirvísingarstýrið



Figure 8 The organisation of the total activity of the Ministry of Children and Education (BUMR)

The above picture shows the collective organisation of institutions and activities of the Ministry of Children and Education. The figure aims to indicate that within the sub-educational area, the schools do not refer directly to the Ministry, but to the Administration of Education and Nám. Additionally, Sernám is listed in the same level as Nám, thus also having an informative and advisory role for the schools. Hence, the figure illustrates how interwoven, and 'small' the school administration is in the Faroe Islands.

# 4.3.3 The special need education development

Figure 8 stems from the Ministry of Children and Education, and although altered a couple of times due to changes at the governmental level³⁰, it was first designed in 2017 as part of a change initiated to stimulate school development though reinforced networking. This reorganisation of the Ministry of Education included the establishment of the Administration of Education (Undirvísingarstýrið, 2019). Additionally, these organisational changes implied initiated plans to altered and modernise the content and organisation of Sernám, where for example resources for the area of special needs education were transferred to the overall public school budgeting within the new Administration of Education. Previously, the budget for the area of special needs education the rest of the public school budget and administered by Sernám. Another reason for the organisational change was to link Sernám closer to the general educational field, and physically place Sernám together with NÁM. At present, the physical fusion between Nám and Sernám is yet to happen.

Source: Barna- og útbúgvingarmálaráðið (2023)

³⁰ Changes in the names and content of the current Ministry of Children and Education.

The historical development of the special needs educational area is the basis for the analysis of the dilemmas between general education and special needs education which is described in chapter 14. In that chapter, the focus is on a compensatory approach to understanding the relationship between special needs education and general education and an inclusive approach. As will be revealed in the following section, special needs education has developed slowly and is anchored in the unique aspect of being a very small post-colonial society.

#### 4.3.3 The historical and present situation of special need education

In the Faroe Islands, the combination of the special educational needs area with the public schools is relatively new, since most children with special educational needs were sent to Denmark until the 1970s (Hansen, 1998; Mikkelsen, 2015). As a result, Faroe Islands did not offer special needs educational facilities for people with special needs until the 1960s (Hansen, 1998).

#### 1895 - 1962: Faroese children in special educational needs sent to Denmark

It is uncertain when Faroese children started moving to Denmark for special needs education, but in 1895, it was documented that four Faroese children attended the Danish School for the Deaf in Denmark. Children who were blind also attended Danish schools in the 1930s. Some children who were blind attended Faroese village schools to prepare for confirmation. The year 1897 was the first time a Faroese child with a mental handicap was documented as moving to Denmark for education in an institution, and 1900 was the first time a Faroese child with physical handicap attended an educational institution in Denmark. A report from 1915 shows that there were 13 children with special needs in the Faroe Islands who did not get any teaching at all (Hansen, 1998, s. 270).

During the period up to 1937, Danish legislation stated that children with special needs should receive special needs education. Special educational needs schools were established in Denmark where circumstances permitted it. In 1954, the Danish legislation on Danish schools stated that children with special needs should receive special needs education.

#### Faroese reluctance to initiate special educational provision

The development in the Faroe Islands on special educational provision did not follow the development in Denmark, with the Faroese continuing to send children with disabilities to Denmark even though Danish actors in the social welfare system tried to object to this based on ethical arguments. Hansen (1996, p. 207) points out that Danish school actors in the social welfare system, especially at the Danish Rødbygaard institution where most Faroese children were, tried to convince the Faroese authorities to build a school for children with disabilities in the Faroe Islands. They were troubled about all these young children being sent away from their native environment and family. Mikkelsen (2015) points out that it was also for other reasons that the Danes were eager to stop the migrations of Faroese children to Denmark (Mikkelsen, 2015), for example due to a lack of institutional places for Danes themselves. Hansen (1996) describes the difficulty the Danes had in convincing the Faroese authorities, whom they blamed for showing little interest in the special needs area. According to the Danes, this vague or absent interest was hard to understand because it is not about financial issues, as

the 'Faroese' welfare system at that time was financed by Denmark. Faroese families showed their distress and especially one family with several deaf children in one village appealed to the politicians for changes as they had to send all their children to Denmark. Despite their and other miseries, nothing happened. It was not until the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs picked the case up that changes happened (Petersen, 1994, p. 174).

Hansen (1998, p. 269) stresses that when people in the Danish school system were sitting in commissions debating challenges in the public school concerning special needs, the same discussions were conspicuously absent among the authorities and teachers in the Faroe Islands. Consequently, before 1962, children with severe speech and hearing impairments, as well as pupils with other severe disabilities, had to travel to Denmark if they were to receive schooling. At that time, the Faroese compulsory school had no extended special needs education.

# 1960: Initiations to establish special needs education in compulsory schools

With the Faroese Welfare Act of 1960, Section 14(1), it was possible to provide children with severe special needs special needs education (Hansen, 1998, p. 269). The 1962 Public School Act, Section 2(2) stated that:

For children who, due to speech difficulties, poor eyesight, poor hearing, low abilities or reading difficulties, cannot follow the regular education with sufficient benefit, special needs education is arranged as far as possible.

In other words, this provision in the Act meant that the Faroe Islands had reached the level of the 1937 School Act in Denmark (Hansen, 1998, p. 272). The fact that special needs education was stated in two different acts had its origin in the scope of the special needs (Hansen, 1998, pp. 269-270). Hansen (1998; 1996) stresses that there were teachers in Faroe Islands who due to their own acts of charity and without payment tried to help pupils with special needs. Section 61 of the 1962 School Act states that a special adviser should be employed for all the Faroese schools. A circular from the Board of Schools in 1965 described the special needs education in the Faroese schools.

# 1962: The first special educational needs school setting in the Faroe Islands

In 1962, the school for the deaf in Copenhagen established a department in Tórshavn to teach pupils who were deaf or those with hearing and speaking impairments (Hansen, 1998, p. 274). The school soon received applications from other schools to enroll and teach children with other disabilities as well, to prevent them from being sent to Denmark for education (Hansen, 1998, p. 274). The school changed name to the State's Special Educational Needs School and had the status of a Danish school under the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs.

# 1973: Faroese scepticism towards a special needs school

Among the Faroese people, there was an urge to keep children in their home villages and local schools and a battle between the special educational needs school and the general school began. Hansen (1998) points out that the battle between the public school and the special educational needs school started due to the issue concerning pupil recruitment (Hansen, 1998, p. 274). As a result, in 1969, recommendations were made for a board appointed by the Danish authorities³¹

³¹ Ríkisumboðið

to investigate how special needs education could be coordinated. The recommendations were that most of the special needs education should be in the mainstream public school.

In 1973, there was consensus in the Faroese parliament³² that:

[...] the task of the special educational needs school shall be limited, [...] as many children shall attend the public school [...] The special educational needs school must not be an excuse for the public school not to teach the children close to their homes (In: Hansen, 1998, p. 275).

In 1975, the Special Educational Needs School moved to a new building and got the name "Skúlin á Trøðni", which in English means 'the school on a cultivated plot'. The name was chosen as it should not have connotations to special needs for fear of stigmatisation. Despite the scepticism towards special needs schools, the new Faroese School Act in 1979 introduced special needs education with no limitations, as the Danish Act of 1954 had done in Denmark.

# A battle between the Special Educational Needs School and special needs education in the public school – two separated worlds

The two different establishments of special educational settings – one in the Special Educational Needs School and one in the general schools develop separately. In the recommendation from 2001 on the special educational needs field, it is stated that there are two separate arrangements for special needs education and special needs support, and there is almost no collaboration (Mentamálaráðið, 2001). Further these recommendations claim that with the 1979 Act on Public Schools in the Faroe Islands, where the aim was to guarantee that every child has the right to education in his/her home village school, regardless of possible special educational needs, the Special Educational Needs School received less and less pupils (Mentamálaráðið, 2001). These changes in the Faroe Islands were also influenced by the idea of a school for all in the 1980s (Hansen, 1998).

# A battle and lack of special needs pedagogical competencies in the general schools

In Denmark, when social care became the responsibility of the districts and municipalities, Danish schools demanded that specially trained teachers for children with special needs were transferred from the social care area (where they had been traditionally) to the public school. In the Faroe Islands, the same did not happen when the number of pupils with special educational needs who attended general school increased. The Special Educational Needs School was placed under the Faroese central school administration in 1989 (Hansen, 1998). Three courses for special needs education teachers have been conducted in Faroe Islands. The latest in 2009 – 2012. The first was in 1984-1987. A course in 1995 – 1998 was nearly banned as the Teachers' Union boycotted it because a couple of pedagogical supporters (i.e. staff from another trade union, with different functions to teachers) joined the course (Lærarafelagið, 1996; Skúlablaðið, 1996a, 1996b).

# A battle over the merger between the Special Educational Needs School and the Special Pedagogical Advisory Centre

The idea behind the merger between the Special Educational Needs School and the Special Pedagogical Advisory Centre was that the Special Educational Needs School should continue

³² (Løgtingssamtykt frá einari samdari skúlanevnd)

to be a special educational needs school for the Faroe Islands and function under the public school system in the Faroe Islands. The intentions were that the Special Educational Needs School should also serve as a central part of the psychological and pedagogical advisory function, which physically moved from the central school administration to the Special Educational Needs School in 1990 (Petersen, 1994 p. 176-177)³³(Álit viðvíkjandi Føroya Spesialskúla - Skúlanum á Trøðni, 1990)

The rejection of this merger of the Special Educational Needs School and the Special Pedagogical and Psychological Advisory Centre and to make the Special Educational Needs School a part of the Public schools in the Faroe Islands is described in the recommendation to the Ministry of Education (Mentamálaráðið, 2001, pp. 4-6). The recommendations state further that children with special educational needs do not get sufficient educational support in public schools.

Additionally, there is an ongoing battle between the consultative function and the Special Educational Needs School, documented in, for example, the paper *Without an authority* (Uttan Heimild, 2000). This resulted in the Special Educational Needs School getting a Special Educational Needs School Act (Serskúlalógin, 2005) to work under, while at that time no need was seen for any legislation concerning the consultative function and the rest of the special needs education field in the public school. The Order on Special Pedagogical Advisory Services from 1990 (Kunngerð um sernámsfrøðiliga ráðgeving, 1990) was not updated or revised before a new order came into force in 2016 and was modified in 2018 (Kunngerð um sernámsfrøðil, 2018).

#### Conflicts and dilemmas between the special educational needs field and the general school

There are several dilemmas and conflicts between the special educational needs field and the general school despite an effort in recent years to improve the special educational needs area with knowledge and training programmes, and changes in the system level and legislation – as defined in the latest recommendations from the Ministry of Education (Mentamálaráðið, 2014b). As shown previously, there is now a huge pressure both from schools and parents to establish more special needs classes with appropriate special pedagogical and educational content. At the same time, there are voices opposing this direction. The arguments are that segregating is not compatible with Faroese school tradition, history and Faroese culture, and that having more special educational needs classes would work against an inclusive education direction. I will follow up on this discussion on developing inclusive schools in the analysis section, starting with chapter 10, and focusing on dilemmas between special needs education and general education in chapter 14.

#### 4.4 Summing up

This chapter has situated this research in the Faroe Islands, as the Faroe Islands will act as an analytical entity for this research. Hence, this chapter has provided analytical threads to the empirical material that will be investigated in different social worlds and arenas (see chapter

³³ ...gik over til at blive styret som en offentlig landsskole i lighed med andre offentlige skoler...hensigten er, at dens arbejdsområde fremover vil være et centralt led i det samlede skolevæsens psykologiske arbejde, som efterhånden er blevet af betydeligt omfang...

6) by zooming in on the special and distinguishing features of the Faroese situation. This chapter has presented relevant historical and research literature on small-island studies and the Faroe Islands, divided into three perspectives.

The first perspective highlighted the special feature of Faroese movements between the local and global and between tradition and modernity. It reveals a very small islands society anchored in an ancient democracy, while also experiencing a historical attachment to Denmark, which still, to a certain extent, remains. Although becoming increasingly a part of the globalised world, the Faroe Islands is still anchored in traditional values reflected in a family-based society. The historical, social, and cultural development patterns have influenced educational development and, thus, the development of public schools.

The chapter also zoomed in on the special feature of policy-making and practice in very-small post-colonial societies, especially "the social ecology of smallness", which is considered to have an impact on policy-making and practice concerning developing the public school.

Finally, this chapter focused on how school policy and practice concerning general school and special needs education have developed through history. School and educational changes occurred late compared to Denmark, both concerning compulsory education and the general school and concerning the development of the special needs education field. Measures have been initiated in recent years to adjust the educational system and school content more compatibly with local and global trends, which also relates to developing inclusive schools, although the global vision is still vague and blurred. The overall tendency revealed in the historical, societal, and cultural examination of the Faroese situation indicates that there are several factors that impact on the processes of developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. Through these perspectives raised in this chapter, together with the empirical material, the situation will be analysed in part III of this dissertation.

# Part II: Methodological approach (SA), empirical design, methods and knowledge production

Part II presents the methodological approach (SA), reflections, and methodological and analytical tools and steps (chapter 5). Furthermore, this part presents the research design and empirical platform (chapter 6). Chapter 7 presents the methods used and elaborates on how to access the field, the researcher's position and other reflections. Lastly, chapter 8 presents the analytical approach.

# Chapter 5. Methodological approach

Researching the development of inclusive education in the Faroese Public school with the Faroe Islands as an analysis entity is approached ecologically, encountering multiple actors and actants acting in several social worlds and arenas. Using the methodological approach of situational analysis (SA) has enabled this research to look beyond boundaries to reveal the ecologies of relations across the different elements brought into the research situation. With an SA approach, the theories and methods used in this project are not separated but interwoven, as SA is a theory/methods package which is mutually overlapping with its own set of theoretical infrastructure grounded in the situation (Clarke et al., 2018). By intertwining theory, method and mapping, an SA approach supports this research in creating knowledge through a multisite study attempting to hold and preserve the complexity of the situation studied.

As already stated, this study has an abductive approach, understanding theorising as being generated through tacking back and forth between the "*nitty-gritty specificities*" of empirical data and more abstract ways of conceptualising them (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxvii). Hence this research methodology has developed concurrently with the research with a hermeneutic and abductive approach, where empirical material has been added to the research along with the development of the research inquiry. Research in a nearly unexplored situation of developing inclusion in a very small society allows and requires including diverse empirical material using different methods. This approach is encouraged by Clarke et al. (2022), pointing out that SA aims to promote "*methodological pluralism against methodological tribalism and to facilitate inter- and trans-disciplinarity*" (p. 7).

Following Clarke's (2022) point, I will highlight five critical methodological issues (Pérez & Canella, 2016), which I have used as guiding lines in this study as being essential to avoid tribalism and facilitating inter- and trans-disciplinarity. Firstly, the use of the multisite field to seek multiple knowledge (chapter 6); secondly, using mapping as an analytical tool throughout the emergent research process (chapter 5.3); thirdly, reflexivity, i.e., using myself as a subjective instrument and producer of knowledge (chapter 7.3); fourthly, the methods adopted in this research (chapter 7), and finally, the project's aim to provide a thick analysis (chapter 8) "to address complexity, differences, contradictions, and heterogeneity rather than attempting to develop a formal theory" (Pérez & Canella, 2016, p. 217).

### 5.1 Multisite field

The aim of constructing this research with multisite strategies is to better capture the increasingly complex, diffuse, geographically, discursively, and otherwise dispersed facets of the situation (Clarke et al., 2018). With multisite strategies, I have aimed to come closer to the "*messy complexity that constitutes life itself*", as stated by Clarke et al. (2018, p. 228), which further point out that "*historically, the common research strategy was to simplify what is to be examined*" (ibid. p. 228). However, for fulfilling interpretive research goals, other approaches are recommended (e.g. Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015), especially when the aim is to explore cultural processes, where there is a tendency to move toward multi-site ethnography (Marcus,

1995, p. 97). Drawing on these arguments, I have sought to design an array of possible sites that contribute to a broader and deeply empirically grounded understanding of the phenomena under study (Clarke et al., 2018). Through this multisite project, I have attempted to engage the full range of what is present in the situation, including interviews and extant discourses *"that existed before the research and may include documents, media, and visual and historical materials"* (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 228).

The aim of the multisite approach is to preserve the complexity to shed light on how culture emerges globally, locally, and between different actors and actants. In focusing on complexity seriously as a condition and premise of this research, a challenge has been getting the empirical material into play, as I have both a bird's eye view on the empirical field and a bottom-up perspective. The puzzle has been how to cope with this complexity exploring inclusive education as an idea of principles and practice influenced by history, values and negotiations. Methodologically, it is a challenge to grasp all the different dimensions of the empirical field and draw a coherent story or thick description (Geertz, 1973).

Situational analysis suggests grasping the situation's complexity by moving from the conditional matrix defined by Strauss and Corbin (Corbin, 2021) to the situational matrix inspired by Chicago Ecologies as a method to analyse data (Clarke et al., 2016). With the post-structural and interpretive turn, SA attempts to break with the dualistic approach to action versus structure. It regards micro/meso/macro assumptions as highly problematic because they can blur possibly silenced elements (Clarke et al., 2018). Instead of splitting structure and action/processes, SA argues with post-structural thinking that the entities at all levels of organisational complexities and all social relations are present across all levels, which makes those "*phenomena co-constitutive*" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 363). With this approach, Clarke et al. (2018; 2022) makes up the understanding of the conditional matrices as being used by grounded theory (GT) by pointing out that structure and process are co-constitutive and cannot be split as with the conditional matrices approach relying on micro/meso/macro assumptions. Thus, SA replaces some of the underlying assumptions of GT around human action and social processes with a more ecological approach to the field, replacing the action in the centre with the situation itself as the central unit of analysis.

### 5.2 Mapping

The SA approach to analysis makes the situational maps and their relations the main foci and backdrop for other foci that emerge throughout the empirical material gathered and analysed through the research process (Clarke et al., 2018). With the situation as the major unit of analysis instead of human action in the centre, "SA extends this critical interactionist approach to GT – rooted in coding – through additional analytical techniques that are rooted in mapping the situation of inquiry" (Clarke et al., 2022, p. 97).

Although inspired by different scholars, the concept of the situation in SA is distinguished by inventing a method that emphasises the situatedness of phenomena, including place, space and time attempting to "*analyse the relationalities in the situation and their ecologies*" (Clarke et al., 2022 p, 18). Thus, the situation might contain different elements arranged through relations

and is defined by the empirical investigation in the concrete research (ibid.). Inspired by Clarke et al. (2022, p. 18), the researcher's empirical "*nose creates the situation*" in this present research (without being a pure auto-ethnographic study) with elastic and not-fixed boundaries. Guided by the research questions and research topic, the empirical material, the mapping and an abductive approach, the aim is to investigate and reveal the situation in the Faroe Islands concerning developing inclusive education.

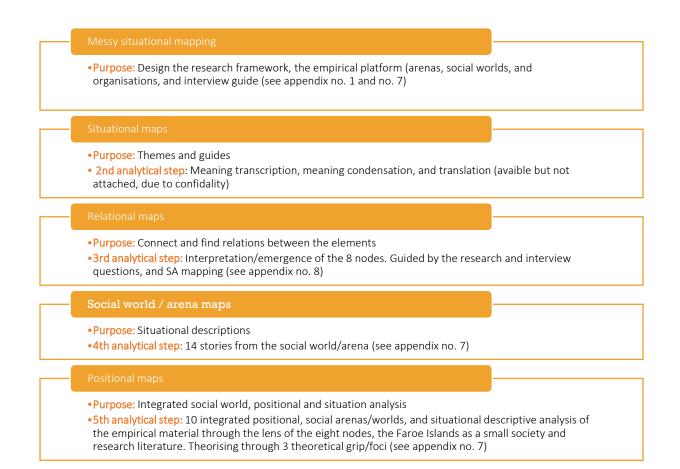
Before moving to the analytical tools, I find it essential to highlight the link between the situation and the situational tools incorporated in SA as the situation emerges throughout the research through the different mapping tools suggested by SA. At the final stage of the abductive process, the full array of elements in the situation shapes the situation. Thus, as interpreted by me as the researcher and created by the empirical material, for example interviews, ethnographic observations, and extant discursive material found in the situation under study, these empirical material are bound to the situation by mapping to enable analysis. The mapping serves, first and foremost, as an analytical tool to allow analytical exercises and, if needed, to illustrate the empirical findings. Thus, the mapping is not the analytical outcome but tools for the analysis process (Clarke et al, 2018). The aim is to make a thick interpretative analysis of the research material.

### 5.3 Analytic tools

As analytical tools, SA offers different kinds of maps for different purposes and offers conceptual and visual representations for various purposes. Laying out the maps can also serve to challenge preconceived ideas about the situation, and thus generates cognitive processes, which can enable new rooms for knowledge and challenge cultural blindness (see chapters 7. 3 and 17.2). The maps have also facilitated collaborations and have been used as a point of departure for discussion with colleagues and supervisors. Through mapping, multiple interpretations are enabled and elements, social world, and arenas are viewed from various perspectives.

In the following figure 9, I will explain the SA-inspired maps used in this project and further explain how I have used the maps as tools in this research.

#### Figure 9 Overview of mapping tools in this research



The five different maps shown in figure 9 illustrate the research process involving:

The first step using the *messy situational mapping* (chapter 6) to design the research framework and work out the empirical platform as to where to find empirical material and how to organise the actors and actants bulked in different social worlds, which was further grouped in different arenas and sub arenas. When designing the research and the empirical platform, the social worlds and social arenas were used to structure and organise the empirical platform.

The second mapping involving the *situational map* (chapter 8) was used to work with the empirical material produced from the empirical platform, for example, mainly interviews but also observations, policy documents, and other extant discursive material. The situational map was used to find themes and nodes in the empirical material regardless of from who or where they stemmed from, for example, from actors, actants, social worlds or arenas. This empirical material was transcribed in the original language, Faroese, and then meaning transcribed, meaning condensed and translated into narratives in English of the empirical material (compressed data, available although not attached due to confidentiality).

The third mapping *relational maps* (chapter 8.1) were used to find relations between the different themes found in the empirical material.

The fourth step bulked the themes into eight nodes, zooming again in on the *social worlds and arenas and sub arenas mapping* (chapter 8.2). The outcome of this analysis exercise analysing social worlds and arenas through the eight nodes was 14 situational descriptions.

The fifth step involved splitting these 14 descriptive situational stories up, by turning the gaze to the different positions taken in the different social worlds, arenas and sub-arenas. This analytical exercise resulted in ten *integrated positional, social arenas/worlds and situational mapping* (chapter 8). These comprise ten integrated descriptive stories of the empirical material through the lenses of the eight nodes, research literature (chapter 3) and the Faroe Islands as an analytical entity (chapter 4).

These five different procedural mappings of the empirical material and the presentation of the empirical finding into narratives is the background for the abductive analysis presented in chapters 10,11,12, 13, 14 and 15.

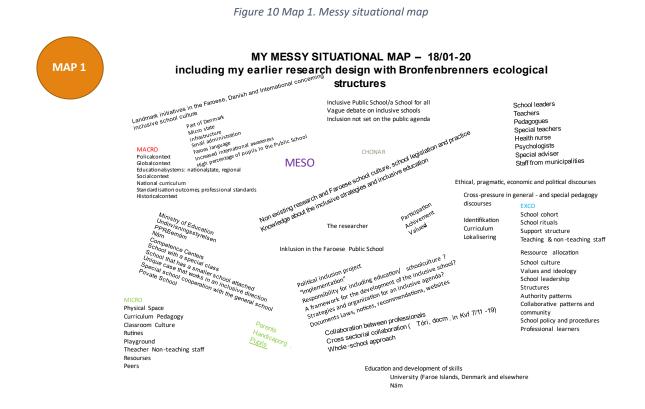
In the following sections, I will unfold the five different mapping processes as a fundamental basis for the methodological approach taken in this research.

# 5.4 Messy mapping

The situational mapping or preliminary messy situational mapping intends to lay out the major human, nonhuman elements that seem relevant in the situation under study. The situational map aims to identifying relations among the elements, to open up the empirical material and to provoke analysis of relations among them (Clarke et al, 2018).

The situational mapping was initiated at the beginning of the research process to reveal and design how, where and what to explore closer in the empirical field. The genesis of the situational map was an iterative process between messy situational map and ordered situational map revising several times. Together with the process of mapping, the analysing process also began by writing memos, which are incorporated in SA, as a way of reflecting and analysing at the commencement of the research as also throughout the research process.

The mapping of the elements was rooted in my knowledge of the educational and vocational research field and research literature and other empirical and theory driven knowledge about the field (see also chapter 7.3). The situational messy maps also laid the basis for the initial research topics and questions based on Bronfenbrenner's logic (or in GT terms, structured in the conditional matrix by Strauss & Corbin). After mapping all the relevant elements considered relevant for the research topic by researching in literature, discussing with my supervisors, rewriting etc. (see appendix 7, slide 1-7), the messy situational map (MAP 1, see fig. 10) was used as a model for initiating the shaping of the research framework/research design by designing the empirical platform and formulating the interview guide.



As shown in the above map, my messy situational map contained all kinds of elements which seemed relevant to school policy and practice concerning inclusive education in the Faroese public school. These elements were categorised with Clarke's suggested categories based on both human and non-human/silence actor and actants (see appendix 7a). At this step, this messy situational map did not include the Faroe Islands as a very small society (chapter 4) or the SoA (chapter 3), as the messy situational map was made before I had gained knowledge through the literature review resulting in the chapter 3 and the chapter 4, situating the research on the Faroe Islands.

After working with the elements in cartographies (see appendix no. 7a of the chart of categorisation of the elements found in the messy situational map), I used the elements as a springboard to create the research design including the empirical platform (chapter 6) and elements to look for and investigate in the empirical platform. This was done by formulating an 'empirical' guide or interview/observation/document guide with open 'curiosity' questions and guidelines about the research field to get answers to the research questions (see appendix no. 1a and 1b). The content will be presented and discussed in chapter 7 on methods. The empirical platform was used at the first stage to help navigate where to gather empirical material (see chapter 6).

# 5.5 The infrastructure of the empirical platform: Social arenas/social worlds

In constructing the empirical platform, I used the concepts of social worlds/arenas (and organisations) from (Clarke et al. 2016; 2018; 2022; Clarke & Star, 2007; Strauss, 1978) as the infrastructure of the empirical platform (Clarke & Star, 2007). Social arenas are characterised

by having at least one primary common activity, particular sites, and at least one technology (Clarke et al, 2018). The social worlds and arenas are viewed as places where something unfolds by communities of interpretation where meanings are created. I use Clarke's and Strauss's understanding of the concepts of arenas and social worlds and their linkage where "large arenas are constituted of multiple social worlds focused on given issues and prepared to act in some way" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 72). Strauss (1978) points out that:

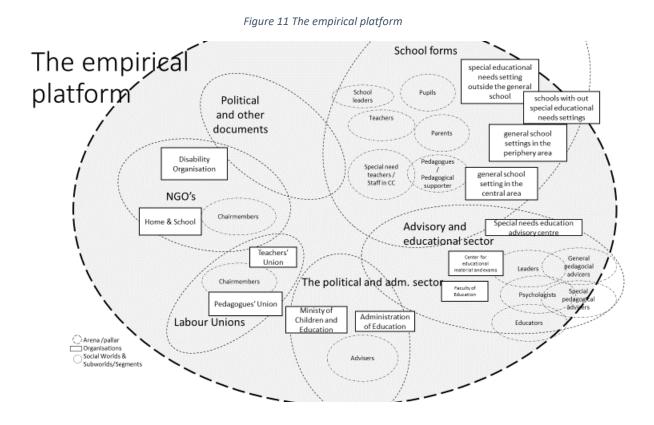
In arenas, various issues are debated, negotiated, fought out, forced, and manipulated by representatives of the participating worlds and subworlds (p. 124).

This framework with social arenas and social worlds consisting of multiple collective actors is profoundly ecological paying particular attention to "*situatedness and contingency, history and fluidity, and commitment and change*" (Clarke & Star, 2007, p. 113). Thus, social arenas and social worlds are "*relational ecological form of organizational analysis, dealing with how meaning making, and commitments are organized and reorganized again and again over time*" (Clarke et al, 2018, p. 150). Following SA's understanding of social worlds/arenas, they comprise individual actors/actants. However, when acting in an arena, an individual commonly serves as a representative of their social world, performing their collective identity (Clarke et al., 2018). As is the situation in this research, many institutions and organisations are composed of members from different social worlds. Therefore, representativeness is problematic and might be irrelevant, in the complex social world/arena complexity (Strauss, 2010, p. 228).

# Chapter 6. The empirical platform

As explained in chapter 5, I have used the concept of social worlds and arenas to design the research. In the project's first phase, I plotted relevant institutions, organisations, groups of actors, and extant policy documents into the empirical platform. The purpose of picturing the empirical platform is to visualise the empirical materials' ecological model, aiming to "*focus now on the niche and now on the ecosystem which defined it*" (Clarke & Star, 2007, p. 114).

As seen in figure 11 on the empirical platform, I have grouped the elements of institutions, organisations, and actors' groups within and surrounding the school from the messy situational map into six different arenas, again containing sub-arenas and social worlds and organisations. The arenas are 1) school forms, 2) the advisory and education sector with three different organisations within, 3) the legislative and administrative sector with two different organisations within, 4) labour unions, 5) NGOs and 6) Faroese policy and other documents.



The empirical platform consisting of the six different arenas was created according to the messy situational map shown in chapter 5.4 (see also appendix 7, slide 9) - the arenas are places where something is in play and where insight and knowledge concerning developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands could be obtained. As my research is grounded in the empirical field aimed at producing knowledge about the processes of developing inclusive education in the Faroese public schools, I understand the empirical platform as a place where I can seek knowledge from the actors and actants as informants to inform this research.

Although individual actors are bulked in a social world, the social worlds and arenas overlap and are stippled in figure 11 to emphasise their interrelatedness. The research does not focus on individuals but on actors in different social worlds and arenas. Clarke et al. (2018) point out that:

[...] focus is on the meaning making interactive social groups committed to collective action. Focus is on the interaction of collectivises of various sort, including negotiation, collaborating, struggling with other groups, and seeking authority, social legitimacy, and the power to achieve their goals, et cetera (p. 150).

With an ethnographic approach to the empirical field, I draw on Geertz' (1973) understanding of the ethnographic interpretation of the situation. The empirical platform provides interpretations and analytical spaces to answer the four processual research questions about the conditions, motivations, strategies, experiences, activities, views, and positions concerning the development of the inclusive school in the Faroe Islands.

In the following section, I will present the different arenas, the different organisations and social worlds. I will start with the arena of school forms, which is the biggest part of the empirical material, the advisory and educational sectors, followed by the administrative and legislative sectors. Lastly, I will present the arena consisting of the policy documents. The description/presentation in the following section briefly explains the empirical platform, while chapter 7 elaborates on the methods used to produce the empirical material.

### 6.1 School forms

Different school forms are included in the empirical platform because, according to the messy situational map (see chapter 5.4), the insight into various schools' settings/types in the Faroe Islands is essential to analyse the situation concerning inclusive school development. Geographic placement, size, special needs class/special needs settings within the school and as separate units, schools receiving pupils from villages and schools with a Competence Centre (CC) serving other small schools were factors considered important according to the messy situational map. It is important to point out that the aim is not to represent the whole school system in the Faroe Islands but to present situational pictures to be bridged together in a situational analysis. The overall processual research question explored in this arena concerns the experiences and activities of actors, for example teachers, pedagogical supporters (in Faroese/Danish námsfrøðingur/pædagog), school leaders, pupils, and parents participating in inclusive processes. I have grouped the schools because I consider these four main school forms to be necessary to work with in further analysis. The second reason for not presenting them all is to prevent identification of these schools and thus also the informants to whom I have assured anonymisation (see chapter 7.4.3 and attached appendix 2, 3, 4, 5).

**School form** 1 is grouped and labelled as a *special educational needs setting outside the general school*. This group of school forms is characterised by being situated in a separate school and primarily serves as a special educational needs setting. I have placed the private schools in this school form because the empirical material through the situational mapping

reveals that private schools also serve as a kind of special educational needs school setting as an alternative to the general school settings.

**School form** 2 consists of *schools without special needs classes* within the school. In the Faroe Islands, approximately 30 schools, or 75 per cent of all the schools, do not have a special needs class within the general school. Due to the infrastructure and smallness of the geographical area of the Faroe Islands, there are possibilities of joining another school or special educational needs setting than that in one's municipality or village within a maximum of 1 hour's drive, except from some areas (see fig. 6 with the overview of all the school settings in chapter 4.1.1.). Despite this, there is reluctance, especially in the periphery area of the Faroe Islands, to enrol pupils to other school settings (Mentamálaráðið, 2014a).

*School form 3* focuses on *general school settings in the periphery area* of the Faroe Islands. Among the approximately 7000 pupils in the Faroe Islands, approximately 60 % attend schools among the 31 different schools in the periphery area (outside the municipality of Tórshavn). In addition, school form 3 includes schools with special educational needs settings within the school situated in different places in the periphery area of the Faroe Islands. Another common feature is that these schools (like some schools in the central area) receive pupils from other small villages when these pupils reach the 7th or 8th grade.

School form 4 consists of general school settings in the central area of the Faroe Islands. Among the approximately 7000 pupils in the Faroe Islands, approximately 40 % attend schools in one of the 12 schools in the central area (Tórshavn and the surrounding villages and islands). This school form is included because I consider the opportunity to choose between various schools an important element in analysing the situation concerning in developing inclusive education. The other reason for seeking the central areas as a school category is an assumption that relational features and culture may differ from a typical village, where there usually is one school all the village children attend. A third assumption is that the schools in the capital area largely reflect modernity, secularisation, and diversity. Access to special educational needs settings in the capital area is higher, and the administrative, advisory and educational institutions are situated there.

### 6.1.1 Social worlds within school forms

The social worlds within the arena of school forms consist of 15 school leaders, 12 special needs teachers working in the Competence Centres (CCs) and in general and special educational needs settings, four general teachers primarily working in the general educational settings, and five pedagogical supporters working in special educational needs settings.

### School leaders

The empirical material involves interviewing 15 different school leaders and deputy leaders (who work as teachers in smaller schools). The 41 schools, three private schools and the Special Educational Needs School are led by school leaders who are qualified teachers with continuing education in leadership, in accordance with Section 55(a) of the Public School Act (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997). Although in the same social worlds, the school leaders are

distinguished in the integrated positional and situational descriptions and thus divided according to these four school forms.

### Special educational needs teachers

Twelve special needs teachers participated as informants in the research. These special needs teachers are in the CC and special educational needs settings. Some also work as general teachers. Teachers working in special educational needs settings are qualified teachers from the Faroese Teacher Training Programme, often with a specialisation in special educational needs pedagogy and some have their education from e.g. Denmark. The special needs teachers working in the CCs have continuing education qualifications as special needs teachers. The most recent continuing education programme in special needs education in the Faroe Islands was run in 2012. This programme was bought from Denmark and used Danish teachers.

### General teachers

The empirical material includes four general teachers, primarily in general educational settings. There are approximately 700 general teachers in the public schools in the Faroe Islands. All teachers in the public school possess teaching qualifications from the University of Faroe Islands or from a comparative training programme from abroad supplemented with an additional exam in the Faroese language.

# Pedagogues and pedagogical supporters

The social world of pedagogues in this research consists of five pedagogues/pedagogical supporters. Like other Nordic researchers (see e.g. Jensen, 2016), I have chosen to use the term 'pedagogue' rather than the 'social educator' term that is often chosen as an Anglo-American-focussed translation of the Faroese term 'námsfrøðingur' or Danish term 'pædagog'. In accordance with Jensen (ibid.), I argue that the term pedagogue has taken on a more nuanced meaning than the traditional and narrow Anglo-American school-subject- and curriculum-oriented interpretation of pedagogue, as the term has in recent years been used more frequently in English language academic books on the Nordic approach to socially focussed pedagogy, education/training and on educational work with children, young people and adults. Pedagogues have been employed for educational tasks in public schools since 2007, but until 2016 they were denied permanent employment. However, in 2016 the first pedagogues got permanent employment in Faroese schools. There are approximately 100 pedagogues or pedagogical supporters in the Faroe Islands.

# Pupils

The social worlds of the pupils consist of 26 pupils: Thirteen pupils from special educational needs settings and 13 pupils in general school settings. The pupils in special educational needs settings have all been in a general school before joining the special educational needs setting. As of the school year 2022/2023, 4.6 per cent of the total number of pupils are registered in a special educational needs setting (see also fig. 7, chapter 4.1.1). According to the legislation (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997; Kunngerð um at skipa serflokkar, 2019; Kunngerð um sernámsfrøði, 2018; Serskúlalógin, 2005) pupils in general school settings can be moved to special educational needs settings if it is considered more advantageous³⁴ for the pupil. According to

³⁴ In Faroese gagnligt

the same legislation (ibid), the reason for moving to a special educational needs setting is that the general school setting is not considered good enough for the pupil. According to the legislation, all pupils must be registered in a general school before considering special educational needs settings. Most schools with special needs classes ensure that pupils in special needs classes are also attached to a so-called 'home class' in the general school setting.

The 13 pupils in general school settings participating in this research are all members of the pupils' council in different school forms (in some schools, they did not have a pupils' council, and because of this, the school leader/teachers guided me to some pupils).

### Parents

The social world of parents consists of 12 parents. Nine are members of a school board and the organisation Home & School, and three parents are parents of pupils in special educational needs settings.

### 6.2 Advisory, educational, administrative and political sector

The overall processual research questions investigated in this arena were on the views, perspectives, and positions of other professionals supporting, advising, educating, and administrating the school system and other stakeholders on inclusive education and strategies and structural and organisational measures. This arena consists of three sub-arenas/institutions.

The first is Sernám, which serves as a psychological and special adviser concerning special educational needs. Sernám is tasked with providing special educational needs and psychological advisory services to all schools and kindergartens in the Faroe Islands, serving children and youths between 0 to 18 years old. Sernám is funded by the Educational Administration/Ministry of Children and Education. Its content is regulated by legislation in an executive order from 2016 about special educational needs teaching and support in the Faroese public school. Sernám is led by a leader and a deputy leader and has approximately 35 professional staff employed, primarily: psychologists, special educational needs advisors, logopaedics and a few occupational therapists and physiotherapists. Sernám is located together with the Special Educational Needs School.

The second institution in the advisory and educational arena is Nám, whose main task is to develop the entire school system and play an active role in designing the national curriculum. In addition, the institution provides counselling, production of school material and courses for the professionals in the schools. Nám is situated together with the Educational Administration. Sernám is supposed to move into the same building as Nám and the Educational Administration. Nám is regulated in legislation and like Sernám, Nám is financed and regulated by the Ministry of Children and Education. The professional staff of Nám, consisting of approximately 21, serve the school system and are typically experienced teachers with supplementory training and qualifications, now working as advisers and editors in Nám. The Ministry of Children and Education's executive orders stipulate that Nám is responsible for the development of the schools' curriculum and examinations for pupils.

The third sub-arena is the Faculty of Education (NáD). This entity is the educational faculty at the University of the Faroe Islands, providing the teacher and pedagogue training programmes. The teacher training programme (referred to as NáD hereafter), was established in the Faroe Islands in 1870 and has thus trained and formed the Faroe school system for over 150 years. In 2008, the NáD underwent changes and became *The Faculty of Education* and included the pedagogue training programme and became a part of the University of Faroe Islands. Unlike Nám and Sernám, the Faculty of Education is not directly regulated by the Ministry of Education because of the merger in 2008, when the faculty became a part of the University and thus under the administration and budget of the University of Faroe Islands. The professional staff in NáD has, at minimum, a master's degree in a didactic subject, general education, or special needs education. A few hold a PhD degree. Each year the faculty recruits approximately 30 teachers and 30 pedagogues to the educational labour market (schools, kindergartens, and other educational areas) in the Faroe Islands.

The third arena is the legislative and administrative sectors. This arena consists of two subarenas: the Ministry of Children and Education (BUMR) and the Administration of Education (UVS) (See chapter 4.3.2.).

### Actors

The actors in the social worlds within this arena consist of 19 professionals: Leaders, lecturers, special advisors, psychologists, and advisers. Because of the small number and likelihood of being identified because of their position, I have bulked the advisors from the Ministry of Children and Education (BUMR) and the Administration of Education (UVS) together with the other informants from the advisory and educational sector in interview extracts used in the final presentation of the analysis in chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15.

### 6.3 Labour Unions and NGOs

The fourth and fifth arena comprises the Teachers' Union and the Pedagogues' Union and the Faroese Disability Organisations (Megd), and Home & Schools.

#### Actors

Actors within this social world are six board members in the Teachers' Union (TU), the Pedagogues' Union (PU), the Faroese Disability Organisations and Home & School. I have included these informants as supplementary actors to inform the project. As these informants can easily be identified, I have only minory used interview extracts from these informants. The participation of this arena and social world contributes to answering research question 4: *What are the views, perspectives, and positions of other professionals supporting, advising, educating, and administrating the school system and other stakeholders on inclusive education*?

### 6.7 School policy documents

This sixth social arena consists of school policy documents that impact the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. The documents selected are policy-related and publicly available documents mentioning inclusive schools and are considered relevant to highlight the Faroese situation concerning inclusive schools. The school policy documents focus on texts concerning inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands affecting the situation concerning conditions, motivations, strategies and structural and organisational measures and perspectives and views in line with research questions 1 (and 2). The purpose of analysing the documents is to cover and get additional insight into the conditions and motivations to develop an inclusive school.

### 6.7.1 Method

The Salamanca Statement (1994), the Faroese Public School Act (1997) and the Convention on the rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006/2009) have been "mother documents" (Lynggaard, 2015, p. 157) in searching for relevant documents for this research. Through these documents, other documents have been traced, by the so-called "snowball effect" (Lynggaard, 2015, p. 157), for example, legislation concerning special needs education. Additionally, in my search for documents, I have used explorative interviews (Lynggard, 2015). Furthermore, I have had email and telephone correspondence with legal advisors in the Ministry of Social Affairs administrating/monitoring the convention on the rights of persons with disabilities, the Children's "ombudsman", monitoring the rights of children and with legal advisors in the Prime Minister's Office concerning policy documents concerning the Salamanca Statement and other policy documents concerning inclusion. (The analysis approach to the policy documents will be further unfolded in chapter 10). The table below shows policy documents concerning an inclusive direction (just the ones in cursive mention the word inclusion).

Period/ sources	Public school legislation	School policy documents	Policy documents concerning special needs education	International conventions concerning/aff ecting school policy and practice	International conventions applied/not applied (Faroese ratification)
Up to 1994	<b>1990</b> Order on special needs advisory		2001 Recommendati ons concerning the special educational needs field	<b>1989</b> Convention on the Rights of the Child	<b>1992</b> Ratified by the Faroe Islands
1994				<b>1994</b> Salamanca Statement	Faroese school policy authorities did not attend. Therefore, the statement is not translated into Faroese.
1997 – 2011	<b>1997</b> Faroese Public School Act	<b>2011</b> Curriculum for the Faroese Public school	2011 Recommendati ons concerning the special educational needs field	<b>2006</b> The convention on the rights of persons with disabilities	<b>2009</b> Ratified by the Faroe Islands ³⁵ (Føroya Løgting, 2009a, 2009b)
2012 – 2022	2018 Order on special needs education 2019 Order on Competence Centre	2012 Political note on CC (Mentamálaráð ið, 2012) 2022 Curriculum for the Faroes Public School	<b>2014</b> <i>Recommendati</i> <i>on concerning</i> <i>the special</i> <i>educational</i> <i>needs field</i>		

### Table 1 Overview of policy documents

³⁵ Does not mention Inclusion Section 24. Mentions special need education and a need of extended competences to teach pupils with special needs.

# Chapter 7. Methods

The empirical material was collected through fieldwork in the empirical platform as presented in chapter 6. The purpose was to produce material that contributes to an analysis of the becoming process of developing inclusive education in the Faroese public schools. Guided by the research questions and topic, the empirical material, the mapping and an abductive, grounded and ecological approach, the production of empirical material has been multisided, as summarised in figure 12 below. The empirical platform presented in the previous chapter is the main source (together with the SoA (chapter 3) and the three perspectives on the Faroe Islands (chapter 4) to produce knowledge/empirical material.

#### Figure 12 Empirical material 72 informants from the schools 25 informants from other sectors The advisory and educational Pupils School leaders sector and 67 The administrative and political interviews •Teachers sector •Special needs teachers Labour unions •Pedagogues/pedagogical supporters NGOs Parents Observations School political documents Other empirical Memos material The researcher Historical and other material from the Faroe Islands SoA

The construction, production and interpretation of the empirical material reveals social life developed from a post-structuralist and constructionist understanding. It has as its starting point that social reality is not something that is, but something that is continuously produced, constructed and maintained through continuous interactions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Using this perspective, I have been looking for something special in a certain way where attention is paid to the experiences, activities, views, positions, conditions, motivations, strategies etc., about developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. Thus, knowledge production is founded on narrative material produced by interviewing people in the situation, observing, and studying existing material, and theoretical and experienced knowledge. Through this approach, the research field has opened through engagement in the social worlds and arenas, meaning that I, as a researcher, have taken a certain place in the research field. This also means that I do not have a neutral gaze/glance on what I see, but that I look for and see from a certain angle or position which I have considered relevant and accessible derived from the messy situational

mapping searching paths to explain the research questions. Knowledge is not just knowledge, knowledge can be both reductive and selective (Hastrup, 2010). When combined from different perspectives and views, knowledge can produce grounded and consistent knowledge about the whole situation (Hastrup, 2010). The empirical material has been used in line with SA emphasising its democratising capacity. I have aimed to "*reveal those complexities in the situation often papered over by those in power to make the power appear both natural and inevitable*" (Clarke et al., 2022, p. 22).

Clarke et al. (2018) indicate that historically, common research strategies were to simplify what is to be examined, which is contrary to the approach of multisite projects, where the research attempts to engage the full range of what is present in the situation. Although the aim is to approach the research with a multisided and ethnographic approach, the vast part of the empirical material stems from interviews. I intended to visit the institutions for the interviews and write field notes on observations there. Due to the sudden COVID-19 lockdown of these institutions on 20 March 2020, when I had just started the fieldwork, I managed to visit only three schools, where I conducted face-to-face interviews and observations, while the rest of the interviews were conducted through Zoom and Microsoft Teams, except for the interviews with the pupils. The interviews with pupils were all conducted in the schools before and after the lockdown. I visited the schools when they reopened and also made field notes/memos. I have particularly focused on speech, text, and environments. Thus, the grounded fieldwork has been done with open eyes and nose, feeling, interpreting, and sensitising to what is happening in the situation.

One way of doing this was by letting the pupils show me the school, which I will explain in more detail under section 7.2. Here I will point out that on these guided tours led by the pupils, I paid attention to whom and what the pupils paid attention to. This insight into what matters to the pupils, combined with my own observations and reflections have enriched this research providing another layer of knowledge about the social world of the pupils combined with my own impression of the different schools. I have been especially attentive to school culture and learning environment, visibility in values, the physical space, school design, playground, visual design, and children's visibility and involvement in decorating the schools (See appendix no. 1). After each school visit, I wrote memos which I have used in the analytical mapping process³⁶. These texts together with the transcriptions of the interviews from the records are forms of documentation I have produced together with other existing documents I have chosen to be part of the empirical material along the research process. I will specify the methods later in this chapter, but I want to state here that in my analysis I have juxtaposed memos, observation notes and meaning condensed transcribed interviews, and I use them equally when I have selected examples for my analyses. The interviews, observations, and memos have also functioned as a form of background knowledge together with the literature research (chapter 3) and the description of the Faroe Islands (chapter 4).

³⁶ The iPhone was also used to record memos

# 7.1 Memos

Throughout my fieldwork, I wrote memos as part of analytical thick descriptions of the fieldwork "*not in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning*" (Geertz, 1973, p. 311). Geertz points out that "*doing ethnography is establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing tests, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on*" (ibid. p. 311). Aspiring to achieve transparency through all the research, writing memos has been an important part of my research process. I have used memos as written records of the research process, which document the analytical and methodological steps taken, including the theoretical comparisons made within the empirical material. I have used the suggested frame of writing memos from SA, which proposes numbering, dating, and making headlines for the memos.

The example below illustrates a memo that consists of reflections triggered both by observations, interviews, and the lived life as a researcher, where reflections infiltrate daily life, fostering ideas how to conceptualise and analyse the empirical material:

# Memo 74: Bird perspective and individual perspective

# Date: 150421

You do not know the Faroe Islands before you have seen the islands from above – from a helicopter perspective – (quote heard in the radio 150421). One of my informants: "You can understand inclusion in a bird perspective and individual perspective". On many of my running trip I like to explore new unknown paths and it strikes each time how different view I have when changing the angle or perspective. One informant says that is it very quickly to move once you know the direction and you set in, because the relations and connectedness are so close. When you see the Faroe Islands in a bird perspective you realize how close everything is – from island to island and from village to village. Fits to SA.

Together with mapping, memos are the primary record of how I have engaged with the empirical material in pursuit of concepts and theorising. Later in the project, I used my iPhone to record memos during the research process³⁷. The iPhone functioned as a substitute for pen and paper, for example, when running, walking, making food, or driving my car (living the daily life). Along with writing memos as an integral part of SA, research became integral to my daily life. Being an "instrument" of this research means that I have shaped the research and it has shaped me (Friese, 2022, p. 111).

# 7.2 Observations

I use observation as a method for additional insight and opportunity to 'document' school practice differently than for example, through interviews (although these observations have not been comprehensive, as I have not observed in the classrooms and other potential places of interest). The observations have been through interviews, visiting the schools and virtually through the schools' homepage to gain added information and impressions of the schools. The

³⁷ altogether 181 records dated 22.10.22.

observations serve to preserve impressions and experiences and memory of places and people and actions, partly to be able to convey what was observed so that outsiders can share in the experience. For example, I have written down the environment impression, room settings, and some episodes during the interview, impressions during the interview visit, experiences, surroundings, and thoughts along the way to create a kind of ethnographic memory bank with knowledge that is not necessarily made demonstrably relevant to the interviewees, but gleaned from fieldwork, providing a background for my understanding and interpretation.

Example from observations in schools:

Example 1. I am arriving at the school, after having agreed with the school that I can do interviews:

Situational observations: Very friendly atmosphere. Children everywhere. Also, in the meeting room and in the teachers' rooms. Children interrupt. During the first interview, a child came in the meeting room asking the teacher to help reading a food label to see whether there was gluten in the food. Very friendly tone between staff and children. Very messy. Pictures of all pupils and teachers from the school history hanging in rows in the long corridors.

Tour with the children: They tell me that they almost get everything they want. The kitchen is proudly shown. Teachers, which I did not interview, wanted to be interviewed. Almost all were very eager to be interviewed. (Extract from observations notes from school visit)

#### Example 2:

Situational observations: Very "empty" school, e.g., almost no decorations and pictures in the school. An overview of the xx xxx and the xx xxx is on the wall outside the teachers' room. (Extracts from observation notes from school visit.

### Example 3:

I sense a competition between the general and special needs class. In the corridor a deputy school leader points out to me that the special unit is moving more and more away from the general school. They do not even join the coffee breaks together. He does not know what to do about it. The teachers and pedagogues in the special unit express that they do not make any effort joining the general school and say: "We have everything here, even a kitchen and a room for staff". (Extract from observation combined with reflections on sequence from interview just conducted at the school visit).

The notes are not the outcome of a structured observation guide, but rather an empirical platform where my eyes and ears provided a role of ethnographer in my own culture, where the empirical platform and "my" world overlapped (Alvesson, 2003). Thus, although not being a *self-ethnography* as I have not been "*an active participant, on equal terms with other participants*" (Geertz, 1973, pp. 317-318), the boundaries between me as researcher and the empirical platform have been blurred, calling for analysis and reflection.

### 7.3 Researcher's position

Positioning in an SA approach implies recognising the researcher as being part of the environment and not a "tabula rasa" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 35). This assumption forms my position as a researcher, which I will explicitly state to establish transparency in this research (see also chapter 1.3 on the research's position). Although SA is the outset for my reflections on my research position, I also acknowledge that this research in a cultural environment that is

mine professionally and personally in a very small society requires supplementary theories for explanations and reflections on the research position – this provides a tool to identify bias and blind spots that might prevail. The following section will unfold these reflections and ways of coping with the challenges of being part of the situation while researching the situation. In other words how to be close and even part of the situation under study while also being able to make distance to the situation to and yet conduct scientific research properly (Hastrup, 2010).

My position is further complicated by being a part of the research field in almost all the social worlds and arenas of the empirical material in this research. I took my initial professional training and qualified as a schoolteacher at the Faculty of Education in the Faroe Islands, and have worked there for some periods, and now as a PhD student. Additionally, I have worked in a few public schools for many years. Through these experiences, I know of almost all teachers, pedagogues, and school leaders in the Faroese public schools, besides having visited all schools in the Faroe Islands. After a completing a master's degree, I worked in the Ministry of Education and as a temporary manager at Sernám, which also represents social worlds and arenas in this project. Besides having held these positions, I have also been the parent of pupils in the Faroese public school and have other personal relations in the Faroese public schools. Hence these positions and relations, and the pre-knowledge and pre-understanding of the school system have impacted the research approach, which has given me access to the field, but also provided blind spots. As one of my informants asked:

"Frida, what hat are you wearing today? Are you an adviser from the Ministry of Education, representing the special educational needs advisory centre, being a teacher, or wearing the hat as a researcher?"

I was met with similar questions several times when doing my fieldwork. Being a researcher who has been a part of the research field is challenging. It calls for reflexivity, especially when researching in a very small-island society where almost everyone has many 'hats', both professional and private. Gaini (2013) states about the Faroe Islands:

This is a society where every citizen has many positions and functions and social networks that cross other networks. Colleagues are neighbours; board members are relatives. Sports teammates are from the same Free church congregations, and so on. Every individual has several different "hats" to wear. [...] What is interesting is the fact that the same persons meet on different arenas with different agendas and societal roles (pp. 34 - 35).

Doing research among colleagues, friends, relatives and family can be advantageous in terms of pre-knowledge and personal and/or professional relations with potential actors and actants and their social worlds and arenas. Because of the very small size and the well-known culture of the researcher, the research field can be easy to access. However, informants also have increased options and/or reasons to refuse participation because the researcher is known in the field. When starting this research project, that was one of my main concerns: would school leaders, teachers, pedagogues, advisors, administrators, parents, pupils, and other stakeholders accept participating and letting me enter their social worlds and arenas? Would they trust me and believe that the research could contribute to school development or at least would give meaning to the researched situation? This was considered because several possible actors were

former and present colleagues, leaders, and some I had been the leader for. Therefore, I made it clear from the start that it was fully understandable and acceptable if they refused to participate and that they could withdraw their acceptance during and after the research process (see chapter 7.5). Although a few possible informants refused to participate, almost all invited participants accepted, and nobody withdrew their acceptance. I have interpreted this as being seen as trustworthy and respected personally and professionally as a researcher. Furthermore, I have interpreted the participants' acceptance and willingness to contribute as signs of interest in and valuing research to develop practices. This said, I am also aware that the participants might have seen me as a person with 'power', which might affect their participation and reflections. To minimise this possible effect, I have, as said, strived to be transparent concerning my position and concerning participation and possible withdrawal (see also appendix 2, 3, 4 and 5).

### 7.3.1 Ethical reflections

Doing fieldwork, I have strived to operate under the "*relational ethics framework*" suggested for research in small island societies (Hayfield, 2022, p. 233), emphasising "*the ethical qualities of attentiveness, responsibility, competence, and responsiveness*" (ibid., p. 233). I have strengthened my sensitivity to my respondents and been aware of power relations and other social dynamics in the interview situation and tried to obtain situational awareness. This was especially necessary to consider as many of my respondents were former colleagues and leaders and for some of them, I had been their leader.

This means that I asked where and when they want the interview to be and if they wanted to be joined by colleagues or peers, emphasised that the interview is not focus group interviews, but that the interview is based on their individual participation and can be conducted in groups, if they found it more comfortable. I suggested this option as the interview is not on personal life/world but on thoughts about developing inclusive school seen from the actors' social worlds/arena.

Due to the easy access to the empirical field and eagerness shown by the actors to participate as informants in this research project, the interview material is comprehensive. Although this can be viewed as advantageous for this research, this situation also requires reflection in terms of being a researcher in one's own culture in a very small society. Hayfield (2022) points out that:

Writings in research ethics generally assume a power asymmetry between researchers and informants (Ben:Ari & Enosh, 2013), however, power distribution in small communities can be extremely complex and constantly shifting. This is not least due to interdependency in which people need each other in diverse settings, in diverse manners. Consequently, research encounters can be prone to reciprocity. For instance, people might agree to participate due to the underlying nature of interdependency in relations. Therefore, whilst researchers are keen to recruit informants, they should be ethically alert to avoid taking advantage of underlying sentiments of reciprocity. In this sense, ethical reflexive navigation involves researchers being attentive to the potential vulnerabilities of informants (p. 242).

I have tried to be ethically alert and aware of the complex sites of relations between me as a researcher and the possible participants highlighted in the quote above. For example, I

consciously avoided informants close to me or where I considered that persons might have been eager to participate due to certain interdependency in our relations. Also, I have been conscious of not being deliberative in picking up or choosing participants. Instead, for example, I let school leaders guide me to relevant informants (see more on selecting informants in chapter 7.4.2). When doing fieldwork, I strove to adopt a researcher's position and act as a 'researcher' when entering the empirical social worlds and arenas. Although it may be seen as tremendously difficult to navigate in these multiple positions for people not used to living and working in very small societies, my experience was that I was respected as a researcher. After the research situation had ended and we changed positions, the relations had another character. Hayfield (2022) explains that locals in very small societies are used to navigating these multiple positions, and thus may have developed extended competencies to navigate in multiple positionalities (Hayfield, 2022).

Another aspect of this context is that these circumstances mentioned above also make the researcher more vulnerable to participants' personal opinions and set increased demands on the researcher to act ethically, reflexively and responsibly and very conscious of the situation (Hayfield, 2022). Otherwise, one's career and opportunity as a researcher in one's own culture can end. Reflecting this complexity, the Faroe Islands have developed extended restrictions on anonymisation (See also chapter 7.4.2).

As a Faroese native researching the Faroese situation, one cannot escape these circumstances. Still, one must be extremely aware of possible blind spots and presumptions, be reflexive throughout the research process, while designing the project, when gathering empirical material, during the analysis phase and while communicating the results. The analytical tools, research literature and theories assist in this endeavour.

### 7.3.2 Bias and blind spots

As highlighted in chapters 1 and 3, the situation in the Faroe Islands concerning inclusive education is much unexplored. Hence, I have drawn upon my pre-knowledge in the field where I might have had a prejudicial understanding of the research even though I tried to stay open. Despite these endeavours, there will always be blind spots, and sites of silence that are difficult to spot and trace as a native researcher. These sites can be challenging to uncover and understand because they are experienced as natural and obvious. Hence, the temptation to draw quick and unfounded conclusions is extended because they are taken for granted and complicate discovering blind spots, and sites of silence. To support overcoming these biases, theoretical and methodological frameworks are essential.

Using SA as a methodological and theoretical framework, I adopt Clarke's emphasis on the researcher's prior knowledge also at the beginning of the research, which beside contributing to the research design, may also "*trigger theoretical sampling to strategically obtain more data about analytically interesting emergent topics*" (Clarke et al. 2018, p. 253). Thus, by consciously placing myself as a researcher in the situation, I have used pre-knowledge to further develop knowledge along the research process. In searching for developing knowledge through research literature along the empirical sampling and analysis, this has greatly

contributed to challenging presumed conclusions and understanding of the situation. In the research process taken a hermeneutic approach (see chapter 3) and using the mapping strategies of SA, I have built an interpretive repertoire to interpret the empirical materials in various ways. This can help shake up fixed assumptions and facilitate self-questioning (Alvesson, 2003). Furthermore, the use of mapping can challenge the presumptions and blind spots, as highlighted by Clarke et al.:

Part of the process of making situational maps is to try to get such information, assumptions, and so on out on the table and inappropriate, into the maps. There it can be addressed in terms of utility and partiality, using theoretical sampling and applying other criteria and strategies. Otherwise we often do not even know we are making such assumptions. They may be invisible to us though they may be affecting out analytical work, shaping our research in productive and / or damaging ways. (2018, p. 108).

The very long process of working with the empirical material involving several mapping steps (see chapter 5) may have help to uncover blind spots and sites of silence. As examples, I will highlight that after working with the empirical material in NVivo (see chapter 8.2) and mapping in situational maps, the material emerged into 67 themes labelled in "empirical-close" terms which again were grouped into eight overall themes. This preliminary analysis outcome was discussed with my supervisors and in a theme day with the actors (see chapter 16.1.1). As next steps in the analysis process, these analysis results were reflected upon through research literature and further mapping (see chapter 7 and 8). After working abductively with the empirical material, the conclusions altered the preliminary analysis outcome considerably through the "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) or "thick analysis" process (Clarke et al. 2018; 2022). Thus, working systematically and reflexively with the analytical maps and steps listed above enriched by discussions and research literature may have helped the discovery of blind angles and sites of silence. Supervisors from the pedagogical, psychological, and sociological disciplines have challenged my own presumptions through their views on theories from different perspectives, culture, and disciplines (two from Denmark and one native Faroese). Being challenged from counter perspectives has forced me to reflect on possible preferred interpretations associated with my personally and professionally anchored presumptions. Thus, I challenged my interpretations from different orientations and perspectives (Alvesson, 2003).

Incorporating different disciplines with an interdisciplinary approach (see chapter 2.3) together with different positions and perspectives has challenged blind spots and presumptions and enabled me to reflect with distance to the individual social worlds and arenas. In the discussion in chapter 17, I discuss further blind spots and sites of silence revealed in the study.

### 7.4 Interviews

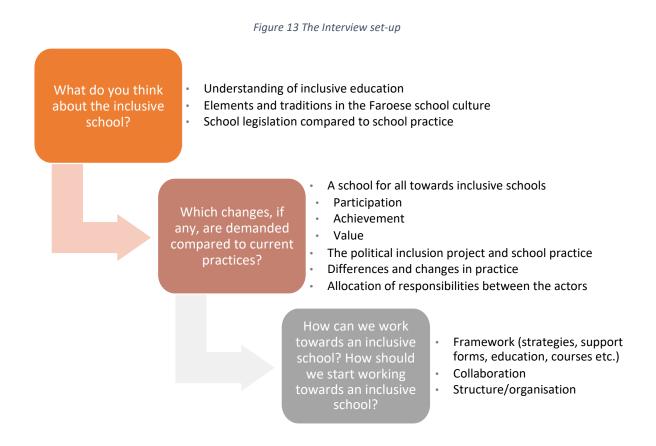
I have used open narrative interviews as a method to get insight into the actors' experiences, activities, perspectives, views and positions concerning developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands' public schools. Additionally, I use interviews to get knowledge about how schools are working with inclusion, how institutions are supported in this process and how pupils and parents experience the inclusive school.

In this way, my interviews have the function of getting people talking about the inclusive school and how they express the process. Due to a lack of written text on inclusive education in Faroese language, I wrote a paper, inspired by the Index of inclusion (Booth et al., 2004) advocating for a *Common language of inclusion* (see appendix 6b). Prior to the interviews all the interviewees got this paper. In addition, the interviewees got the interview questions a couple of days before the interview was conducted (appendix 1).

### 7.4.1 Interview guide

The interviews were conducted with three open questions, each with three to four themes attached, to remind, clarify, and to 'keep the track' both for me as an interviewer and for the interviewee. As pointed out earlier, the interview guide with the questions and subthemes were the outcome of the messy situational map ordered in a categorised table (see chapter 5.4).

In the figure 13, the interview questions are listed.



Although the interview questions were worded as three open questions, I also considered and framed the interview sessions as setting "*the scene for a social interaction rather than a simple tool for collection of "data"*" (Alveson, 2003, p. 169). In that sense, the interview was also a conversation despite the interview scene being formally set to conduct interview. An 'agreement' was made with the interviewee prior to the interview concerning confidentiality,

interview question and interview purpose explaining in everyday language the purpose of the study (see appendix 2, 3, 4, 5).

Based on this understanding, I had identical interview guides for all the interviewees. The interview approach for the pupils/children was conducted differently as interviewing children sets other demands. I was interested in getting insight into the social worlds of the pupils as 'users' of the school system (see also chapter 13 for further reflections on involving the pupils' perspectives). To gain insight into their social world/arena and positions of the pupils, the interview questions were illustrated by pictures, inspired by Peter Farrell's (Farrell, 2004) understanding of inclusive schools, arguing that for a school really to be inclusive there are four conditions to be applied to all pupils in school (see chapters 3 and 13). For most parts of the interviews, I prioritised the many directions of the interviewees' narratives and descriptions. Thus, I worked with an adjusted framework according to each participant and the knowledge I had of them, their profession and their responsibilities (see also chapter 7.4.4).

### 7.4.2 Interviewees

I established telephonic contact to a school or institution as the first step. Once I received confirmation of their willingness to participate, I sent a formal letter to the school/institution providing details of the study explaining that I will conduct interviews and make observations (see appendix 2). The school leaders had to return this signed form to me. Additionally, the leaders pointed out possible interviewees, for example, teachers and pedagogues and parents and pupils relevant for my study, whom I could contact for a possible consent to participate (see appendix 3). Concerning the pupils, I contacted the parents as the first step (appendix 5), before I asked the pupils for participation (appendix 4). Although near impossible, as pointed out before, I tried to avoid choosing participants such as relatives or close friends.

All interviews were supposed to be conducted in the school or institution in separate rooms, but due to COVID -19 restrictions, I had to conduct almost half of the interviews online through Zoom and Teams). As the COVID -19 restriction created new and unexplored circumstances, I had to find ways to invent new interview platforms, which were not well described in the present research literature (see e.g. Howlett, 2022). From my experiences with conducting interviews online, I find this approach acceptable although there are some factors to consider. Conducting the interview remotely requires consideration concerning the shift in viewing one's own room as to ensure a professional and comfortable environment for the interview. It is important to note that some technical breaks can happen during online interviews, but it is also easier to make notes and keep track of the conversation. Additionally, the situations of the interviewees during the time of COVID-19 can show vulnerability, which should be considered during the interview. Conducting research remotely can be an advantage in some cases, but it is important to note any changes that occur when shifting between physical and virtual rooms. It may also be helpful if one has a prior relationship with the interviewees, as this can help establish trust and create a more comfortable environment. It is important to remember that research is never a linear process and must be adjusted to the circumstances. While conducting interviews on Zoom and Teams may present new challenges, it is still possible to have a positive and productive experience. All the interviews with pupils were held face to face. The

duration of the interview was between 15 minutes to 1.5 hours. The variation in time was dependent on whether the interviewee was an adult or child, or if they were in groups.

All the interviews were recorded on a Dictaphone, also the interviews conducted online. The recorded interviews were afterwards copied on my computer for transcription. The protection of recording and transcription followed the rules of the Data Protection Agency (see appendix 13).

### 7.4.4 Transcription

All 67 interviews were recorded on a Dictaphone and transcribed (45 transcribed in full length) in the spoken language, Faroese. The 97 interviewees are numbered from 1 - 97, to remove chances of identification (see overview of informants with number identification in appendix 12). I had assistance to transcribe 45 of the interviews in full length, while extracts related to the three open research questions and the 3-4 themes were transcribed from the remaining interviews (partial transcriptions). Before making an agreement with the assistant, I ensured that the transcriber was experienced and familiar with the theoretical and methodological approach of SA. I ensured that the transcriber had no close relations to the informants and was not a professional in the social arenas and social worlds of the study. To ensure confidentiality, the transcriber was required to sign a confidentiality contract with the University of the Faroe Islands and myself (see appendix 11).

I used the transcription program Express Scribe, and the transcription was guided by guidelines for the external transcriber (appendix 11). The guidelines were on searching for meaning to enrich this research about the development of inclusive education, and thus the focus was not on language. In the transcription process, I relied on Kvale and Brinkmann's (2015) points that transcription is a translation from one narrative mode (oral discourse) into another narrative mode (written discourse), where attention must be paid to the fact, that some things might get lost in transcription.

The purpose of the transcripts is to allow others to be involved, verify, and evaluate the analysis, to follow up the finding with the interviewees and the possible use of the text in publication. The interviews were conducted in Faroese and transcribed in Faroese, but I have tried to analyse and communicate the empirical findings in English (Younas et al., 2022). Additionally, it has also been a challenge to navigate and work with the original transcriptions consisting of nearly 1000 written pages in Faroese. To cope with this large amount of empirical material, I had to condense the material. In the process of meaning condensation, I have used English as a way of translating the empirical material. This was mainly done with the purpose of communicating the empirical findings with my supervisors and later with a broader audience. I listened to the interview again in oral form, following the written transcriptions, while 'meaning transcribing' each interview into English. I have found inspiration from Kvale and Brinkman (2015, p. 270-271), to find meaning, work with and analyse the extensive text material produced by 67 interviews and 99 interviewees (see appendix 12 with overview of the interview of informants with number identification).

The focus has been on widening the original text by adding a hermeneutic layer through meaning interpretation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 267). I have avoided splitting the text into smaller entities by strictly coding in a positivistic approach.

I have illustrated below an extract from one interview of the 67 interviews conducted as an example of how I have worked with the meaning condensation and translation. I will mention here that even though I have meaning condensed, I have frequently visited the original transcriptions and sometimes also the records, to zoom in on some sequences for analytical or presentation purpose. The extract below is from an interview with two pupils (number 7 and 8) in a general school setting.

Table 2 Examples	of meaning	condensation.
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Natural entity (in Faroese)	Meaning condensation (extracts and themes)
0:08:43.0 M1: Ja, mega. Eg og XXX Altso, hann	Attitudes: Teachers treat pupils differently. It does not
skeldar aldrin okkum. Og so um vit gera okkurt,	feel good for the children as it bothers them also. This
so sigur hann; "ná, tað gert ikki við", um onkur	theme is occurring frequently in the interviewThe
annar ger okkurt skeivt, so verður hann óður ímóti	teachers newer scold me but others – it doesn't feel
teimum. Tá er tað gott at vera eg, men	right – it is not comfortable.
0:08:58.3 I: Tá følir tú teg kanska eitt sindur illa	
ella hvat?	
0:09:01.2 M1: Ja, tí at hini fáa skeld, men eg gjørdi	
akkurát tað sama - og eg fái ikki skeld. Tað er eitt	
sindur keðiligt fyri hini. Og í XXX. Ein sum eitur	
XXX, hon dugir mega væl at tosa XXX. Men XXX	
sigur bara; "ná XXX, les tú bara rest fyri okkum"	
- tá læra vit onki, tá hon bara lesur rest. Men eg	
haldi ikki tað er so nógv av órættvísi nú. Tað var	
eitt sindur meira fyrr.	
0:09:39.7 I: Hvussu tá?	Children's' rights: The pupils mention changing
0:09:41.2 M1: Um onkur gjørdi okkurt, so søgdu	attitudes and mention a case where a pupil feels free
tey hvørjuferð; eg ella ein sum eitur XXX. Tey	to mention the injustice. The teachers listen to us
søgdu hvørja ferð "XXX og XXX", og tað bleiv	
man ordiliga óður av - tað var ordiliga keðiligt.	
0:09:56.3 I: Hví heldur tú at tey góvust við tí?	
0:09:58.9 M1: Tí at eg segði tað alvorliga við teir.	
0:10:01.5 I: Lærararnar?	
0:10:02.4 M1: Ja. Og so segði eg, at tað var so ofta	
at tað ikki hevur verið eg. Og so steðgaðu teir	
aftaná tað.	
0:10:08.5 I: Tað er gott at man kann siga frá.	
0:10:10.0 M1: Ja.	
0:10:11.5 I: Og er tað ofta, at tit føla at tað sum tit	
siga At tey lurta eftir tykkum?	
0:10:15.7 M1: Ja. Tey lurta eftir okkum, ja. Tað	
gera tey.	

0:21:34.4 M1: Men nakrir lærarar velja sær onkran persón sum teir allatíð eru eftir, onkuntíð. Tað er nokkso irriterandi. 0:21:41.9 K1: Tað er ein genta í mínum flokki, sum ein lærari allatíð var eftir henni. Men so fór hon simpulthen upp til læraran og segði "veits tú hvat, hatta finni eg meg ikki í, at tú altíð er eftir mær". Sjálvt um hon og tvær aðrar komu for seint, so fór hon bara eftir henni. Tað góðtók hon ikki, so hon segði tað við hann beinanvegin. Hon er eisini ein sovorin sum torir væl at standa upp fyri sjálva, og siga at hatta dámar henni ikki.	Attitudes: Some teacher chasing certain pupils and it feels unfair. But in this case the pupil "stood up for herself" and that is good, they mention.
<ul> <li>0:22:04.1 I: So tað er eitt sindur av tí, at næminganir vera behandlaðir ymiskt?</li> <li>0:22:14.1 M1: Ein lærari Hon er farin úr aftur Hon var eftir - tað vóru xxx sum vóru xxx - hon var altíð eftir teimum. Tað var bara teimum sum hon skeldaðist við.</li> <li>0:22:35.1 I: Kann tað hava nakað við tað at gera, at man kennist so væl her?</li> <li>0:22:39.5 M1: Ja, tað kann vera.</li> <li>0:22:40.7 I: Altso, at tey kenna eisini familjuna aftanfyri, ella uttanfyri?</li> <li>0:22:45.4 M1&amp;K1: Ja.</li> <li>0:22:49.2 K1: Tað eru eisini nøkur sum; um tey ikki dáma foreldrini hjá tær, so dáma teimum heldur ikki teg.</li> <li>0:22:56.5 I: Og tað er nakað sum tit síggja?</li> <li>0:22:57.5 K1&amp;M1: Ja.</li> <li>0:23:01.1 I: Er tað óbehagiligt? Ofta halda børn at tað er óbehagiligt um onnur ikki blíva rættvíst viðfarin.</li> <li>0:23:09.6 K1: Ja</li> </ul>	Close relations and multiple positions (to be professional in very small societies) Teachers are chasing certain children from certain families: <i>If the teachers do not like your parents, they</i> <i>do not like you</i>

# 7.4.3 Consent

As said, I explained the purpose of the study to my informants, received informed consent (see appendix 3, 4, 5) and the option to withdraw at any time.

Before entering the empirical field, I had received all required permissions from the Faroese Data Protection Agency (Dataeftirlitið - see appendix 13). Participants' identities were protected and the specific procedures and methods that I used to ensure the confidentiality of data were maintained - both while the research was in progress and later on, in publication. I have ensured informed consent from the research participants, confidentiality and anonymisation of the participants involved, considered possible consequences for the participants of entering the research project (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015, p. 479). After conducting the interview, I have tried to check whether I have grasped the respondent's meaning. If something was unclear, I have tried to reformulate, ask again and talk with the interviewee to understand the interviewee explanation.

After each interview, I rounded off by debriefing/summarising the interview. Immediately after, I thanked the participants and asked for permission to follow-up if necessary. After leaving the interview setting, I checked that I had my recording. Also, I tried to write down any reflections/impressions from the interview immediately after conducting the interview. I ended each interview by asking if there was anything that the interviewee thought we should have talked about that we had not covered during the interview, so they got the opportunity to communicate some of their thoughts, experiences, visions, beliefs, or anything else that they would like to have conveyed. From the outset, I have been aware that I have entered a field with people who want to be examined, but who also have something messages to convey, and my presence could be an occasion to get these things said. Due to the multiple positions and close relations as reflected upon in chapter 7.3, I have tried to separate my research position in the interview situation and my personal and professional positions in other circumstances.

### 7.5 Reflections on quality criteria

As my intention with this research is to contribute with research-based knowledge about inclusive education development in the Faroese public school, I do not consider that this research could harm the individual. I do not consider that my research methods entail any risks for my participants, but since the research project mainly has focus on the situatedness, the ethical dilemmas in the project have their own distinctive features, as they take place in the real world and in situations where, as a researcher, I am very close to the case (Ramian, 2012). As this research is grounded in an ecological approach, it means that knowledge is grounded and produced by the actors and actants in the situation. According to Brinkmann and Tangaard (2015), qualitative research and its quality must be assessed based on criteria that recognise the research goals and ambitions.

The typical quality criteria in qualitative research are concerned with the research transparency, credibility, and the degree of methodological reflection. Inspired by Brinkman and Tangaard (2015, p. 521 - 531), I have identified quality indicators for this study. Firstly, the perspective of the research is specified, and secondly the participants are situated. Thirdly examples are presented, and fourth, I have carried out provisional credibility checks for coherency and consistency in the analysis phase. Lastly, the research aims to create resonance in readers. According to Karpatschof (2015), one quality criteria is that those who have provided data must be able to recognise themselves and that the research environment recognises the research work (Karpatschof, 2015). An attempt to estimate a tentative quality measure has been to invite the informants to discuss the tentative findings. I arranged a thematic day and presented tentative findings from my project regarding the eight themes. I asked the participants at the thematic day to evaluate the findings and comment. Another facet was discussing the tentative findings – especially concerning the discourse on inclusive education in Faroe Islands with my colleagues at the Faculty of Education.

# Chapter 8. Knowledge production

Using the SA approach to knowledge production through a post-structuralist tradition means that both the shaping of the empirical material and the conditioning of the analytical gaze are part of constructing the object field under investigation. As part of this, my analysis strategy intends to operationalise my research interest and my metatheoretical viewpoints by constructing an analytical space through mapping to interrogate my empirical material to discover patterns and meaning.

The empirical material consists of a quantity of written text, how actors and actants (human and nonhuman) express experiences, activities, views, and positions interpreted in "*a manageable way*" concerning the inclusive school in the Faroe Islands from their social worlds' / arenas' perspective as "*people, things, and action can only be interpreted and have meaning in the situation in which they are found or occur*" (Clarke et al, 2022, p. 104).

By using the analytical tools of SA, the mapping enabled me to see and understand the empirical material and to track the analytical process (see appendix 7 on the mapping process). I have not included the actual situational mappings in the final dissertation, as I have used the mapping as an analytical tool. Rather, the mapping has allowed me to interpret the material more deeply by offering specific tools in the analytic toolbox of the qualitative researcher. Situational analysis is a reiterative process where the researcher goes back and forth between maps and constructs various versions in a continuous state of becoming (den Outer et al., 2013). Thus, the maps can be seen as exposing and making the inside research process visible and possible to track, as well as revealing the researcher's work and decisions made when selecting and portraying the elements.

In my approach to mapping the situation of the empirical material, I have mapped all the empirical insight I have gained through reading the material. Everything potentially relevant to the situation has been mapped in the situational map. I noted everything I knew about the situation by questioning who and what was present in the situation, who and what had importance and consequences in the situation and what was involved in producing knowledge about the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. As the research questions and the interview questions were the main focus providing guidelines to elicit relevant passages and themes from the empirical material, my focus was on experiences, views, perspectives, activities and strategies and structural and organisational measures led by my background knowledge and observations - the elements were noted as themes or codes in the initial mapping. Thus, in the mass of empirical material, certain features were marked out and emphasised. In contrast, others receded into the background in the attempt to construct an analytical entity aimed at organising knowledge about the situation in a manageable way (Lund, 2014, p. 224). At the same time, by using situational mapping, the idea of the unstructured and messiness of the mapping constructing the situation in relation to the research field was in focus (Hein, 2018, p. 198). Instead of coding, the use of mapping has given an order to the empirical material according to elements and themes emerging from the empirical material, inspired by MacLure (2010, 2013) who, leaning on Deleuze and Guattari, points at "the offences of coding" (MacLure, 2013, p. 167). While rejecting coding, MacLure (2013) operates with the idea of themes and nodes having a "special glow". This idea of themes and nodes having a special glow together with "sensitising concepts" setting directions (Blumer, 1969, p. 147-148) has inspired my work with the empirical material.

In the following I explain how I worked with the thematisation/mapping of these texts. With the meaning-condensed material, the markings of the scenarios of concern grew from the research questions' and interview questions' perspectives, as demonstrated in chapter 7. I used thematisation to open further analysis of scenarios of concern and to pinpoint significant issues in my collected material. In my thematisation work, I marked elements driven by the empirical guide (interview questions) and the sub-themes within the three main interview questions (see appendix 1a). Although these questions and themes supplied the leading thread for the process, I also marked text where I identified relevant issues and added themes along the mapping process. Clarke et al. (2022; 2018) propose that the maps are not the final analytic outcomes of analysis; rather, they allow researchers to come into the material more deeply by offering specific tools in the analytic toolbox of the qualitative researcher.

### 8.1 NVivo

Situational analysis does not offer a computer-based program to organise/systemise the empirical material but suggests mapping in programs as Word and PowerPoint. I did not consider these tools sufficient because of the amount of empirical material, so I needed a program to systemise and organise the empirical material. NVivo laid the basis for organising the material, including the transcribed and meaning-condensed interviews translated from Faroese to English, documents, observations, articles, and memos.

In the mapping process of the empirical material, I used the program NVivo as a way of helping me to read the empirical material in a systematic way. Thus, instead of papers and pens to map, I used NVivo to map relevant elements while reading. As a first step I started marking the material with the elements from the messy maps in mind/as guidelines which shaped the research design and the empirical guide (see appendix 1a and 1c). In NVivo, I organised the empirical material into 'cases' to be able to trace the thematisation to the social worlds/arenas. In this way, NVivo assisted me in working with and transparently producing analysis. In appendix 8, there is an overview of the work in NVivo enlisting the eight overall nodes, the 67 themes traced to the files and references in the empirical material.

One advantage of NVivo is that with such encodings, one also gets the surrounding text when eliciting the themes. Thus, the themes have also served as input to examples, where I could see how the themes unfolded/emerged in the material. One other advantage is that one can alter, replace, and add themes, under themes and nodes.

# 8.2 Mapping the empirical material: The outcome of the situational mapping

This process of finding themes and nodes in NVivo was done in the second and third mapping (see chapter 5.3 with an overview of mapping tools in this research) illustrated in the map below. The second mapping, the situational map, was used to find themes and nodes in the

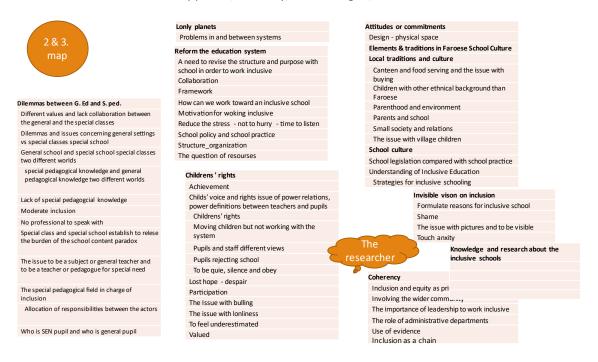
empirical material regardless of from who or where they stemmed from, for example, from which actors, actants, social worlds or arenas. The third mapping, the relational maps, were used to find relations between the different themes found in the empirical material.

Before describing the analytical process in greater detail, I will inform the reader, that I will not go in depth with the processual analytical mappings, for example, the mapping of the notes and themes, the situational descriptions and the integrated social world/arenas and positional mappings as these are processual analytical steps, forming the final abductive analysis presented in chapter 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15. Attached to this dissertation, there is an overview of the mappings (appendix 7), an overview of the nodes and themes (appendix 8) and an overview of the empirical and analytical approach depicted in a chart (appendix 10). Due to the requirements for protecting the informants, the compromised empirical material, the 14 situational descriptions and the ten integrated positional, social worlds and arenas and situational descriptions are not attached as appendixes. To get a sense and insight into that material, the reader can turn to the appendix, especially appendix 7. When interview extracts in the analysis are presented, the number of the actors and the professions is identified (e.g. "pupil in special educational needs settings, no. 9").

I find it unnecessary to exemplify nodes and themes here by taking extracts from the material, both because the empirical material is a multisite study and not for example in depth interviews and because the extract must be unfolded in connection to the position, social world/arena and situation they are played out in. Thus, the empirical material is more suited for a point-driven thick analysis than for taking some single extract from the empirical material, for example, from one interview, case, or situation, because the empirical material is a mosaic of many pieces, where concepts are sensitised (Blumer, 1969). The reader may wonder and ask: how have the nodes and themes emerged and how have the situational descriptions and integrated positional and social world/arena stories emerged? Can we get an explanation? The following appendices should provide the answer: Appendix 8 gives an overview of the 'machine room', NVivo, where one can track the references, count the files and references for each node and theme (appendix 8) while one can see the overview of informants in appendix 12 and the mapping overview in appendix 7.

As with the journey in the empirical world, the research world is a constructed empirical and analytical platform. Thus, I need to include the social worlds and arenas, positions, and situation to present extracts from the empirical material. Having highlighted these circumstances, I will now turn to the emergence of the nodes and themes by presenting an ordered situational map of nodes and themes mapped with open coding of the empirical material in NVivo (appendix 8).

Figure 14 2nd and 3rd map of the 67 themes bulked in eight nodes: Invisibility (silence), knowledge, dilemmas, reforms, lonely planets, coherency, childrens' rights, and attitudes.



As said, I used the empirical guide as a way of starting to thematise the material, but I was also curious to mark other themes coming up in the process, for example, themes like "picture and to be visible, shame, touch anxiety etc.", resulting in the headline/node "invisible vison on inclusion". As seen in the map above, the map is ordered into eight headlines/nodes and 67 themes organised under the eight nodes, although being interconnected and on the same map. Taking the example with the node "Invisible vision on inclusion", the node grew out of the empirical material nourished and fed by phrases and themes in the empirical material. The node "knowledge" is tied to expressions concerning knowledge on inclusive education and on research. Thus, these two nodes "invisibility" and "knowledge" correspond to each other. The nodes invisibility and knowledge attract themes concerning the actors' and actants' possibilities for understanding and developing inclusive education. Thus, the node "invisible vision on inclusion" invites to explore the node "knowledge" as a development factor where the conclusion could be that education and knowledge are needed and must be initiated to put words to the inclusive school. Otherwise, the potential to contribute to the development of the inclusive principles of inclusive practice is absent.

By working with the empirical material, some overarching nodes crystallised, where some grew out of the empirical material, while others became visible with the help of literature, for example, the themes under the node "coherency" were inspired by the keyword "inclusion and equity as principles", "involving the wider community", "the importance of leadership to work inclusively", "the role of administrative departments", and "use of evidence", in the whole system approach (Ainscow, 2020) and by expressions in and reflection of the empirical material, for example "inclusion as a chain", stemming from my own reflections on the empirical material and the different themes emerging from the memos. Another node corresponding to the node "coherency" is "lonely planets", which solely grew out of the

empirical material, addressing themes such as "lacking collaboration", "feeling abandoned" and "experiences loneliness" by practising separation between special needs education and general education, calling upon changes for promoting coherency within the school system.

"Dilemmas" and "reforms" were two other nodes in the mapping. The node "dilemmas" was inspired by the many references addressing dilemmas between special needs education and general education, while the node "reforms" addressed ways of coping with the dilemmas. Together with the nodes "lonely planets", and "coherency", "reforms" points to themes concerning changes needed in practice to proceed in developing inclusive schools.

Another node is "attitude", which was not a theme in the initial situational messy maps but became a keynote through the connection with other themes mixed with both themes found in the empirical material, for example, "village pupils", "loneliness", "bullying" and more theory-driven concepts such as achievement, participation and present (e.g., Ainscow et al, 2006; Farrell, 2004). Related themes were collected under another key node as "Children's rights". The nodes on attitude and children's rights were constantly addressed by the pupils as a main factor for feeling included or excluded, both by pupils' experiences of inclusive/excluding attitudes and by pupils observing these different attitudes as a main factor affecting the feeling of inclusive environments. The nodes on children's rights and attitudes have several other sub-themes concerning "changing the school into more child-friendly school", "power relations between teachers and pupils", "moving pupils but not working with the system", "pupils rejecting school", "to be quiet, silence and obey", "lost hope – despair", "issues with bullying", "issues with loneliness", "feeling underestimated" etc.

The whole mapping process made me get to know my material all over again, and this deeper knowledge meant that during the analysis work, I also began a more intuitive approach with memory work. Some examples budded and multiplied on to other material, where something in my material suddenly took on new meaning, and I remembered places in my material that were relevant to continue working with, for example the theme "pictures" connected to "attitudes" which is also connected to the node "invisibility".

In this whirlwind of unsettling, movable and fluid elements in the empirical material apparently pointing in different directions, sometimes crossing, and sometime leading from one point to another without a clear agenda, the journey in the empirical material has literally been like the metaphor of the rhizome (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987b) where "*its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature* [...] *It is composed not of units but of dimensions, or rather directions in motion. It has neither beginning nor end, but always a middle (milieu) from which it grows and which it overspills*" (pp. 21-22).

Working in and on, how to explain and present, in this "messiness" is confusing and hard work. It is like detective work, establishing patterns, coherency and meaning where some phrases stand out prominently, with no place to locate them. And it is here, during this stage of the research process, one feels one is walking in a swamp of this huge empirical material.

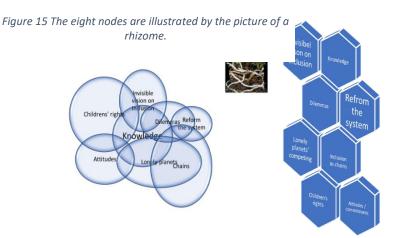
And it is there the situational mapping tools of SA can help, as the maps can be seen as laying bare the internal world of the researcher – revealing what we, as researchers, do with our

research material and the processes we employ or decisions we make when we depict the elements at the heart of the inquiry (Clarke et al, 2018).

The mapping allowed me to dig deep into the material, and simultaneously also create headings/elements and organise the material in a manageable way through the reiterative process of going back and forth between

maps and constructing various versions of the material in a continuous state of becoming (den Outer et al., 2013).

Taking the metaphor of the rhizome as understood by Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987a), the 67 themes within the eight nodes are illustrated in a situational map, which is produced and constructed, but is



also "a map that is always detachable, connectable, reversible, modifiable, and has multiple entryways and exits its own lines of flight. It is tracings that must be put on the map, not the opposite" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987b, p. 22).

Thus, I do not see the themes as isolated and self-sufficient, but more as pairs of themes crossing and moving/leading in different directions, adding other themes, and sometimes supplementing each other or contradicting each other, and opening out to other themes. Hence, the eight nodes have served as filters and as a means of organising the number of themes coming up in the empirical material (see appendix 8).

The analytical approach with the eight nodes offers a key to open and tie together the different social worlds and arenas with some essential themes, which I imagine can contribute to shedding light on the research questions (see appendix 9 with an overview of the social worlds and arenas, research questions, overall themes, and theoretical foci). They facilitate the description and analysis of the situation in the Faroe Islands coherently.

# 8.3 Analytical approach: The mappings as interpretative analytical steps

Guided by the outcome of the nodes and themes in the situational map, I have used the eight nodes as a way of selecting what to pick up in the writing of these descriptions. These descriptions are also the background for the integrated description and analysis (appendix 7). These descriptive narratives are therefore part and outcome of my previous mapping but also a picture of what happens when special lenses are used in my description. At the same time, the integrated positional, social worlds/arenas and situational description has been chosen as a form of production which in many ways is unfinished. It shows a sample of descriptions, both describing a reality and at the same time producing a reality through the work being described.

The descriptions/stories have had the purpose of serving as the background and further steps into the analysis (chapter 9). The move from the entire empirical material to selected examples in the dissertation involves selecting some and dropping others. I sought to hold my selected examples up against the rest of the material to see if they occur elsewhere, possibly in other forms or in opposition. I have not done this based on a quantitative idea that something must appear a certain number of times before it is significant, but more to create nuances and depth of the example. The final analysis is therefore abductive with the aim to imbue the SA with rich, thick analysis of the interpreted empirical material.

The analysis is guided by the four processual research questions summed up into analytical conclusion points (see chapter 16) attempting to enlighten the problem field of the present study. With this overall aim as a common thread, the analysis is framed through the previous analytical mappings of the social worlds/arenas, situations and positions and framed as a coherent analysis of the becoming process of developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands (see further chapter 9). Thus, the flow in the analysis is characterised by a rhizomatic approach simultaneously using the analytical mappings from SA in the approach, which can both address the messiness and complexity of the analysis while concurrently creating structure in the analytical landscape.

# Part III: The analysis

Part III presents the analysis, divided into six sections. The first and second sections focus on the global and local school policy documents and administrative layers concerning developing inclusion (chapters 10 and 11). The third section moves towards the Faroese societal and cultural platform to further analyse the actors within and surrounding the schools (chapter 12). Moving to the fourth section, the analysis turns to the experiences and perspectives of pupils in the Faroese public school (chapter 13). The fifth analysis section explores how different understandings of the relationship between general education and special needs education can influence ways of approaching inclusive school development (chapter 14). Finally, the last analysis section takes a whole situational approach and builds on the previous five analysis sections to understand inclusive education.

# Chapter 9. Situational analysis of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands

The analysis builds on the analytical findings from the previous mapping of the empirical material and has, thus, an abductive approach. The abductive analysis approach implies that the points in this analysis have appeared in the previous analysis process of four different mapping steps (see the process in chapter 5 and chapter 8), which form the background for the whole situational analysis presented in the upcoming analysis chapters.

I will briefly summarise the previous analytical steps. Firstly, the eight overall nodes "attitudes", "children's rights", "knowledge", "invisibility", "reforms", "dilemmas", "lonely planets", and "coherence" organised the 67 themes that emerged through relational maps from the situational map. The nodes and the themes were used in the first analysis as a starting point for the abductive, theoretically informed analysis. The descriptive narratives/stories form the analysis's basis further from the nodes and the themes. Again, an empirical layer with another pointer is obtained by linking institutions'/organisations' social worlds with the themes. The fourth analysis was again based on the previous analysis of the empirical material, with a different rationale than the three analyses that preceded the fourth, as the fourth was an integrated/positional, social arenas/worlds and descriptive situational analysis through the lenses of the eight nodes. Thus the last empirical analysis points are the driving force for the abductive analysis. This approach aligns well with GT and CGT's interpretive, constructivist turn and SA as another twist on the qualitative paradigm.

As highlighted in chapter 8, regarding the analytical approach, the previous mappings have centred on the interactions between actors and actants in the social worlds and arenas, thus rejecting the conditional matrix of micro, meso and macro levels (Clarke et al. 2018; 2022). While the analysis below is organised hierarchically with the policy and administrative level and progressing to the actors within and surrounding the schools, previous mapping exercises have not been structured in levels (see chapter 5).

# 9.1 The structure of the analysis

The analysis is guided by the four processual research questions summed up into analytical conclusion points (see chapter 16), attempting to enlighten the problem field of the present research. The flow in the analysis is characterised by a rhizomatic approach that simultaneously addresses the messiness and complexity while, at the same time, for analytical purposes, creating a structure in the analytical landscape. Having been on this research journey in the empirical material and the conceptual, theoretical, and situated landscape and working with the material using the analytical mapping tools from SA, this final analysis will emphasise and communicate central points structured in the six analyses illustrated below:

Analysis 1. Policy and administration	Analysis 2. Signs of transferral and translation
Analysis 3. Culture and practice	Analysis 4. To be a pupil in the Faroese public school
Analysis 5. General education and special needs education	Analysis 6: A whole situational approach

The whole analysis is based on an understanding of developing inclusive education as a matter of policies and practices simultaneously caught up in the tension between different dimensions, discourses, understandings, and dilemmas between special and general education.

Furthermore, I have employed theoretical and conceptual elements (chapters 2, 3 and 4), enabling me to analyse multidisciplinary perspectives by employing an ecological approach.

With an emphasis on the political, cultural and societal dimension of developing inclusive schools with the Faroe Islands as an analysis entity, the analysis highlights how the global vision of the inclusive school meets the local culture and traces processes of possible translation and transformations in the local school policy and culture.

The analysis starts with analysis (1) policy and administration (chapter 10), exploring signs of transfer and translation processes in public school policy documents supplied by the views and positions of actors. This concerns motivations, conditions, strategies, and structural and organisational measures to develop inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands. After that, the analysis moves to analysis (2), which examines signs of transferral and translation (chapter 11) elsewhere in the educational, societal, and cultural environment, for example signs of increasing awareness of children's rights and well-being. Analysis (3) looks at culture and practice (chapter 12) and thus moves from the global and local school policy documents and administrative layers towards the Faroese societal and cultural platform as an area for further analysis among the actors within the schools and surrounding the schools. Moving from the perspectives, experiences, and views of the actors within and surrounding the schools, analysis (4), to be a pupil in the Faroese public school (chapter 13), turns to the experiences and perspectives of being pupils in a school system that has no clear aims to be an inclusive school and lacks supportive measures to work inclusively. Analysis (5), general education and special needs education (chapter 14) explores how different understandings of the relationship between general education and special needs education can influence ways of approaching inclusive school development.

The final analysis (6) is *a whole situational approach* (chapter 15), with a focus on the whole 'situation' suggests approaching inclusion as situated inclusion as a term developed through the previous five analysis phases to understand inclusive education.

In chapter 16, the threads from all analysis sections will be combined in search for answers to the four processual questions that form the research guidelines for this dissertation (see chapter 1.2 and chapters 16.1, 16.2, 16.3 and 16.4 where the research questions are listed).

# Chapter 10. School policy and administration

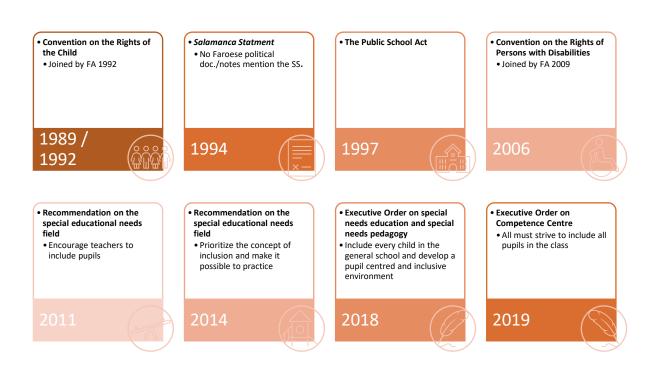
This analysis explores signs in public policy documents of views and positions of actors concerning motivations, conditions, strategies, structural and organisational measures to develop inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands.

The focus is on policy documents and actors responding to and addressing the policy documents, analysed through transferring, translating, and transforming (Cowen, 2006; 2009). Digging deeper into these processes, the analysis focus is on how school policy is enacted and governed based on the concept of policy enactments (Ball et al., 2012), inspired by governmentality (Foucault, 1980b; Rose et al., 2006) in a very small society with distinctive features and challenges (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018; Sutton, 2007; Veenendaal, 2020). Approaching the processes of transfer, translation and transformation (Cowen, 2006; 2009) through the concept of school policy enactment, different discourses (e.g. Dyson, 1999) and dimensions (e.g. Haug, 2017) (see chapter 3) framing these processes are viewed as interacting and not as separated discourses and dimensions.

In the table below, I have highlighted an extract of the policy documents on schools, so-called "mother" documents, as they both are a "topic" in the analysis but also a "source" for other documents addressing other themes highlighted in the analysis (Prior, 1998, 2003). The purpose of searching these documents is to cover and get additional insight into the conditions and motivations to develop inclusive schools (see chapter 6 for an overview of the documents).

The policy documents listed in the figure below are 'core' documents considered to have an impact on other documents, policy and practice, and thus on the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. Among the international documents are the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the Salamanca Statement (1994), and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006). The Faroese core policy documents comprise the Public School Act (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997) and two recommendations on the special educational needs field that mention inclusion (Fólkaskúlaráðið, 2011; Mentamálaráðið, 2014b), and two orders on the special educational needs field (Kunngerð um sernámsfrøði, 2018) and on the Competence Centres (Kunngerð um førleikastovur, 2019).

# Table 3: Policy "core" documents having an impact on other documents, policy and practice concerning inclusion in the Faroe Islands



With an interactionist constructionist approach to the documents (Mik-Meyer, 2005), the purpose of incorporating the documents in the analysis is not to get a 'right' understanding of inclusion, but to get information on the topic, not as separated from the other social world and arenas but as an integral part of the whole empirical and analytical platform. In this approach, the documents are nothing in themselves, as they only get meaning in the social world/arena they are interacting with (Mik-Meyer, 2005). By examining how the documents interact and have consequences on practice, the assumption is that the meaning of the documents is created in their use in practice and is therefore situated (Prior, 2003). When documents will differ according to the local translation and interpretation (Mik-Meyer, 2005). The documents thus have a governing effect on the actors mediating, regulating, and authorising and co-ordinating people's activities (Smith, 2001, p. 160). Viewing the documents from interaction and interpretative perspectives, they are connected and related to previous episodes in the same or other environments and future perspectives (Latour, 1987).

Although metaphorically picturing policy documents as the "core" or "mother" documents can be perceived as creating 'symbolic monuments', for example the Public School Act, the Salamanca Statement, and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, they are not at all made of rock. The documents are both retrospective and affect the future and influence another becoming of documents and are both changeable and interpretive. These and other documents that have followed - and are missing - are indicators of how the Faroe Islands understands inclusive schools in tension between different purposes and agendas concerning educational issues.

## 10.1 The Public School Act

Unlike many countries, including almost all the Nordic countries, the Faroe Islands have yet to explicitly stated inclusion as an overall political goal for the school system. The Public School Act (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997) is from 1997, and, although revised several times, does not clearly and specifically cement the vision of inclusive schools and does not mention the word inclusion.

The Public School Act lays the fundamental values of the public school, building on the concept of being a school for all, based on the idea of a democratic welfare state. According to Faroese education policy, every child should be able to attend a primary school in his or her village. The public school is committed to learning and to developing a place for all pupils despite background or capability. The purpose of the Faroese public school, as stated in the Public School Act from 1997³⁸ is divide into three fundamental core purposes:³⁹ The translation is mine, as there are no formal/official translation of the Public School Act into English⁴⁰.

2 (1). The task of the public school is to ensure attention to the individual pupil and in cooperation with the parent that the pupil is taught skills, working methods and language skills which contribute to the individual pupil's personal development.

2 (2). The public school should create opportunities for experience, playful spirit, and deep thinking so that the pupil can learn their truth, long-term thinking, and a desire to learn, and that they can use their skills for independent assessment, taking a stand and being active and equipping themselves with confidence and for the opportunities that exist in society.

2 (3). The public school shall, in harmony and cooperation with the parents, help to give the children a Christian and moral education. Based on homelike culture, it should teach the pupil about the Faroese culture and help them understand other meanings and the interaction of humans with nature. It must prepare the pupil for realisation, co-determination, co-responsibility, rights, and duties in a democratic society. The education and practical life of the school should be based on tolerance, equality, and democracy.

This extract from the Public School Act points towards an understanding of the public school as a place maintaining the task of multiple developments of the pupil both concerning subject/professional development, but also social and personal development, anchored in Christian moral values and local culture grounded in tolerance, equity and democracy.

³⁸ § 2. Uppgáva fólkaskúlans er við atliti at tí einstaka næminginum og í samstarvi við foreldrini at fremja, at næmingarnir nema sær kunnleika, fimi, arbeiðshættir og málbúnar, sum stuðla tí einstaka næminginum í fjølbroyttu, persónligu menningini.Stk. 2. Fólkaskúlin eigur at skapa sovorðin líkindi fyri uppliving, virkishugi og djúp-hugsan, at næmingarnir kunnu menna sína sannkenning, sítt hugflog og hug til at læra, og at teir kunnu venja síni evni til sjálvstøðuga meting, støðutakan og virkan og búnast í treysti til sín sjálvs og til teir møguleikar, sum eru í felagsskapinum. Stk. 3. Fólkaskúlin skal í sátt og samvinnu við foreldrini hjálpa til at geva næmingunum eina kristna og siðalagsliga uppaling. Hann skal við støði í heimligari mentan menna kunnleika næminganna um føroyska mentan og hjálpa teimum at fata aðrar mentanir og samspæl manna við náttúruna. Hann skal búgva næmingarnar til innlivan, samavgerð, samábyrgd, rættindi og skyldur í einum fólkaræðisligum samfelag. Undirvísing og gerandislív skúlans eiga at vera grundað á andsfrælsi, tollyndi, javnvirði og fólkaræði.

³⁹ My emphasis with bold letters and my translation. The Faroese edition is cited in the footnotes above.

⁴⁰ E-mail correspondence with BUMR 31.01.2023

According to the Public School Act, besides being responsible for the subject/professional development, the public school has taken over to some extent the responsibility for the pupils' personal and social development, and is also profoundly anchored in traditional Faroese values and culture, for example giving the parents a mandate to, in some cases, take their children out of the class and educate them privately at home. Another debated rule states that children are to be given a "*Christian and moral education*" at school. However, this principle has been removed from school codes in many countries because of its collision with modern values based on universal children's rights (Gaini, 2009, p. 5).

Although these intentions can seem positive as they, in a Faroese context, seem harmless and difficult to find fault with, they are also wide open for interpretation. They have inbuilt contradictions, which the actors in the field must cope with and find solutions to, both as administrators and practitioners in and around the schools. Weighing professional, personal, and social development perspectives, they indicate contradictions between the subject/content part and the personal and social dimensions, which are problematic to combine.

The Public School Act, often seen as a 'monument', is affected by local tradition and history, for example in emphasising Faroese culture and Christian moral values and has roots in the historical attachment to Denmark as the Public School Act is almost a copy of the Danish Public School Act from 1993 (Folkeskoleloven, 1993)⁴¹. With a legislative amendment in 2011, the Faroese public school was given a new national curriculum where Christianity is listed first in the curriculum, "*reflecting the continued strong position of Christianity in the Faroese community*" (Volckmar, 2019, p. 129). According to Volckmar (2019), the Faroese national curriculum legislated in 2011 was inspired by the Norwegian Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion in Primary and Secondary Education and Training of 2006 (ibid.).

As a fundamental basis for the content of the public school, the Public School Act has also affected other documents, for example the National Curriculum (Námsætlanir fyri fólkaskúlan, 2011)⁴², where the word 'inclusion' is not mentioned at all. Without going into detail about the lengthy National Curriculum for the Faroese public school, the curriculum document is built on two basic competencies (støðisførleikar) and subject competences (fakligar førleikar). Even though the four basic competencies (to tolerate, to communicate, to explore and to create) are mentioned as the basis of all the subjects (fakini), they are only worded in a minor text, copied and altered for the different subject curricula (Námsætlanir fyri fólkaskúlan, 2011).

## 10.2 School policy directions

A total absence of the word inclusion both in the Public School Act and in the national curriculum indicates how inclusive education figures in the school policy landscape in the

⁴¹ § 1.Folkeskolens opgave er i samarbejde med forældrene at fremme elevernes tilegnelse af kundskaber, færdigheder, arbejdsmetoder og udtryksformer, der medvirker til den enkelte elevs alsidige personlige udvikling.

Stk. 2. Folkeskolen må søge at skabe sådanne rammer for oplevelse, virkelyst og fordybelse, at eleverne udvikler erkendelse, fantasi og lyst til at lære, således at de opnår tillid til egne muligheder og baggrund for at tage stilling og handle.

Stk. 3. Folkeskolen skal gøre eleverne fortrolige med dansk kultur og bidrage til deres forståelse for andre kulturer og for menneskets samspil med naturen. Skolen forbereder eleverne til medbestemmelse, medansvar, rettigheder og pligter i et samfund med frihed og folkestyre. Skolens undervisning og hele dagligliv må derfor bygge på åndsfrihed, ligeværd og demokrati.

⁴² Námsætlanirnar byggja á kjarnaøki, støðisførleikar og fakligar førleikar. Faklig førleikamál eru orðað fyri ymsu stigini í hvørji lærugrein sær og stuðla einum samanhangandi stigvøkstri frá lægsta til hægsta stig.

Faroe Islands, but does not reflect the whole landscape of school policy as school policy and practice also are formed by other means.

Viewing policies as discursive formation (Ball et al., 2012, p. 123) produced by written and not-written text and other signals (and lack of signals), one can argue these productions speak to broader social processes of schooling. They are made up of groups of statements that constitute the discursive formation of what school is and should contain.

A lack of attention and even silence in issues of inclusion in policy settings reveal how other prioritisations and conditions have influenced policy production processes contesting inclusive school policy (Hardy & Woodcock, 2015; Magnússon, 2019). Despite the wordlessness of inclusive policy in the core school policy documents, this silence also communicates issues concerning inclusive education as contesting other educational policy's purposes and aims at different levels of the education system (Magnússon et al., 2019; Ball, 2006b; Bradlinger, 1997). As seen in both the Public School Act and the national curriculum, the purpose of school is still anchored in the maintenance of the Faroese language and culture and the preservation of Christianity. Thus, the silence on inclusion in the Faroe Islands must also be understood in the light of a mixture of regressive and conservative powers and a hypermodern society (Gaini, 2021) in a battlefield between education and pedagogy where soft values have been neglected, as indicated in the national curriculum (Námsætlanir fyri fólkaskúlan, 2011).

The Faroe Islands decided to participate in the OECD's PISA assessments in 2006. As many other countries, the Faroe Islands was also 'PISA shocked' and invented several interventions to improve PISA results. This led to an amendment in the Public School Act to implement a national test for all pupils in fourth and sixth grade in public schools. The decision to participate in PISA was taken at a political level but is still opposed by many actors within the schools (Volckmar, 2019). Although not all actors agree on participation in these large-scale assessments, the Faroese government acted on the PISA results leading to an amendment in the Public School Act resulting in the implementation of national tests in the public schools. My point here is to highlight that UNESCO's global vision of developing inclusive schools did not get the same local political treatment in the Faroese legislation. This might indicate that measuring subject competences among the pupils is prioritised higher than developing inclusive school environments. As other researchers have elucidated (Engsig & Johnstone, 2015), the analysis of the Faroe Islands situation points to the efficacy discourse being dominant and suppressive, that is, those discourses push the ethical and pedagogical discourse to the background.

To understand school policy directions in the Faroe Islands, I draw on the advice of Ball et al. (2012), who encourage the incorporation of different actors and actants of schooling into policy analysis to make better sense of policy enactments. As said in the introduction to the policy analysis, I will draw on policy documents and actors responding to and addressing these documents. Drawing on three quotes from three different actors, these extracts highlight that the inclusive school is seen through the glasses of the public school in the meaning of a tolerant school and interprets the inclusive school in that framework.

Interviewee: I understand the inclusive school as a tolerant school. The Act sets the pupils in the centre and that is good. To a large extent, we have thought about the school system in the Faroe Islands that everybody shall be equal and be together [...] and we have had very few pupils outside the ordinary teaching [...] (Informant from the administrative, political, advisory, and educational sector, no. 89)

Interviewee: I think of the Public School Act [...] It says everything in advance (concerning the inclusive school) [...] the human view to set the pupil in the centre [...] everything is in the Act in advance. It says what the purpose of our work is. All the pupils in the municipality have the right to be here as the Act is for everyone. For me it sounds strange that we shall have more legislation on inclusion. We already have the Act. However, how we practice this aim is another challenge to which we can return to [...] (Teacher in a general school, no. 5)

Interviewee: We have never questioned if the school should be for everyone. It lies implicit in our minds [...] historically we have been very inclusive because we, from old times, have been so remote from others [special educational needs setting]. We have worked with finding local solutions to include all the children in the area by, e.g. establishing special units in the local school (Informant from the administrative, political, advisory, and educational sector, no. 77)

These interview extracts highlight the traditional and historical assumption of an egalitarian society (Skorini et al., 2022). However, because of the small and remote islands and villages, there has been an obvious necessity to practice a school for all and to find local ways of handling challenges.

Interpreting inclusive development in that framework provides an angle (among others discussed further in this chapter) into understanding the by-passing of inclusion in the Faroese school policy environment and the overall silent discourse on inclusive education. In viewing policies as statements about practice intended to bring about idealised solutions to diagnosed problems (Bacchi, 2012; Ball, 2006b; Ball et al., 2012), the Faroese school system has not been seen by the authorities and the practicians as un-egalitarian. Thus, solutions to the problems encountered have not been sought in the ethos of the inclusive school and what it could offer. Although not recognised or visible, there are challenges to approach differences and diversity, as the following extract from an informant highlights:

Interviewee: I think the school could be for everyone, with all the resources we have put in. However, we know that school is not for everybody. Moreover, the question is why? Do we not manage to organise the school, or do we lack knowledge? We have done a lot to develop the schools, but it seems as if something is not working [...] it is a challenging task, which all are struggling with. In all the Nordic countries, we hear the same. The question is how we create an inclusive school.

Interviewer: When I look at school policy documents, the first time I see the word "inclusion" is in the recommendations on the special educational needs field from 2011?

Interviewee: Yes. Nevertheless, the inclusive school is built in the Act. That you put the pupil in the centre and consult the pupil [...] We started with the concept of having the small school in the larger school as a way of working with special needs in the general school. The idea started with inclusion in mind, but the idea was not followed through [...] Moreover, we could do it better [...] by following up on the initiatives and following them. (Informant in the administrative, political, advisory and educational sector, no. 90)

According to this interview extract, the informant translates the inclusive vision through pragmatic informal channels and through the Public School Act. The interviewee mentions that there have been some initiatives to establish "the small school" in the larger school to work

with special needs in the general school. This could indicate translating and transforming the inclusive principles into practice with an inclusive approach working in dilemmas between special needs education and general education, which will be further explored in chapter 14. The interesting point here is that there are signs of inclusive initiatives which are not followed through, as mentioned by the informant. Without documents to regulate and authorise the activities (Smith, 2001), the translation process is interpreted individually through existing legislation in the form of the Public School Act from 1997. Another critical point here is that due to pragmatic administration and lacking written legislation/guidelines, the administrative/political sector referring to the vertical dimension (Haug, 2017) is seeking signs of direction in the practical or horizontal dimension (ibid.) If the vertical and horizontal dimensions become identical, the vertical dimension is of no help in the horizontal dimension. Thus the translating process of the inclusive vision is characterised by a high level of uncertainty, reflecting the tension in the policy documents and bypassing the Salamanca Statement, which states that "the government must give the highest policy and budgetary priority to improve education service so that all children could be included" (1994, p. ix).

#### 10.3 The Salamanca Statement

As part of Denmark, the Faroe Islands did not attend the meeting in Salamanca in 1994 and was not among the 92 countries and 25 international organisations that approved the Salamanca Statement in June 1994. Through my research in policy documents concerning the Salamanca Statement, I have not found any Faroese public policy document or policy notes/references from meetings (Løgmansskrivstovan, 2022) that could indicate some dialogue between Denmark and the Faroe Islands concerning the Danish approval of the Salamanca Statement. Taking into consideration how policy making in very small post-colonial societies often is based on the individual being in the right place at the right time, it is logical to conclude that there was nobody in the Faroe Islands who was influencing or pushing the political system to grasp the Salamanca declaration, in contrast to the case with the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), as discussed later.

Despite no overt indications anywhere about why the Salamanca Statement has been by-passed in the Faroese political environment, I will, based on the empirical material, assume that there are several factors listed that could have had an impact. One is that the Faroese school policy might slightly have found its own identity and sovereignty due to the blurred dependency on Danish school policy originating from historical bonds. The status of being 'in-between' sovereignty and dependency is still in force, despite school legislation and full economic responsibility for schools coming into Faroese hands in 1979 and 2002 respectively. This argument can be reinforced by comparing the country with Iceland, which is larger and obtained total sovereignty from Denmark in 1944 and has the sole responsibility for the country's school policy and international agreements and conventions. In Iceland, the inclusive vision was directly transferred into school policy legislation already in 2008 (Köpfer & Óskarsdóttir, 2019; Óskarsdóttir, 2019). Another factor, which I consider having an impact is, given the relatively egalitarian and homogenous society, inclusion has yet to be considered relevant to incorporate into school policy and practice. A third explanatory factor can be that school policy is dominated by traditional and conservative perceptions of school values, making it difficult for unfamiliar bureaucratic international policy documents to get a foothold. Finally, the fourth factor could be that there was no actor in Faroese society pushing for the vision of inclusion.

Since the Salamanca Statement has not been directly transferred to the Faroese school policy discussion, the Statement has neither been translated into Faroese nor is not widely recognised in the Faroe Islands be it the political or the practical school field. Despite having a long tradition of self-governing, the Faroe Islands, like other small island societies, is influenced by several of the political-institutional frameworks of Denmark being transferred to the Faroe Islands, but which have only rarely been translated into Faroese language and context. Much of the literature and texts on pedagogical and educational issues are in Danish and English, as much of pedagogical knowledge is derived from abroad through languages other than the Faroese. Being dependent on knowledge and language from expertise of the former colonial power, who may promote and apply practices differently, is not always advantageous or fitting for a small and unique society (Sutton, 2007). In any case, as I see it, there is a need in the Faroe Islands to develop a language for inclusive education.

## 10.4 The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

In 2009, the Faroe Islands joined the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities from 2006, which means that the Faroe Islands have committed themselves to developing schools based on principles of inclusion. According to article 24, it is stated that:

The countries acknowledge the rights of people with disabilities to obtain education. In order to practice these rights without discrimination and which is built on equally opportunities, the countries shall ensure an inclusive school system. (United Nation, 2006).

In my research into policy documents related to the first and second proposal for the Parliamentary Resolution to ratify the Convention there is no reading or discussion on article 24 or on inclusive education⁴³. Thus, one must conclude that even though the inclusive idea has been transferred, inclusive education was not debated in the Faroese political system when the Convention was joined, nor incorporated into Faroese legislation. The lack of the inclusive vision not being seriously taken into account in the political framework is stated in the so-called "Shadow-report⁴⁴" from Megd (the Faroese Disability Organisations) to List of Issues concerning Faroe Islands as an appendix to the Danish report (Megd, 2014). In specific comments on art. 24, Megd asked the UN to "force *the Faroese government to alter the Public School Act, so the Act sets a framework for inclusion*" (Megd, 2014) and highlights that: "There is no training undergoing for teachers in order to enable them to adopt an inclusive education system. […] We recommend that service training is provided for teachers to implement inclusion in primary school.

⁴³ <u>https://www.logting.fo/mal/mal/?id=4970</u> and <u>https://www.logting.fo/mal/mal/?id=4972</u> Not mentioning Inclusion Section 24. Mentioning special need education and a need for extended competencies to teach pupils with special needs.

In the response from the Faroese Government to the list of issues concerning art. 24 it is stated that:

The Ministry of Education has long been working towards creating a more nurturing environment in the Faroese folk school and in the youth facilities. Since 1997, the Faroese Public School Act has directly confirmed that the Faroese public school is for all. In recent years, the Ministry of Education together with the schools and Sernám has worked to upgrade the necessary factor in such a way that all children and young people get a good and qualified school offer in a nurturing school environment. Supportive structures are adjusted based on recommendations from a working group, established by the Ministry of Education. The working group has pointed out how important a nurturing Faroese public school is. More supportive structures, ensuring inclusion, have been added to the existing, as well organisational changes have been carried out (Føroya Landsstýri, 2020).

In these responses to the issues related to art. 24, the Faroese Government (in 2020) stated that the Public School Act from 1997 and other incentives such as recommendations concerning the special educational needs field and support from Sernám guarantee the 'implementation' of inclusive environments in schools. Although the request from Megd in the report to UN was "to force the Faroese government to alter the Public School Act to set a framework for inclusion" the Faroese Government response focusses on working with Sernám and the school to improve a nurturing and inclusive school. Meanwhile the documents that are supposed to have a "governing effect on the actors mediating, regulating, and authorizing and co-ordinating people's activities" (Smith, 2001, p. 160) are neglected, leaving the actors to figure out the setting and content to ensure inclusion.

# 10.5 Inclusion and the special educational needs field

The policy documents on inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands are not voluminous, counting only four policy documents so far after almost 30 years since the birth of inclusive education with the Salamanca Statement. Thus, although the global idea of inclusion has been transferred to the Faroe Islands, it has yet not been unfolded and translated, even though there are written thorough universal guidelines in English (Salamanca, 1994, p. 15 -41). The few Faroese policy documents mentioning inclusive education do not contain frameworks or approaches for developing inclusive education.

The policy documents where inclusion is mentioned are policy documents concerning the special educational needs field. Hence, although the policy documents recognise and interpret the inclusive school as a matter for the whole school and for all pupils, the idea of inclusion is solely presented in policy documents concerning the special educational needs field. The word inclusion is just mentioned in minor sentences in each document, listed here:

- In the recommendation from 2011 on the special educational needs field it is stated that "*the CC shall support and encourage teachers to include pupils*" (Fólkaskúlaráðið, 2011, p. 5)
- In the executive order from 2019 concerning CC it is stated that "the CC shall develop a pupil-centred and inclusive environment and ... support the schools to include every child in the general school" Section 1 (1) and (5)
- In the recommendation from 2014 it is stated that "the school must prioritise the concept of inclusion and make it possible to practise ... implementing the vision of inclusion demands a shift in mindset" (Mentamálaráðið, 2014, p. 4).

• In the executive order on special needs education and special needs education support from 2018 it is stated in that "*efforts should be made to ensure that the pupil is included in the class*" 2 (1) and (3).

These few Faroese policy documents that mention inclusion seem to refer to different understandings of inclusion, including understandings of inclusive education both on the narrow broad spectrum (Haug, 2017), pointing both at developing inclusive environments and individual pupils. The fact that the vision on inclusion is silenced in policy documents on general education and is just worded in the policy documents concerning the special educational needs field indicates and implies that inclusion is concerned with the special educational needs field (see chapter 14).

The Salamanca Statement on Principles, Policy and Practice articulates that to develop an inclusive school, there is a need to reform the school system to change school practice. The Statement declares that "special needs education [...] cannot advance in isolation. It has to form part of an overall educational strategy and, indeed, of new social and economic policies. It calls for major reform of the ordinary school" (1994, p. iii). This text proclaims that special needs education as part of every single overall educational plan demanding a larger reform of the general educational system. According to these statements, inclusive education can just be developed with thinking special needs education as part of every single overall educational plan, and this demands a reform of the general educational system.

As highlighted, this is not the case with the Faroese policy documents since they do not provide an explicit definition of how inclusion should be understood, nor do they elaborate on how inclusion should be practised. Hence, the documents give no help to the practice field to understand and practice inclusion. Instead, by their silence, they invite each school and professional to interpret their understanding of inclusive education and whether to strive to practice and develop inclusive education. (See chapter 14 for further analysis of dilemmas between general and special needs education).

# 10.6 Leading through others

The silence in the documents concerning the development of inclusive schools indicates a particular way of school governance and governmentality leading up to school policy enactment characterised by leading through others. Using the concept of school policy enactment offers opportunities to understand policy more as circular processes, as cited beneath by Ball et al. (2012) leaning on Ozga (2000, p. 113):

While many policies done in the schools are written by the government, their agencies or other influential stakeholders, policy making at all its levels and in all its sites also involves negotiation, contestation or struggle between different groups who may lie outside the formal machinery of official policy making (p. 2).

In chapters 12 and 13, I will elaborate more on school policy enactment from the perspective of actors and actants within and surrounding the schools. In the following, I will problematise

the challenge of balancing between 'leading and releasing'. In the interview extract below, the informant addresses the strategy to lead through others, and thus is releasing the governance or leadership to the practice field to find ways to translate the inclusive visions. The extract is taken from a context where the interviewer is elaborating on the often present discrepancy between school policy intentions for changes and what happens in the practical field:

Interviewer: How do you work with changing school culture according to new policy visions? When you experience a gap between policy and practice, what are the possibilities to change and what strategies are used?

Interviewee: I do not imagine it is possible to change by order. People are different, and it is about an interplay between people. So it is essential to have arguments for the vision. Moreover, to navigate among the streams of different views and convictions.

Interviewer: Is it difficult to change direction? Are we afraid of intervening?

Interviewee: It is not difficult to change, as it can be rapid from thought to act. And sometimes it is too easy. Nevertheless, you shall have a vision and not be blinded by a structure. It is so vital with ownership and engagement. If it goes wrong, we should focus and discuss direction.

Often, the administrators and the schools are working as lonely satellites in their boxes and specific areas. We stimulate and facilitate collaboration in the complexity of networks with threads we must act inside. The point is to find strategies to build bridges inside this network. The processes may become slower, but it is fruitful. (Informant in the administrative, political, advisory and educational sector, no. 91)

This informant points out the need to have school policy anchored in the practical field engaging the actors in the pragmatic field. As a very small administrative entity, this is the political and practical premise of being a very small society. The disadvantage is that there are few actors in the different posts. The advantage may be that the practice field is consulted and engaged in school policy-making. These processes to lead through the practice field can be slower but may be advantageous. Worldwide and in the Nordic countries, for example Denmark, the critique has been that the political and administrative sector was too quick to act, not listening to the practical field (Engsig & Johnstone, 2015; Hedegaard-Soerensen, 2021; Hedegaard-Soerensen & Grumloese, 2020). This leads to a top-down process jumping over the long process and endurable process of moving a whole school system.

Local officials tend to work hard to "*implement mandated policies*" (Spillane, 2004, p. 7). However, needing written text on the policy concerning developing inclusive education, it must be challenging to build up arguments for the inclusive vision to nurture and inspire negotiation between the actors. Viewing the translation and interpretation⁴⁵ of policy "*as complex cognitive processes to create sense-making schemas*" among the actors from school policymakers to practitioners, "*the story is morphed as it moves from player to player*" (Spillane, 2004, p. 8). The "morphing" does not happen because the actors are changing the story intentionally but because that is the nature of human sense-making (Spillane, 2004). Approaching school policy enactment as a cognitive process searching for sense-making creates the demand to translate the vision into texts more urgent. Also, to make policy happen, it must make sense in administrators' minds. When visions of school policy also are invisible to policy administrators,

⁴⁵Ball et al., 2012 explain the translation and interpretation of policy as two different processes, although similar.

it becomes difficult to translate the intended policy into practice. Thus, the translation and interpretation tasks are left over to the individual administrator to decide. An informant addresses the difficulties of being a very small administration and the need to collaborate:

Interviewee: There are challenges with the need for more strategies and guidelines. It is the task of the Ministry of Education to set the course, but it is a difficult task mainly because of a lack of staffing. Just a few persons in the Ministry are responsible for the public school.

We also need more collaboration and teamwork inside the administrative and political sectors. It is like everybody is mainly occupied with their specific field, also feeding a battlefield.

I have not seen my task as a catalyst for moving visions into practice in the schools [...] maybe I ought to see myself more as a catalyst for change. Nevertheless, we have opportunities through our contact and communications with the schools. (Informant in the administrative, political, advisory and educational sector, no. 87)

As the interview extract above illustrates, governance and enactment in a very small society has their unique features, both concerning the smallness of the political administration, with often multiple positions of the professionals and the close relations between the administration and the practical field (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018; Sutton, 2007). An elaboration of these issues can be found in this interview extract with an informant in the administrative, political, advisory and educational sector:

Interviewee: Due to the smallness and lack of regulations, we often need to be pragmatic, e.g., when something differs, it is often just pointed at a few people. It is too problematic to change the legislation only because of single cases. It is a challenge to have rules that fits all the school system, because the schools are so different both in size, location and in cultural heritage. The Faroe Islands has above 40 autonomous school units. A debate and discussion are missing, and the glue is missing. (Informant in the administrative, political, advisory and educational sector, no. 88)

One way to compensate for the 'missing glue' and cohesion, could be to see the glue in terms of school policy. As the concentration of power is likely to be in the hands of single individuals in small-scale societies (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018, p. 341), and the many roles and positions are played by relatively few individuals (ibid, p. 345). The translation process of developing inclusive education becomes vulnerable, because depending on which voices dominate and which voices are suppressed or silence.

Veenedaal (2020, p. 309) points out that the formal institutional frameworks in small islands societies are often overruled by informal political dynamics due to the substantial social interconnectedness and intimacy in small islands societies resulting in an extensive part of the political processes being conducted outside the official political networks. The *face-to-face relations* (Veenedaal, 2020. p. 30) shapes the interaction between formal institutional structures and the prevalent informal political dynamics on islands (ibid.). This problem is raised by the informants as they experience difficulties navigating in these "undercurrents" of different systems, preferences and interests. The legislations are so important, they point out, but the disadvantage is that legislations also can be a limitation for schools and, they add, that the public opinion about the school content is very strong, so it is difficult to satisfy everyone and decide on which path to take. This addresses the different tasks and challenges to administration of school policy in the Faroe Islands because of holding several positions, having close relations, and individual speaking to individual in the system. The informants express that

inclusive schools demand a shift in mindset among all the actors, as there is a need for a common understanding of inclusion. As a gateway to set the direction and discourse, the professionals suggest that the inclusive vison should be worded in the main legislation as well as in frameworks for the school system, which could be a way of translating the vision into local school policy and practice.

Based on the empirical findings, I will argue that the different schools in the Faroese public school systems are more than *"complex and incoherent social assemblages"* (Ball et al., 2012, p. 2), as the schools have also been left alone to make their own school policy and practice. The linkage between policy and practice is something more than seeing policy enactments as more than merely implementation as highlighted by Ball et al.:

The problem is that if policy is only seen in these terms (implementation from policy text to practice, red.) then all the other moments in processes of policy and policy enactments that go on in and around schools are marginalised or go unrecognised...Teachers, and an increasingly diverse cast of other adults working in and around schools, not to mention students, are written out of the policy process or rendered simply as ciphers who "implement" (2012, p.2).

If the Faroese school system is to be developed and correspond to modern society reinforced by an inclusive school system, work has to be done to strengthen policy-making response and dialogue with the pragmatic school field. Inclusive schools are more than just an overall vision which is unreachable and have both political and practical implications and potential – an acknowledgement that pedagogy is also politics.

# 10.6.1 Lacking guidelines and strategies

The findings reveal that the special educational needs area is extra vulnerable in a very small political and administrative sector, where school policy direction becomes a matter of individual conviction and interpretation. This blurred or missing direction leaves the schools to find direction and solutions ad hoc, leaving the inclusive school development in uncertainty and tension between general and special needs education. In the interview extract below an informant highlights these problematic features:

Interviewee: It is balanced, not to become some inspector, in the meaning of governing in detail. However, some guidelines should explicate what the authorities expect when new legislation or new establishments are implemented. E.g. what are the educational and political intentions with, e.g. to have more staff in the classes? With, e.g. more resources, there should also be guidelines explicitly explaining what lies behind them. Is it something else that the authority wants, or is it just more of the same? The references should also be better in doing guidelines to ensure that the public school has the same standard throughout the country. As it is now, the educational and administrative work is based on individual personal conviction and interpretation.

Interviewer: Do you think the school system is based on the conviction and attitudes of individual persons? Like they get permission to sail their sea.

Interviewee: Yes, it is somewhere there I am... Not that legislation and guidelines are the only answers, but it lacks to a great extent. We need to be much more explicit concerning the purpose and guidelines...

Interviewer: And when we talk inclusion ... you said something about the segregated schools, that they are sailing their sea?

Interviewee: Yes, it is like you are forced to act. When it is burning, the authorities must act on the fire and solve the challenges. However, we should act in advance before everything burns. Moreover, we must think in coherency and collaboration instead of just establishing one more special need setting. We need to have a plan and purpose for the special need setting. Otherwise, they will develop and live their own lives. So we must have a plan and guidelines and think in many games ahead.

Interviewer: Who do you think is responsible for developing the inclusive school?

Interviewee: The political authorities and the school leaders. When developing inclusion, we must think in organisational terms and signals from the authorities. It is a difficult task and demands that we all have the same focus. We must work on making a bridge and combining the general and special educational needs fields. As it is now, the inclusion task lies in the special educational needs field. When inclusion is not functional, the special needs field owns the issue or the ball. It is the task of the ministry to set the course, but you need to do more than just put it in legislation. We have only a few persons in the ministry for all the compulsory schools/public schools.

I often think about the signals from the authorities concerning the special educational needs field. Does it have a status to work in the special needs field? Let us work on cooperation between special needs and general pedagogy and value special needs education more in the school. As much as teachers in math and physics. (Informant in the administrative, political, advisory, and educational sector, no. 91)

In this interview extract, the dilemmatic aspects of striving to be an inclusive school, lacking school policy guidelines and legislation are highlighted. The interviewer points out that without guidelines and legislation, the understanding of the special educational needs field as an appendix to the general pedagogical and educational field is reinforced.

Another interview with an informant points out that:

Interviewee: It is a good and right way to include everybody, but the question is about resources and capability and competence in the schools. That is always a challenge, and it fills a lot in our mind set.

There are advantages and disadvantages not to identify special needs. Around 20% of our budget goes to the special needs field. We must see it in a connection and in a whole picture. I believe the inclusion direction is the right direction and we are moving in that direction. (Informant in the administrative, political, advisory and educational sector, no. 89)

Highlighted in this is that the few strategies and structural and organisational measures could be a conscious choice. When viewing the inclusive school as solely a matter of the special educational needs area, it can be a strategy not to advertise inclusive school too much for fear that it makes the special educational needs field more visible, and thus will demand more resources which are not controllable. The reluctance of policymakers to discuss and be open about compromises is understandable, but good policy-making requires transparency about plural values and how they relate and affect decision-making. This is a challenge to how democracies work and significantly affects education and inclusive education. These are the crucial implications of the ideas of antagonism turning to agonism (Norwich & Koutsouris, 2017), which will be discussed in chapter 15. Among the actors in the school, the 'expensiveness' of the special needs field is also questioned: Interviewee: We ought to look at the resources to work more inclusive. When it comes to the special educational needs field there is a bottomless need and I do not know where it stops [...] And we use a lot of resources on the CC. (School leader, no. 25)

The fact that the ministry and the administration cover a broad spectrum of fields implies that the political battlefield on values and resources is more complex seen in the light of Ball et al.'s (2012) interpretation of school policy enactments.

# 10.7 Summing up analysis section on school policy

The analysis of the school policy documents, and other empirical material indicates that the transferral of the vision into local policy documents has progressed to a certain extent, but sparingly so, as it has just been mentioned in recommendations and orders mainly concerning the special educational needs field. The transferral of the vision of inclusion has been through joining the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The Salamanca Statement has not been discussed politically and has neither been adopted nor translated into the Faroese context. The development of inclusive education is understood through the Public School Act from 1997, which does not mention the inclusive school, but is based on a school for all with a focus on the individual pupil's learning outcome.

The motivation for the Faroe Islands' political vision for an inclusive public school as interpreted in the school's policy documents first and foremost comes from a recommendation on the special educational needs field, leading to the establishment of CCs to promote inclusive school environments.

Although the strategies, structural and organisational measures are mentioned, for example establishing CCs in the schools, it must be noted that these are in the transformation process. Thus, the translation processes are absent. The absence of political leadership in leading the inclusive school vision is reinforced by a very small political and administrative entity characterised by leading through and by others, that is, actors in the political and administrative layers and in the practical field.

The Faroese school policy documents do not encourage an overall school policy strategy to work in an inclusive direction, nor do the policy documents provide any explanation or guidance concerning inclusive structural and organisational measures concerning the general school system. Thus, it is undoubtedly tricky for the practice field to grasp the idea of inclusion and turn the vision into practical measures, even though there are signs of the transferal of the vision into local school policy, which will be the theme for the upcoming analysis section.

# Chapter 11. Signs of transferral and translation

Despite positing that there is a lack of policy documents on inclusive education and, in general, a lack of discussion on pedagogical and educational issues in the Faroe Islands (Gaini, 2013), there has recently been an increased focus on pupils' well-being as an overall issue. This increased focus on and prioritising of pupils' well-being and, in general, children's rights can indicate a move to a more individualised and modern society giving inclusive development better exposure/importance. As a result of the recommendations from reports from well-being measures taken in all schools in the Faroe Islands on a national level⁴⁶ in 2015 (Fróðskaparsetur Føroya) and 2019 (Fróðskaparsetur Føroya) a well-being advisor has been employed in the advisory sector. In addition, as a consequence of the well-being measure in 2015, all public schools should publish a local well-being plan on their homepage updated according to an understanding of bullying taken by the EXbus research project (EXbus). Following this order from the authorities, the word "well-being plan" has been added in the amendment from 2018 of the Public School Act (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997, 53 (7)). According to this amendment, the local School Boards must provide a well-being plan for the local school. The point in mentioning these developing steps towards being more aware of pupils' well-being is that they indicate a change in the discourse on pedagogical issues such as children's rights. Consequentially, the content and purpose of school may be revised.

The increased awareness of children's rights is also reinforced by the increased focus on the pupils' councils⁴⁷. In a report from the Parliamentary Commissioner in the Faroes concerning Children's Rights (Løgtingsins umboðsmaður, 2022), it is stated that among the 41 public schools, private schools, and the special educational needs school, 22 of the schools had a pupils' council. Among the 19 schools which did not have a pupils' council, most of them were had less than 50 pupils, including the Special Educational Needs School. According to Section 56(2) in the Public School Act, all schools with fifth grade or older levels should have a pupils' council. Despite this statement, there were 11 schools with fifth grade and older that did not have a pupils' council. Overall, the Children's Parliamentary Commissioner had an impression that the pupils' council voice was heard and heeded concerning school content matter and not just regarding arrangements, etc. This in accordance with Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Løgtingsins umboðsmaður, 2022).

This findings correspond to Gaini's (2019) research project concerning youngster's voices in social inclusion in the Faroe Islands, where the overall conclusions are that Faroese youngsters feel their voices are being relatively well heard in their local community (Gaini, 2019). The research conducted in the Faroe Islands was part of the Nordic project *Nabo* initiated by the Nordic Council of Ministers in the period 2018 - 2020 about social inclusion among youngsters in the Nordic countries. This Nordic project had the aim of showing youths' perspectives on social inclusion through voices of young people in the Nordic countries, and states that:

⁴⁶ except in the Special school

⁴⁷ with no focus on special educational needs pupils who without exception are not represented in the pupils' councils.

In the Faroe Islands, the question of youth participation and inclusion is rarely discussed among politicians and scholars [...] Young Faroe Islanders are generally well-satisfied with their situation at home and in local society. [...] Young people generally feel included and respected in their families (households) and local communities. [...] With a laid-back attitude, they trust that the political class would not put their inclusive and egalitarian communities at risk. In a family-oriented small-scale society people depend on each other, and everyone knows everything about everyone else, so to speak, which is a condition giving young people a sense of being part of the game even when they keep a low profile in local societal discussions [...]There is special social connection between people in a small village, young people emphasize, and individual men and women need to "fit in" and "match" the culture of the place. If you don't adapt and conform to the local "way of life" and norms, it might be difficult to stay in the village (Gaini, 2019, pp. 41 - 42).

I highlight these findings of Gaini to illustrate that even though policy directions are blurred concerning inclusion, there is something more to add to the inclusive development found in the Faroese culture, which will be dealt with in chapter 12.

I have registered⁴⁸ only one school that mentions or articulates inclusive education as a main value for the school on their homepage, which is a new large, merged school in the capital area. Referring to Rasmus Alenkær (Alenkær & Ainscow, 2012) the homepage states that:

A good school is an inclusive school – and an inclusive school is a good school.

It is stated on the homepage that the school emphasises *quality* (fø:gagnligt) in inclusion⁴⁹, which according to the text on the homepage means that it must be useful to the individual and the community:

In our way of thinking, it is necessary to take a position where the goal is between quality and not. Somehow, what is useful and not (Skúlin á Fløtum, 2022).



Figure 16 Text on the school homepage on inclusion.

The statement on this school's homepage is interpreted and argued by the order on CCs (Kunngerð um førleikastovur, 2019) which also mentions the word *useful* (fø: gagnligt) but in another context.

The idea seems to be that the school does not want inclusion at any price but just when it is fruitful for the children and/or the environment. Between the lines one can read from the text that it is not always that inclusion is advantageous, leading to the question how the school understands inclusive education. Slee (2018) states in his book "Inclusion isn't dead – it just smells funny" that "when people tell me inclusive education doesn't work, I tell them that that's

48 updated 240822

⁴⁹ referring to two Danish researchers in inclusive education Alenkær and Qvortrup

*because it's not inclusive education*⁵⁰. Based on this statement, the question is whether it is inclusive education, when inclusive education *is not useful*.

Without going into more detail in the text on this homepage, I use this example to show signs of a local school trying to translate the vision on inclusive school through their own interpretation of inclusive education, and thus creating and giving the transferral of the vison a local substance. This school can pave the way from translation to transformation and hold on to a Faroese cultural trait, that is, finding a school vision translated into a practice that includes both the local and the global.

# 11.1 Summing up

An increased awareness of children's rights and well-being are signs of moving in an inclusive direction. This includes a local school trying to translate the vision of an inclusive school through their own interpretation of inclusive education thus creating and giving the transferral of the vison a local substance. This school can pave the way from translation to transformation and hold on to a Faroese cultural trait: to find a school vision translated into a practice that includes both the local and the global.

Thus, there are signs of transferral and translation, as this section points out that even though the political vision of inclusive education is silent and invisible, there are signs of an urge to develop more inclusive education.

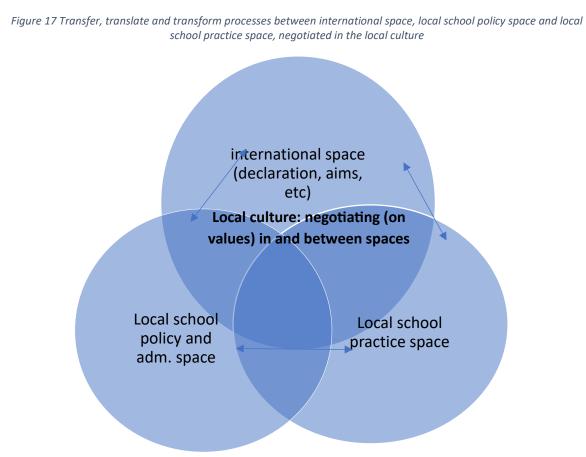
⁵⁰ Slee (2018) points out that he is citing Jody Carr, a Minister in the government of the province of New Brunswick in Canada.

# Chapter 12. Culture and practice

With the analysis of school policy as a backdrop, this section focusses on the Faroese cultural platform (see also chapter 4), where the views, positions, perspectives, and activities among the actors and actants in the practical field are analysed and revealed. Thus, this analysis section seeks to capture the interwoven processes between policy, culture and practice. Although the analysis is not a cultural analysis, the unique feature of the Faroese culture is a premise for analysing inclusive education to be negotiated within the local culture. In the analysis, I will incorporate negotiating as an element in the framework of transfer, translation and transformation (Cowen, 2006; 2009; Ydesen & Christensen, 2015) – an interactive relationship in and between different spaces (Ydesen & Christensen, 2015). The point is that these processes do not follow a hierarchical or linear journey but:

[...] can be observed – and in the processes of translation (at the very least), educational systems can be read as compressed political messages and not merely products of recent political action by well-intending and busy Ministers and their even busier civil servants (Cowen, 2009, p. 324).

The figure below illustrates this process in and between different spaces/arenas of global school policy, local school policy and local school practice being negotiated in the local culture.



Source: Inspired by Cowen (2006; 2009) and Christensen & Ydesen (2015) adding the element of negotiation

# 12.1 The cultural platform in a time of changes

Considering the Faroe Islands is part of the Nordic countries, one can ask, why the Faroe Islands has developed so differently from the other Nordic countries regarding the inclusive school development. Are there any cultural circumstances to account for this difference? Is the Faroe Islands *an exception* concerning the development of inclusive education, as Skorini et al. (2022, p. 100) point out is the case of the Faroe Islands concerning Christianity in the Nordic countries? Recent years though, have been characterised by increased secularisation and a confrontation with "*conservative, political Christianity*" (ibid.). It appears to be a culture "*in the middle of a value-political culture battle, where old norms are being challenged by new demands and values in Faroese politics, culture and society*" (Skorini et al., 2022, p. 88), where the global idea of inclusion is being negotiated. As inclusive education is imbued in ethical/philosophical discourse on educational justice and human rights, inclusive discourse is progressively juxtaposed with regressive conservative practices (Gibson, 2006, p. 325).

To further highlight the argument that the winds of change are blowing in the Faroe Islands with regard to the cultural platform, I will dwell on a scene from a video clip (Kringvarp Føroya, 2022) of a panel discussion among the chairpersons for the political parties (seven parties with six men and one woman) the day before the recent election for the Faroese parliament on 8 December 2022. The moment in the television sequence (Kringvarp Føroya, 2022) freezes, frames, and captures the Faroese cultural platform in a time of change. It culminates in tension between opposites, as listed in the table on the left (the concepts of oppositions will also be followed

later on in the analysis).

Movements/negotiations/ tensions between values:

Traditions vs modernity

Conservativism vs progression

Masculinity vs feminity

The "hard" values vs the "soft" values

Conservative Christianity vs modern/progressive Christianity/secularisation

Homogenised individual rights vs heterogenised _____individual rights Figure 18 A discussion between Ruth Vang, the chairwoman for the party "Framsókn" and the chair member Jenis av Rana, for the party "Miðflokkurin".



From the chair members round the evening before the parliament election on 8 December 2022. See and hear the discussion on the link: <u>https://fb.watch/hjqfC51vGO/</u>. (Kringvarp Føroya, 2022)

The discussion is between Ruth Vang, the chairperson for the liberal nationalistic party Framsókn (Framsókn, 2022) and the chairperson for the Christian, democratic and conservative

Centre Party (Miðflokkurin, 2022) Jenis av Rana. The Centre Party is known for its social conservatism, particularly its objections to LGBT rights and on women's right to abortion. Framsókn is the newest parliamentary party (from 2011) and describes itself as a progressive party (translated to English Framsókn means 'progress'). The conservative political Christianity represented by Miðflokkurin stands in contrast to the more liberal ethical considerations also concerning Christianity which Framsókn represents⁵¹. Both parties are minor parties in the Faroese Parliament and represent two opposite sides of the value spectrum, signalling a battlefield. It also heralded some indications of value change as indicated by the election results, where Ruth Vang got fourth place in the top ten of parliamentary candidates, while Jenis av Rana was in eighth place. In the video sequence, Ruth Vang asks Jenis av Rana (my translation/interpretation of extracts of the conversation):

Ruth: Jenis, you say that we should not have any abortions in the Faroe Islands. You say that life begins with the fertilisation. You are a doctor; I am a midwife. We both know that the egg is fertilised outside the uterus. We both know that a lot of fertilised eggs disappear because of spirals and during artificial insemination. Will you ban the Faroese from getting artificial insemination or spirals?

Jenis: ...this issue is serious... The point is to give the unborn baby right to life. Our party will never submit. You have got life...I have got life.

Ruth: You are simplifying a complex ethical question. It is not fair. A reality that you keep silent for political advantage.

The sequence juxtaposes several contrary views, capturing the battlefield on values in the Faroe Islands that is current in a society in the midst of change (Gaini, 2019; Skorini et al., 2022). The battle in this concrete example is fought between a man, a doctor by profession, and a woman, a midwife by profession, fighting on issues concerning women's rights to own their bodies contra the unborn child's right to life argued in an ethical and Christian conservative context. As abortion challenges deep-rooted values in Faroese society, it is highly polarised (Hermannsdóttir, 2022, p. 3). It is not strange that it is exactly the issue of abortion that is discussed. The official fight between these two politicians is interesting because, by this negotiating, the silence is about to be breached, initiated by a fight on values that are debated officially where tradition and modernity collide, addressing the culture where these ideas meet. As one of the comments on the video extract indicates⁵²: "We do a lot to 'rescue' the unborn child, while I wonder why the voices are silent concerning how children with disabilities live" (Framsókn (Facebook), 2022).

Recently, in 2022, a new parent organisation, "Sólarljós" was established with the aim⁵³:

⁵¹ In these elections (2022), I have only notice Hanna Jensen, an election candidate from the same party, who has mentioned inclusive education in this election run.

⁵² Tí tá vit gera so nógv burturúr at bjarga tí ófødda barninum, undrist eg á hví røddurnar tagna, tá vit tosa um hvussu børn við tarnið liva.

⁵³ at virka fyri betri skúlatilboðum sum heild í Føroyum" og at "ábyrgdarfult virka fyri at styrkja støðu og tala fyri rættindum teirra ið eru fyri vanbýti í skúlahøpi orsakað av heilsuligum, persónligum, sosialum ella øðrum avbjóðingum ið darva teirra innlæring ella skúlagongd.

To work for better school offers in the Faroe Islands and to responsibly work to strengthen the position and advocate for the rights of those disadvantaged in school groups caused by health, personal, social or other obstacles that hinder their learning or school success (Foreldrafelagið Sólarljós).

This newly established parent group criticises the Faroese school system for not accommodating pupils in difficulties. In a letter to the Ministry of Children and Education in February 2023 (Foreldrafelagið Sólarljós, 2023), the organisation highlighted that they want to work in counteraction to the schools' authorities. They emphasise that the prevalence of the number of pupils with special needs is rising annually due to insufficient attention from school authorities and refusal to take the challenges seriously. The association questions whether all schools have adequate resources to handle the challenges and point out that children who dislike school may have a type of social syndrome reflecting the difficulties they experience in school life. The parent association points out that schools and public authorities often blame these children and their parents for disliking school. They declare that the current school structure does not receive enough constructive feedback, which is essential for a functioning democracy.

Before further analysing the position and experiences among the people in the Faroe Islands with a focus on the cultural platform, I mention this newly established parent association because it highlights challenges among parents of children with special needs. This is highly addressed in the empirical material especially by parents that they lack advice and support from the school system in- and surrounding the schools. The increasingly articulate parent voices through associations may indicate that Faroese society is changing, moving to assert all children's right to quality schools.

#### 12.1.1 The inclusive principles meet the local school culture

Despite lacking political translation of the inclusive principles, the idea of inclusion does travel into the local school community. In the interview extract below, a teacher trained abroad, elaborates on how he has been introduced to the inclusive principles while training to be a teacher in Denmark. Returning to the Faroe Islands to work as a teacher, he meets the silence on inclusion compared with his experiences abroad where the inclusive principles were deeply anchored in the pedagogical value discourse.

Interviewee: When we speak about the inclusive school, I think it is missing that somebody dares to make a change [...] Dares to stand in front and say what we want [...] When I was studying in Denmark, every assignment had to include inclusion. You could not escape [...] and then I came home, and I have not heard much about it (inclusion) [...] What surprised me is that I hear the word very seldom in general in no places. We do not either talk about it (inclusion) in the school – never. I do not think I have heard the word since I came here. [...] the word is so far away. Maybe we talk a little about being spacious, but not even. I do think that these words simply do not exist here.

The authorities must go in front and show us the way. Meanwhile, school leaders and other persons responsible should go the same way. Moreover, the working people, teachers, and pedagogues must get guidelines on engaging and working towards the goal because it is challenging to stand one, two or three teachers in an area trying to struggle for this. We do reach short because there is so much working against. It becomes too heavy. (Teacher, no. 28)

This teacher addresses the silence in the practical field as lacking signs from the authorities to set a direction for inclusive education, making it very difficult for the people in the field to work inclusively. The passage illustrates that silence in the practical field reflects the need for more commitment from the authorities to take leadership concerning the translation and transforming of the inclusive principles into practice. Despite this silence, the interview extract also indicates that something is on the way as the transference of the vision has reached the actors through other spaces or channels than the local school policy space, for example, from education in Denmark.

# 12.1.2 A battle on values

Drawing on parallels in the value battle concerning abortion and the rights of women over their bodies and the fight for the rights of homosexuals, the development of inclusive education is deeply anchored in a value discourse concerning children's rights to nourishment and developing school community and environments. This is a challenge, as it is hardly touched upon in educational and pedagogical discussions according to Gaini (Gaini, 2009, 2013, 2015). Leaning on the value discussions concerning individuals' rights and the arguments that Faroese society is moving to a more modern and diverse society, the Faroese school system could also be in a period of crucial change challenged by developments in society. The Faroese school being in the middle of a value battle in a time of changes is addressed in the empirical material with actors in the school system. In this interview extract, a parent expresses that the school board, which is supposed to debate and make resolutions concerning the content in school, itself doubts the values and purpose of school:

Interviewee: *The school and the board of the school is the middle of an identity crisis* [...] *We have never been in such an identity crisis as now to know what the board of the school is and should work for.* (Parent, no. 48)

This interview extracts highlight an uncertainty about the purpose and values in school, leaving other social worlds like the parents' role in the school board, doubting the school's pedagogical and educational direction. The example above highlights the importance of negotiation and transparency on values in policy-making because they relate to and affect decision-making. Lacking negotiating values can significantly affect education and inclusive education (Norwich, 2013, p. 15). According to Norwich, tensions between values are largely overlooked in educational practice and relevant policies. The multidisciplinary collaboration takes responsibility for doing away with the system of arbitrariness, which can ensure that there is a break with a dominant culture of consensus so that the different perspectives, skills, and understandings that form part of the collaboration are brought into play, discussed, and reflected on and thereby contribute to the development of a more inclusive school. In the Faroese case, the political and cultural silence of a value debate concerning pedagogical and educational issues must be considered a hindrance to developing inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands. Drawing on the empirical material in this research, professionals repeatedly state that 'the soft values' of school life are not valued. The soft values refer to well-being, thriving, nourishing and being a special needs teacher. The 'hard' values refer to the subjects for example, concerning mathematics and language lessons.

Following this dichotomy between the soft and the hard values, the school system is always a site of contention as various stakeholders grapple with competing visions of education, which can be challenging to grasp. In the interview extract below, a teacher in the general school setting highlights a value battle between soft and the hard values. The informant experiences the value discussion as moving away from the hard values towards more soft values influencing the school's purpose and direction:

Interviewee: The purpose of school has been discussed a lot in the school. The discussion has been on that there has been too much focus on the social aspect [...] that the subject aspect is fading away. And that the structured, the old school with authority is vanished. The old school where the parents were at home, and the teacher had the right and opportunity to be a teacher. I think we are in frictions now – today. The parents are everywhere now [...] this was not the case in the past. As parent you joined the parent appointment in the school and that was all. I hear that the conflict is much about this. That the school wants to tide more up. And that contradicts some of the children being now in the school – as before they were not in the school, at home, sent to Denmark or were just in the school in a corner and did nothing or did what they were asked to do. (Teacher, no. 28)

The interview extract highlights that the schools appear to be experiencing a shift in value setting. There are calls for change, within the struggle between different perspectives on the content and purpose of school. Interpreted further, the interview extract indicates that the school system is slowly moving from being a school just focusing on the teaching/learning aspect to a more holistic view of teaching/learning and pupils' wellbeing. These changes call for a revision of the Faroese school system while, at the same time, more regressive powers are at play, trying to retain the old school.

Other changes in the society, such as those caused by improvements in transport infrastructure, are also affecting and challenging the school. In an interview extract with a parent moving to a village, some of these challenges are addressed:

Interviewee: Everything is moving fast [...] The culture in the village is becoming more varied. There are cultural implications [...] it is not just a question of another language [...] it is also a cultural gap. The Faroese here [...] We talk in the same language, but it has been spoken differently. I have moved to the village, and I sometimes feel that it is him or that they are from that place or family. And then everybody knows, except me. This feeling is familiar among migrants to villages, I guess. The village members have been so close for so long. They do not need to put a word on because the natives know precisely how everything is connected. They know the playing rules. So, in that matter, I try to shout up [...] We do not always know about this and that.

Moreover, the school has been criticized for needing more information. This is what I hear again and again from parents, that information is missing. The parents feel that they are not told everything. (Parent, no. 6)

Addressing the cultural gap, human actions, attitudes, and values consistently have a form of meaningfulness and rationality, and the task is to uncover and comprehend this meaning and understand how it is created and applied in social life and implicated in social and cultural context (Kjær, 2019, p. 146). Here, the interviewee stresses that because the locals have been so close-knit, words are not needed because they know exactly how everything is connected.

The upcoming section will discuss closeness, distance, and silence as cultural premises of the "*social ecology of smallness*" (Baldacchino & Weenendaal, 2018, p. 340).

# 12.2 Closeness, distance, and silence

Schools can be carriers of culture, a place that shows the way, pioneering the changes/reforms necessary for changing the future. However, the processes need to be supported by the authorities. In an interview extract with a school leader, I will highlight the connectedness between the silence and lack of incentive from the political sector and 'lonely planets' (as one of the eight empirical themes prevalent in the mappings, see chapter 7). As a result of the silence and 'invisibility' (another central theme in the mapping), schools have knowledge of and an urge to develop inclusive education while not being supported by the authorities, as the interview extract below with an informant illustrates.

Interviewee: What is an inclusive school? I thought the inclusive school was different from what I understand the inclusive school to be now. The inclusive school forces us to think broader not just inside the school but also further in the system, e.g., including the parents and further up in the system.

We need support from the legislation or curriculum higher up in the system concerning inclusion. They are not promoting inclusion or anything else, as they are just descriptive. They are too classic in subject terms and focus on competencies. There is nothing written about the community or well-being. There needs to be more about measuring other skills that give meaning to the individual. We must manage on our own.

It is crucial concerning inclusion not to create a "we and they" culture. We must work with the culture all the time. With a "we culture". Also, according to the ministry and the educational and advisory sector. When it comes to cases that are trouble, where we cannot change the process, everybody starts to point in the school and tell us what to fix – in that sense, the supporting systems distance themselves from us. We do not feel we-culture, and we do not get any help. (School leader, no. 70)

The informant addresses an urge to cultivate a "we culture" concerning developing the inclusive education as a whole system approach (Ainscow, 2020), including different arenas and social worlds. The educational authorities who should be the "glue" for the whole school system are instead creating fractions through lack of strategic guidance and depriving schools of support and direction. The fractions are also reinforced by the silencing and absence of a value discussion on educational issues that could be a way of building bridges. I interpret the utterance in the interview extract concerning a "we culture" in a comprehensive sense, where the informant is seeking collaboration with the authorities and other systems that are supposed to support the schools.

In contrast, I will highlight that a narrow understanding of a 'we culture' can produce exclusionary processes, which can be the case in homogeneous and traditional culture, where the boundaries for whom to include in the 'we culture' can be narrowly approached as in the debate between the two politicians earlier. To be set outside the 'we culture' can be extra painful in a small and homogeneous society because there may be no alternative community to seek. Thus, being placed outside the community of the 'we culture' means that one is alienated. In this light, the production of silence becomes a way of dealing with inescapable close and durable relations, where people have been dealing with one another in different roles, even when there are lines of conflict (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018). The premises of being a

"social ecology of smallness" (ibid., p. 340) are likely to produce silencing (Gibson, 2006) as there is so much in play in the social, personal, and professional relations. This produces silence, friction, distance, and 'lonely planets', which is one of the eight central themes found in the empirical material.

The silencing way of acting in these webs of closeness often leaves the individual teacher, school leader and school to manage independently. This silence or 'fear of interfering' can develop a culture of individuals inventing school practices independently, see also chapter 15.1.2 with empirical example of interview extract from an informant who experiences educational practice as "private practice" as something embedded in the Faroese culture of educational practice. The dichotomy between distance and closeness as a cultural premise for school policy and practice, is, as the interviewee also points out, changeable, and changes can be rapid. This ecology can bring about rapid changes, where so-called 'tipping points' or 'quiet' and peaceful revolutions/reforms happen. A grounded revolution or reform is the inclusive society's aims for the inclusive school's visions, which will be discussed further in chapter 15.

The "social ecology of smallness" (Baldacchino & Weenendaal, 2018, p. 340) produces an extra vulnerability in a very small island society, especially concerning those in vulnerable and minority positions, for example pupils with special educational needs and their parents, as seen previously in this analysis section. Thus, the tendency in the Faroe Islands concerning minorities combined with a worldwide tendency of special needs education as primarily a hidden history (Armstrong, 2003), is even being reinforced as hidden and invisible because of the ecology of smallness and the dependency history with Denmark.

In the utterance below, a parent of a pupil in a special educational needs setting captures the experienced vulnerability and bemoans the special educational needs setting's need to be a place hidden from the public in a society otherwise becoming more open towards diversity and children's rights:

Interviewee: I wish we have a window to the general school in terms of being more open and not so afraid of speaking about special educational needs.

Interviewer: You feel the special need setting is hidden?

Interviewee: Yes, but it has changed [...] e.g. with the class pictures. Some years ago, there were no pictures of pupils in the special educational needs setting. The arguments from the special educational needs setting were that not all parents wanted others to know that their child attended a special educational needs setting. Now it has changed for the better and regular pictures of the classes are taken.

Interviewer: But I see few pictures in the corridors?

Interviewee: No, and the homepage is not very active [...] And it is not only the special educational needs setting which has been hidden [...] If you visit the homepage of the Ministry of Education, but the pupils in these special educational needs setting are also not included in the overview of pupils in the Faroes' public schools. This is an exclusion on a high level in the educational system [...] I do not understand why everything must be hidden [...] However, to turn back to the picture [...] The special educational needs setting is maintaining stigmatisation that is not necessary today. Pupils with special educational needs are as "normal" as everybody else. They are just a minority. (Parent at a pupil in a special educational need setting, no. 20)

In the interview, the lack of pictures and visibility indicates the silencing by a local school and authorities adding to the perhaps unintended stigmatisation. However, Gibson (2006) points out, leaning on Freire (1985) that a "*Culture of Silence*" is not necessarily "consciously imposed but arises from structural relations between the dominator and dominated social groups" (p. 321). This perspective emphasises that power relations are embedded in social structures and shape the experiences and actions of individuals and groups. In the context of special needs education and inclusive education, this means recognising that the dominant social group (i.e. those considered 'normal') may not be consciously aware of how they contribute to the culture of silence. Instead, they follow the norms and values of the dominant culture without recognising the implications for those being set outside the shared community. Similarly, those being set outside may not be fully aware of how they are complicit in their own silencing by accepting the dominant culture's values and attitudes towards disability.

To challenge this culture of silence, it is necessary to access and value the knowledge, values, and experiences of those who have been excluded from the dominant discourse. This involves listening to and engaging with the voices of individuals and groups who have been historically marginalised. Only by recognising and valuing the diversity of experiences and perspectives can we begin to challenge the dominant culture's assumptions and values and create more inclusive educational environments. Moreover, this approach aligns with the policy claims of social movements, including civil rights, disability rights, and human rights, which advocate for the recognition and empowerment of historically marginalised groups, as seen in the empirical examples previously in this chapter.

# 12.2.1 Dominating school values and the silence

To link the silent culture and the silencing of minorities to the dominant school and educational values, I will use observed examples of difference through not depicting and depicting from different school settings in empirical material recorded in memos after I visited schools. The local schools in the Faroe Islands are deeply anchored in the local community and local history. It is prevalent in the Faroese school to trace the school's history with pictures on the walls of the local school's pupils and teachers. This is done to visualise the existence of the school participants. Turning back to the theme of pictures discussed previously in a special educational needs setting, the rows of pictures in the general school settings compared to the lack of pictures in the special educational needs setting addresses structural relations between the dominator and the dominated culture that result in different and contradictory discourses in society, concerning values affecting the discourse on purpose of the school. The examples of pictures framing the school's history encapsulate the values that dominate and values that are suppressed or silenced by the absence of pictures.

Seen in this light of a dominant educational discourse on perceiving and developing the language and the local culture, other pedagogical and educational aspects focusing on children as individuals with individual rights are rarely discussed in public policy discourse (Gaini, 2009). This also due to a culture based on family and relational values, where pedagogical

issues maybe have been placed as a privacy or family matter and not as a matter of authority interference. This silencing of a pedagogical public debate combined with and even caused by a laissez-fair, 'natural', and family-based approach to children (Gaffin, 1996) complicates the transferral, translation and transforming processes of more systemic pedagogical and educational principles anchored in children's rights and inclusive principles. International educational values also are anchored in contradictory values, for example concerning the competitive school and the inclusive school (Engsig & Johnstone, 2015), which further complicate the situation in the Faroe Islands.

#### 12.2.2 To navigate in contradictory values

In the interview extract below a teacher elaborates on dilemmas in working in contradictory value sets:

Interviewer: What do you think about the inclusive school? Interviewee: The intention is good, you can say. The inclusive school. For sure. Nevertheless, it cannot be easy to include all the way around. I think.

Interviewer: *How is it difficult?* 

Interviewee: Primarily about the time for it. To have time [...] Because you have both the subject matter and the well-being. Moreover, inclusion is a part of well-being, of course, and it is also a part of the subject matter. However, it cannot be easy to come all the way around. The more you get conscious about it, the more difficult it becomes to find time for it (to work all the way around).

Interviewee: When we have the young ones in the first, second and third grades, we manage, and we accept that sometimes they are haltering in some subjects. However, they start in the fourth grade and up, and the real trouble begins because we need teacher resources as in the first, second and third grades.

And then it becomes a real problem in fourth grade and up [...] and how does the trouble show up if they do not manage in the subjects? They are dragging more and more behind and becoming more and more unhappy (Teacher in a general school setting, 45)

This informant stresses that intentionally and ethically, inclusive education is good but difficult to practice as inclusion demands of the teachers to prioritise both well-being of the pupils while also being concerned with subject teaching, which has become more and more standardised and influenced by international standardisation measures influencing the local school practices. This interview extract addresses the challenges to "work all the way around" and hits the heart of inclusive schooling, namely that inclusion must be seen as an integral part of teaching and not something other than teaching (Hedegaard-Soerensen, 2021). However, this task is difficult, mainly due to a lack of staffing, knowledge, and the increased focus on both the subjects' demands and the well-being of the pupils. In that sense, paying attention to well-being and achievement is difficult. These OECD-influenced standardisation measurements that were incorporated in the Faroese school system in 2006 and developed further have maybe left the practical, relational pedagogical practice to follow the child's natural development behind – cultivating a dichotomy between the soft and the hard values. Being stuck in navigating contradictory value sets, while also lacking guidelines and direction from the authority and a common language for inclusion (Booth et al., 2004), the translation and transforming processes towards an inclusive direction seem difficult. However, the empirical material leads in a direction that hints at other relevant considerations.

As stated, the local school in the villages and towns are also an important and often the only cultural institution in the local area. Therefore, the staff in school often exceed the school practice. An interview with a school leader in a school in a village reveals how their care for the local community and the pupils reaches beyond what is strictly expected of professionals in the school.

Interviewer: You mention the school as part of the village and the local area. Can you explain? Interviewee: I regard the school as an integrated part of the village and a part of the other small villages and schools in the area. We try to find a shared way of working. We are a school for all the islands. Otherwise, children will be forced to leave the island.

Interviewer: You mention something about to be a school leader not just for the classes and pupils, but also for all the homes in the village and the area?

Interviewee: I meant that I was the school leader also for the homes, primarily through the Corona lockdown. The school strives to take all problems up, even though we may only solve some of the problems. The children are our all "apple of one's eye".

We strive to be an inclusive school, and the first target is the pupil's well-being, and then it is possible to learn and develop. As a school leadership team, we try to signal to the teachers that they are not valued as teachers by the mark results of the pupils. That is an issue for us as leaders and as a whole school. So the teachers shall concentrate on teaching and the well-being and thriving of the pupils. (School leader, no. 55)

Considering that the Faroese school has a tradition of being a school for all in the local community, the schools have worked in some inclusive manner for decades, and thus developed a practice that could be developed further in an inclusive direction.

# 12.4 Hints of inclusive development

In the international world, researchers discuss whether the inclusive vision is about to die, for example in Slee's point that *"inclusive education is not dead, it just smells funny"* (2018). In the Faroe Islands, an inclusive vision is about to be born. Although the whole situational picture of developing inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands points to a non-existing vision of developing inclusion, inclusion in the Faroe Islands is on its way, struggling in a value battle. Functioning in the empirical field, my researcher's nose smells a change, and senses some tendency towards inclusive direction indicating that the global ideas are finding ways to meet local culture and practice. However, it is morphing as it moves (Cowen, 2009, p. 315).

Most research literature criticises school policy concerning inclusion as too ambitious, ambiguous, and far from practice (Haug, 2020a; Magnússon, 2019). The critique has pointed at the development of inclusive school practice as being directed by a top-down process from supranational institutions to local school policy to local school practice. This analysis seeks to discover another maybe more practical way of dealing with inclusion not solely anchored in a political and ideological form, which needs to be revitalised and re-discussed to return to its original intention anchored in an ethical and pragmatic discourse (Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2023), This work highlights that research and practice need to acknowledge inclusive education's ambiguity, fluidity, and complexity instead of looking for easy solutions or postponements in

developing inclusive school environments. At the same time, a discourse is needed about what 'qualifies' as inclusive education.

As argued before, being a professional in a very small island society is guided by a different logic. Close relationships support a lot, but it is not enough and can cause bias and difficulties in being a professional (Pugh, 2007). In the interview extract below from a general teacher in a school situated in a small village, the teacher elaborates on what teacher professionalism means for her related to inclusive education:

Interviewer: You mention that inclusion must come from inside, or?

Interviewee: Yes. It must come from the inside. I have it difficult when it comes from outside ... because do you leave that bag when you leave the school [...] The pupil sees through you [...]

We are not just set to teach. If we think teaching is just to teach Faroese and math, then [...] Moreover, it is not just to "danne⁵⁴". Let us see ourselves, as more than to teach or "danne". We are there when they (the pupils) are young, and the parents are not there. But we are not parents, but anyhow we are caregivers. Moreover, it depends on how you see it [....]

Interviewer: If I understand you correctly, then [...] Do you think that a challenge working against the inclusive school is an image of what a teacher is?

Interviewee: It is precisely what I mean, yes [...] The best would be if the teacher became broader, more competent, and inclusive...

Interviewer: That there is a primary person? Is it difficult when other layers come to do other tasks in the classroom?

Interviewee: Yes. In that case, the teacher becomes just a performer of the teaching. Moreover, that contradicts everything we learn [...] To learn to be a teacher or pedagogue must take a long time, ha? Maybe we should learn more pedagogic at the teacher's education [...] that would be good [...] To be professionally well dressed in subject matters and pedagogical matters is essential.

When you start the study to become a teacher this is the premises and purpose. That the pupil shall be present, participating, and you know [...] However, it is a challenge because it takes up a lot when you start working as a teacher. The question of being included [...] (Teacher in a general school setting, no. 5)

addresses a different perspective on professionalism, The interview pointing at personalised professionalism, where professional and ethical reasoning merges. As this teacher points out, the mindset about inclusion is not something one puts behind oneself when leaving the school, especially when the community is so small that everybody knows each other outside the school setting - it demands a different kind of professionalism. Zooming in on the school and classroom, the interview also elaborates on a holistic approach to being a professional teacher in the school, balancing different sets of goals which must be integrated into the professionals' (teachers and pedagogues) practice in the school, pointing that inclusive education cannot be separate from the everyday practice of teaching. Researchers theorising inclusion (e.g. Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011; Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2022) point out that inclusion should not be separated into different categories, e.g., social, physical, and personal inclusion. Instead, it is more fruitful to think that the different aspects should intertwine, as teaching and well-being must be regarded as two interacting dimensions of school life and the school environment. Hedegaard-Sørensen (2022) points out that dividing the didactic

⁵⁴ Bildung (GR)/Bildning (SE) Olesen, M. N. (2010). Bildung--then and now in Danish high school and university teaching and how to integrate Bildung into modern university teaching. *Forum on public policy*, 2010(2).

dimension as not part of the discussion on inclusion often leads to the perception that the teacher's work consists of disparate activities.

## 12.5 To be a professional

Approaching an understanding of inclusive school in a near-practice context, with both silence and ambiguous signals from the authorities, the practical field is left to local interpretation of whether and how to practice inclusive education. Moreover, it is up to each professional to interpret and transform inclusive principles. Furthermore, it is left to the professionals to define their professional practice concerning inclusive school environments. As in the case of the above interview extract, where the informant utters that inclusion must come from within is a solid demand for teachers. Concerning the profession of the pedagogues, it is sparingly described in the aim of their work in schools.

In the Faroese public school, employing pedagogues has been a rare practice. However, in recent years, pedagogues have been employed in schools often as special needs pedagogical supporters both within the general setting and in the special educational needs arrangement (See also chapter 4). From the experiences of the pedagogues working in the special educational needs field, the pedagogues' professionalism is displayed as a kind of comforter/supporter to the teachers, not pointing at an equal and inclusive professional community. However, an inclusive professional community is addressed by researchers as essential and even a prerequisite for developing inclusive school environments, for example as co-teaching (Friend et al., 2010).

In the interview extract below, a pedagogue reflects on the teachers' practice and profession and his role as a pedagogue, being in a general school and general class as a pedagogical supporter:

Interviewer: How do you understand inclusive school?

Interviewee: The teachers differ a lot. Some teachers are occupied with inclusion, and some are not and make no effort to work inclusively.

Interviewer: How do you observe that?

Interviewee: Some do not see the pupils who have some need for something extra. They are on the blackboard caring just for themself: They do not care and do not see that some pupils need support or help. And then I am running around trying to help ... Most teachers try to be all around, but some do not. To care for the wellbeing of all the pupils.

Interviewer: And you think you can contribute to the inclusive school?

Interviewee: Then I can help. It strikes me to see a pupil not participate and sit. Even though I am not a supporter of that pupil, I try to be there and help him participate.

Interviewee: I do not participate in the pedagogical meetings or the teamwork concerning the class. If it concerns the pupil, I am supposed to participate. I would appreciate participating in meetings and joining some courses.

Interviewer: How do you see the teachers? Do they collaborate?

Interviewee: Yes, some do. Some do not. It is like they think that I have this and that subject, which is the lesson's purpose. It is a pity because pupils sit there and do not gain anything. Are just sitting in days, weeks, even though all the year. I need help to have that insight or knowledge.

It is difficult to change a teacher being in the profession in hundred years [...] It is hard to see what happens in practice where pupils are sitting and do not gain anything. Then I feel I should do something

more, and often after finishing the workday, I go home feeling that I did not manage to help this and this pupil today, even though they are not my pupils. (Pedagogue, no. 4)

Through this empirical example, the possibilities of contributing to an inclusive school environment are challenging. The pedagogue's contributions are experiences as a support to the activity in the class, which the teacher is solely responsible for defining and delivering. Even though the pedagogue sees other things in play in the classroom, his knowledge is not brought into play because he is not a part of the 'official' professional pedagogical environment in the school. The teacher's knowledge is more legitimate and valued than the pedagogue's knowledge addressing soft versus hard values. In discussing the relationship between teachers' and pedagogues' professionalism, threads can be drawn to the discussion and break-up concerning a traditional society. The pedagogues' tasks are closer to the caring and nurturing aspects than the teachers' professional tasks, referring to the changes in Faroese society where family tasks have become professional society's welfare tasks (Jákupsstovu, 2013). The changes in school content and society also address rethinking professionalism in schools including the professional identity of teachers and pedagogues. Currently, the executive order on special educational needs defines the pedagogues' working tasks in the schools (Kunngerð um sernámsfrøði, 2018, (1) (2)).

### 12.6 Attitudes as signs

The analysis so far indicates that the interpretation of how to work inclusively falls to individual actors. However, as the interview extract below with a teacher in general and special educational needs settings highlights, the interpretation based on individual convictions and attitudes determine how or whether the school tries to work inclusively and if the strategies are adopted.

Interviewee: It is random which school tries to work inclusively and which strategies are used [...] the understanding of purposes of school are conflicting [...] Leadership is so crucial because, in changing times, we need leaders prioritising changes towards an inclusive direction (Teacher both in general and special educational needs setting, no. 3).

When missing an overall direction and a common language for inclusion, the common language becomes 'attitudes' to translate the global vision of inclusive education individually. The theme 'attitudes' becomes a way of legitimising how and whether to work inclusively, reinforcing or enabling the ethical discourse to be a dominant discourse concerning inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. The theme 'attitudes' is an overall key node in the empirical material where school leaders address attitudes among teachers towards some pupils, and teachers address attitudes among the school leaders as crucial for enabling inclusive education. Professionals in the special educational needs settings accuse the general school setting of excluding pupils because of attitudes. Special educational needs teachers blame general teachers' attitudes to certain pupils for hindering working inclusively. Pupils point at teachers' attitudes to certain pupils as the turning point in creating inclusive school environments. From the positions of administrative and political advisors, attitudes in the general school are also the leading causes of a non-inclusive school system. Thus, the interpretation of strategies to work inclusively is fluid and based on indicators of different attitudes actors identify as crucial.

In a literature review concerning regular primary schoolteachers' attitudes towards inclusive education, attitudes are defined as an individual's viewpoint or position towards an, for example an idea or person. de Boer et al. (2011) divide attitudes into three components: 1) cognitive related to beliefs and knowledge; 2) affective related to feelings; and 3) behavioural related to predisposition to act (Eagly and Chaiken 1993; Triandis 1971. In: de Boer et al., 2011, p. 333).

In the interview extract with a special educational needs teacher, attitudes related to beliefs and knowledge about inclusive education (de Boer et al., 2011) uttered in a discussion on inclusive versus segregated school settings are addressed.

Interviewer: Do you feel alone in working with the inclusion vision?

Interviewee: Overall, I feel supported to work inclusively in the school, but I do not think all of us in the school think in the same direction. E.g., are there some voices in our school that say that other schools do not understand inclusion in the way we do in our school.

Interviewer: What is the difference, then?

Interviewee: We discussed if a pupil with special needs should attend general settings or be in a special setting. Often, inclusion relates to caring too much. We who are interested in or care for inclusion are often accused of being special people or teachers who work in inclusive ways.

It is often the structure that is not good enough when children do not thrive, and I often think teachers want the solution to come from outside. However, one special adviser coming to the school said we shall not work inclusively for all premises.

Interviewee: Does it affect the teacher's self-authority?

Yes, structural change must follow. With the working circumstances, we now have "individual preparing time" inclusive schools demand a considerable devotion to the inclusion vision. (Special needs education teacher, no. 3)

In the interview, the teacher states that on an ethical level, he feels supported to work inclusively but is caught up in different attitudes towards working with inclusion, which he experiences as hindrances to moving the inclusive school forward. One hindrance concerns attitude and knowledge concerning general school versus special educational needs settings. The second attitude component in this extract relates to teachers' affections and inclusive practice, for example being accused of being a certain kind of teacher who cares. Thirdly the attitude of behaviour is addressed, where lack of school structure to encourage inclusive education leaves the professional to act based on attitudes concerning the inclusive school development, for example using the individual preparing time and leaving at midday. Thus, the interpretation of inclusion is based on individual commitment and work ethic indicating deficient school structures for supporting inclusive schools. Working at an inclusive school requires a different organisation of working time, but to change that can hardly be the responsibility of the individual. Considering that the schools are state institutions, it is not easy to understand the onus placed on the individual teacher to interpret inclusive education. This points back to the necessity of having inclusive education written into the framework of the public school. As one informant points out:

Interviewee: We need a clear utterance of the vision of inclusion and instruction from above, which say: This is the way we work in the public school. (Teacher in a general school setting also working in a special educational needs school setting, no. 27).

## 12.7 Reforms

Developing inclusive schools calls for a situated school reform focusing on development potential, for example, professionalising the school system in the Faroe Islands to correspond to a more diverse, tolerant, modern, and secularised society acting locally while functioning as members of the global village. Therefore, when emphasising professionalism in the school system, situated knowledge is sensitive to the unique situation of the Faroe Islands combined with knowledge production worldwide. As seen in the analysis of the Faroes' cultural platform, demands are set to professionalise the school system concerning the unique features of very close relations, which can promote exclusion mechanisms, especially in a political and practical climate of silence. Sleeter (2014) argues that if we want inclusion and to reach all children in school with our teaching, we must invest in 'good teachers'. That is, well-trained teachers who carry the awareness of culture and social justice from their training (Hedegaard-Soerensen, 2021; Vijayavarathan-R & Óskarsdóttir, 2023). Following these arguments, a prerequisite to developing and professionalising the Faroese school system is that there is a need to train the professionals to be sensitive to cultural awareness to practice inclusive education. A prerequisite to training professionals, for example, teachers and pedagogues, in situated cultural awareness is to have locally based research. However, producing local research-based and situated knowledge in a small society is challenging.

A lack of local research is one topic being addressed in the empirical material exemplified in this interview extract from an informant from the administrative, political, advisory and educational sector, who addresses the lack of research when initiating/establishing new school projects:

Interviewee: We lack knowledge, and we often decide just on feelings. We need more data. Everything is ad hoc. It is a huge problem that we do not have research [...] it is challenging to make strategies, and this lack makes it difficult to transform visions because almost everything is ad hoc. (Informant from the administrative, political, advisory and educational sector, no. 89)

The lack of research-based knowledge in educational and teaching milieus has the possible consequence that decision-making is dictated by gut instinct, current circumstances, and ad hoc situations, highlighting the need to professionalise the school system in the Faroe Islands through training of the professionals based on the unique feature of a school policy and practice in very small post-colonial societies. Having inherited the history of the teachers' and pedagogues' training programmes, the Faculty of Education struggles to find an identity in academia (Harryson, 2023). However, these training programmes are among the most popular in the University, as a four-year 240 ECTS bachelor's degree enables one to practice as a teacher and pedagogue or continue to a master's degree in education and pedagogy, which has not established in the Faroe Islands yet. On the other hand, as the Faculty of Education is a former teacher training college, it has limited pedagogical and educational research

competencies, which results in little research in the educational and pedagogical fields (see further discussion on research in chapter 17).

One informant addresses a need for more commitment to the inclusive vision in the Faculty of Education:

Interviewee: We must start at the faculty and include inclusion in our curriculum for both the subjects and the general didactic and pedagogical subjects. All the subjects in the Faculty of Education should include inclusion. As it is now, the curriculum in the subject often focuses on the specific subject (Informant from the political, administrative, advisory and educational sector, no. 84).

Recent research on the topic of teacher training for inclusive education suggests that inclusive approaches to teaching should be a core element of general teacher preparation rather than a specialist topic (Florian & Camedda, 2020). Several scholarly articles (Hedegaard-Soerensen, 2021) call for teachers and other school professionals to take on a critical awareness of racism, change language and teaching aids, and in general, to do away with discriminatory culture and practice in school (Annamma & Morrison, 2018; Dlugaj & Fürstenau, 2019; Hedegaard-Soerensen, 2021).

## 12.8 Summing up

This chapter has focused on the Faroese cultural platform, where the views, positions, perspectives, and activities among the actors and actants in the practical field have been analysed and discussed. The analysis reveals that the actors are acting individually in inclusive education in a political climate of silence on inclusion. The cultural platform is in a time of change from a more conservative homogeneous society towards modernity and diversity where values are debated anchored in this transition. This affects how inclusive principles meet the local culture where a battle on values in times of change is going on. This, combined with a *"social ecology of smallness"*, characterised by closeness, distance, and silence as cultural premises dominate (visible) school values anchored in preserving the traditional culture and in language engendering silence and suppressing necessary discussion on pedagogical issues in the public forum.

The school system is set to navigate contradictory and dilemmatic value sets (the soft and the hard). Despite small signs of transformation, there nevertheless is a 'silence' around inclusive development in the Faroese schools. The analysis reveals that, combined with lacking inclusive direction, different attitudes act as signs and language for prevailing inclusive and exclusive processes. To develop inclusion demands professionalising of the school system to empower it to work inclusively. That means the professionals must be trained to engage in the culture and practice grounded in inclusive teaching anchored in Faroese culture. This is a challenge given the current legislation and curriculum for the teachers' and pedagogues' profession and training, and the history and status these training programmes have in the University of the Faroe Islands. The role of professionals in an inclusive school needs to be addressed and developed to facilitate optimal inclusive education.

# Chapter 13. To be a pupil in the Faroese school

As seen in the previous analysis, inclusive education in the Faroe Islands is in its nascent stage. There are strong indicators, illustrated by pupils' experiences in this analysis section, that a minority of pupils are struggling in a school system so widely open for individual interpretation and arbitrary translations and transformations of the inclusive principles into practices. Moreover, there are pupils who are stranded between tensions between special needs education and general education. Thus, according to the empirical material, there are several areas to work on according to the pupils' experiences.

This analysis section on the experiences of pupils is divided into three headlines:

13.1 Being a pupil in a school system without clear aims to be an inclusive school The first topic addresses the school's policy platform, and the silencing of the inclusive vision leading to the professionals' arbitrary understanding and interpretation affecting the pupils' sensitising of an inclusive school environment.

## 13. 2 Being a pupil in a very small society

Secondly, the unique feature of a very small society's societal and cultural platform in relation to pupils' experiences of school is addressed. This is manifested as attitudes from the professionals that affect issues of pupils feeling accepted and valued.

13.3 Being a pupil in a school system lacking supportive measures to work inclusively Thirdly, the chapter addresses how structural issues and teaching strategies affect the pupils' sense of achievement, presence, participation and acceptance in school.

In analysing pupils' experiences, I will use Farrell's (2004) four components of the present, participation, acceptance and achievement as four analytical interactive barometers indicating the quality of a pupil's school life (I will explain Farrell's barometers further in the text). Here, I will point out that in using Farrell's criteria combined with the SA approach, as a researcher, I am not just a 'microphone holder' interested overall in the pupils' lives. Instead, I use the pupils' perspectives and experiences to interact with all the other actors and actants in the overall situation. Thus, I am not just listening to the voices of the pupils. I am also inviting the pupils to contribute meaningfully and voice their opinions on important aspects of developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. I build on the previous analysis sections of the political and practical climate without a commonly developed understanding of inclusive education. The analysis of the empirical material from pupils seeks to explore how they experience being situated in a school environment so open to the professionals' interpretations and translations in systemic and strategic processes and daily practice. An environment where inclusion is nearly not debated in the professional social worlds and arenas relegated by a political and practical climate of silence, as highlighted in analysis sections 1 and 2.

As developing inclusive schools also is a matter of communicating and negotiating in ways which do not stigmatise or marginalise individuals or groups, the importance of listening to pupils' voices should be evident as an active process of communication involving hearing, interpreting, and constructing meanings (Tangen, 2009, p. 831). By actively listing to the pupils and using their voices actively in an interplay with the other actors and actants in a SA approach, this may contribute to breaking the silence – and, in the end, maybe force the actors to take a stance on how to develop nourishing schools which takes care of the pupils' multidimensional needs to support their learning and development potential.

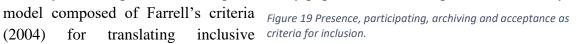
Although the pupils are children and occupy another position in school as not having a free choice to be present as the adults, I consider the pupils' contribution to the research like the adults' contribution. I have included the pupils' perspective in this research because I do not consider it sufficient to listen to adults' and the professionals' perspectives on pupils' experiences of being included/excluded. Taking the readings of Gulløv and Højlund (2010) on anthropological reflections on using children as informants with me in the SA approach, I analyse the pupils' perspectives and experiences as the other informants informing (and creating) the situation under investigation in this research.

This said, the pupils' perspectives and position differ from the adults' position, as they are the users of the educational system and can inform and contribute to the discussion on developing inclusive education from inside-out, that is, how it feels to be situated in inclusive/exclusive school environments as another layer in the overall analysis. Farrell's criteria (2004) are applied as a supporting theory to analyse the pupils' perspectives and experiences through an SA approach and the analytical perspective of the Faroe Islands as a very small state. Farrell's understanding provides arguments for constructing a unique look at pupils' empirical material to understand inclusion better. Together with Farrell's understanding (2004) of the "quality" of inclusive school, Tangen's research (2009) on pupils' perspectives and experiences on the quality of school life can supplement and expand Farrell's perspectives on criteria for turning inclusive principles into practices and reinforce the importance of developing the inclusive school as the quality of school life. This acknowledges that a pupil's well-being during school is not just a matter of 'becoming' for the future but also as 'beings' whose experiences, choices and relationships are engaging (Tangen, 2009, p. 830). This said, the pupils' school experiences of meanings and values have a tremendous impact on pupils' future perspectives (Tangen, 2009) and, in the end, have consequences for future society. Researchers in inclusive education (e.g. Allan, 2006; Ainscow, 2020) have indicated that one of the biggest challenges to realising inclusion is the lack of evidence of how 'good' inclusion is experienced by pupils and calls for a more central, acting role for pupils "allowing them to redirect teaching and learning practices and to provide insights into what it will take to achieve inclusion" (Allan, 2006, p. 129). Thus, the pupils' perspectives can make a decisive contribution to the development of inclusion. In contrast to some other research (e.g. Tangen, 2009), the pupils' voice in this research consists of a broad group of pupils both being in danger of being marginalised but also of pupils not expressing being in danger of being marginalised. This research's aim to

engage the pupils' perspective has thus been to listen to a broad diversity of pupils using Farrell's criteria as guidelines (see Chapter 7 on the method section).

To analyse the empirical material produced by pupils, I have developed a four-sided dynamic

(2004)for translating inclusive principles into actionable steps as a dynamic analytical framework to analyse pupils' experiences. The four criteria are deeply interwoven and, therefore must be approached as pieces in a puzzle that are always dynamic and in play with each other. According to Farrell's criteria (2004), inclusive school environments seek to breathe life and coherence into every pupil's





experience of being present, accepted, participating, and achieving. Presence refers to the extent to which pupils attend the local schools and associate with 'a school for all'. Acceptance addresses acceptance and recognition from the institution's employees and pupils to accept all pupils as full and active community members. Participation refers to the extent to which all pupils contribute actively to all the school's activities. Finally, achievement refers to how pupils learn and can develop positive views of themselves (professional, social and personality).

Farrell (2004) argues that for a school to be truly inclusive, all four conditions should apply to all pupils in schools regardless of their abilities and disabilities, their ethnic origin, social class, or gender. It is not, for example, sufficient for pupils to be present in a school. They need to be accepted by their peers and staff, participate in all the school's activities, and attain good levels of achievement in their work and behaviour. Referring to "educational alliances" as one of the four main components of measuring the quality of school life, Tangen (2009) points out the importance of developing educational alliances, emphasising relationships with teachers, parents and peers. This formulation is proactive because it sets goals for schools, local authorities and communities and can act as a benchmark to estimate how inclusive policies and practices work and, in the long run, indicate the effectiveness of the school, using the four criteria as a benchmark for effective schools (Farrell, 2004). As an interactive barometer indicating the quality of pupils' school life, as explained by Tangen (2009), using the dimension of time where present meanings and values are based on past experiences and future perspectives, I will add the dimension of having influence and control of school life, the dimension on educational alliances and the dimension of schooling as a life mode with meaningful schoolwork.

## 13.1 Being a pupil in a school system with no clear aims to be an inclusive school

As highlighted in the previous analysis of the school's policy documents (chapter 10), the inclusive vision is not written into the Public School Act from 1997. Thus, the inclusive vision

is not clearly stated in the core legislation for the Faroese public school. This (non)interpretation has consequences for the pupils' school lives. According to pupils, some pupils feel excluded and marginalised despite the school being inclusive for most. An informant who is close to a pupil explains the issue in the following interview extract. Although the extract is not from a pupil, it is highlighted in the analysis of pupils' experiences because it illustrates the problematic school environment that silences inclusion.

Interviewee: We have a school for all and a tolerant school, but that does not mean that we have an inclusive school, as we do not have any discussion on how to include [...] The tolerance also becomes a hiding place. It kills the debate on inclusion [...] (Informant (other stakeholder), 97)

The distinctions between a school for all and an inclusive school become even more conspicuous when viewed through Farrell's (2004) criteria on inclusive school environments. Leaving the question of access to school based on "a school for all" ignores or leaves the other access components behind. To get access to the school does not necessarily means that active participation and achievement on individual premises are guaranteed, as achievement must be compared to opportunities in a supportive learning environment - not to (inter)national standards or perhaps local standards.

In the Faroe Islands, it is common for pupils in very small villages to move from the small local school to a bigger school in the area in the seventh or eighth grades. In the empirical example below (among several others, as *village pupils* moving is one theme among the 67, see chapter 7), the lack of moving the concept of a school for all towards an inclusive school is demonstrated. The interview extract below is from a pupil who has moved from a very small village school to a bigger school in the area, highlighting the consequences of not taking a political and professional stance concerning the inclusive school:

Interviewer: What do you think about the idea that the school is for everyone? How are your experiences? Is the school for everyone and do you think the school should be for everyone, or?

Interviewee: He (the school) should be for everyone, but he is not.

Interviewer: Why not for everyone?

Interviewee: Because they (the school) do not welcome everybody. [...] I can just speak of my own experiences. I did not feel welcomed [...] in the beginning, it was ok, but later it became a nightmare.

Interviewer: A nightmare?

Interviewee: I was bullied and being kept outside.[...] after moving to the special educational setting, it became better.

[A long section speaking about school life]

Interviewer: What do you think is the purpose of school? What is your purpose?

Interviewee: To get fairly good marks and be finished with school. I hope I will succeed [...] The purpose should be that I was not so excited to finish school, that I would miss friends [...] and that I had enjoyed being in the school.

Interviewer: What could the school have done better, do you think? If the school should learn something from what you have been through?

Interviewee: To welcome the new pupils better.

Interviewer: How?

Interviewee: Maybe interfere more if the new pupils are being kept outside, being bullied [...]. It would be great if the school had interfered and stopped the bullying. And the pupils should think more about what they are doing. [...] the school should talk more about well-being. My parents reacted and told the school, but it became even worse. In the end, I was moved to the special needs class, and then I started to thrive better. (Pupil in a special educational needs setting, no. 36)

In this interview extract, the informant addresses a need for more acceptance and opportunities to participate in the general school community. Thus, his presence and probably also achievement are being denied. According to the pupil, achievement, acceptance, participation, and presence are inextricably linked. Additionally, these four components are directly linked to what the pupil thinks the purpose of school life should be, that is, to achieve and to be accepted, valued, and participate. If these components do not define/underpin the vision and mission of the school, they will not be a mandatory part of the professional work in the school. In that case, the pupils are left to local and individual interpretations of the quality of school life and, in the end, what 'effective schools' means for pupils. In the interview extract, the pupil calls for "educational alliances" (Tangen, 2009, p. 834) to be sensitive to the feelings and personal lives of the pupils and makes a call for teachers to show interest and care, which could enhance the pupils' motivation, safety, and well-being. Neglecting these factors' importance in school policy and practice threatens pupils' well-being and achievement. These experiences also affect other areas of their lives beyond school. The fact that the professionals indirectly give pupils unhindered access to bully or exclude others from the community calls for a reinterpretation of the concept of professionalism. This includes, in addition to subjects and professional relations, actual work with the pupils' community as a basis for professionalism (Hedegaard-Sørensen & Grumløse, 2016).

In the interview extract below, a pupil addresses a call for revising the purpose with school which, as mentioned above, implies a reinterpretation of the content of the professionals' work in the schools.

Interviewer: What do you think is the best about the school? Interviewee: The community, friends, to get to know other pupils and be together. Interviewer: What do you think is the purpose of school?

Interviewee: The purpose is to learn. Before, in old times, the purpose was just to learn. Now we hold the school to improve the well-being as well as be together with people and thrive and not to be kept outside the community. (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 33)

I will return to professional supportive measures promoting inclusive school environments later in this analysis section. Here, I will conclude that the inclusive school development not being supported politically is far from ideal for the pupils. The analysis reveals the possible consequences for pupils in a school system without clear aims to be an inclusive school. This silencing of the inclusive vision abandons the pupils to the professionals' arbitrary understanding and interpretation and has serious implications for some pupils and affects their sense of meaning and belonging.

## 13.2 Being a pupil in a very small society

The following analysis addresses the unique feature of a very small society's societal and cultural platform addressing special characteristics of close relationships and a strong sense of 'we culture', making it further complicated to differ in a relatively homogeneous approach to a 'we community' affecting, for example, the sense of being accepted and valued. The unique Faroese societal and cultural platform characterised by *"social interconnectedness, interdependency, and intimacy"* (Hayfield, 2022, p. 233), and infiltrated by an image and aspiration towards a 'we culture' can be pitfalls or developing points for the inclusive school. The pitfalls and possible consequences include a vulnerability in being different and being set outside the community both physically but also - according to the pupils' perspective - due to different 'attitudes' as highlighted in the empirical example below, which shows how professionals 'chase' pupils because of the professionals' attitudes based on kinship and relations to the pupil's family.

In the interview below, a pupil in a general setting experiences teachers' attitudes as a way of practising injustice, and these attitudes are the main factor disturbing in pupils' reflections on the school being inclusive:

Interviewee: Some teachers are sometimes chasing some pupils [...] they are chasing all the time. It is irritating.

Interviewer: So, pupils are being treated differently?

Interviewee: A teacher [...] he is no longer here [...] He was chasing three siblings [...] he was all the time chasing them and scolding them. And it was just the siblings that the teacher was scolding.

Interviewer: Could it be because everybody knows everybody here? That the teachers know the family behind and outside?

Interviewee: Yes, it could be. There are some teachers [...] if they do not like your parents, then they do not like you. I can see it [...] and feel it [...] and it is unpleasant to experience. (Pupil in a general setting, no. 10)

In the interview extract, the pupil addresses the challenge of developing inclusive school environments because of attitudes among the professionals, which have been taken from their societal and cultural background into the professional world of the school, which again affects the pupils' community. The pupils' community is another important aspect of alliances contributing to inclusive environments (Hedegaard-Sørensen & Grumløse, 2020; Tangen, 2009).

Seen in the light of Farrell's barometers for an inclusive school environment, the feeling of being accepted and valued is vital for pupils' experiences of inclusive school being linked closely to educational alliances concerning professional and personal relations.

As said, the Faroe Islands as a very small and relatively homogeneous society has developed a strong sense of social cohesion, which could be developing points in terms of inclusion. Under the headline "Limits to inclusion", Hansen (2012) argues that inclusion and exclusion are necessary mechanisms in all communities, and communities must have a degree of differentiation without posing a threat to cohesion. Thus, it is essential to examine how specific

communities construct their limits to diversity as all communities put limits on inclusion and exclusion to secure their existence (Hansen, 2012).

The empirical material from pupils' experience indicates that being pupil in a very small society indicates that their voices on physical and practical matters are relatively well heard by the professionals in the schools and in the local community. For example, concerning the playground in the school, and feeling free to address the school leaders:

Interviewee: [...] walking into the school leader office when wanting something, and usually getting what we want [...] (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 10)

Utterances from pupils in the empirical material indicate that their voice is extended to also be heard in the municipalities, as one informant recounted:

Interviewee: [...] are often walking in the office of the municipalities for wishes concerning the physical matters in the school and each year a letter is handed to the municipalities listing up wishes (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 9).

A common statement in the data from pupils is that usually their wishes get through regarding physical things they want in the school. Data shows strong indications that a sense of acceptance is absent for some pupils. The themes of *children's rights* and *attitudes* (as two of the eight central nodes in the entire empirical material) are repeatedly addressed by the pupils in the Faroese public school. Pupils reflect on attitudes from the professionals towards being 'different' as the main reason for being excluded from the sense of being part of the dominating 'we culture' in the schools. To be outside in a homogeneous and close relation-based society becomes extra painful and vulnerable as one really is OUTSIDE – in contrast to the closeness and caring society.

In the interview extract below, a pupil elaborates on teachers chasing certain pupils and adds that there are always some pupils in each class who do not thrive because of the teachers. The pupil explains that they as children cannot do anything about it. As a result of being "chased" by one teacher, this pupil had to leave his general class and join the special educational needs setting. Since his departure from the general class, he has not visited his home class again and just has contact with a few of his former classmates. The pupil explains:

Interviewee: What can be done with that? Nothing to do about it. I started in the special unit in xxx class. I have not been in my general class since [...] but I miss them [...] I had problems with the teacher. If I made a mistake, he told everybody in the class [...] I told my parents about it. They told somebody in the school, but the school could not fire the teacher, so I was moved to the special educational needs setting. (Pupil in a special educational needs setting, no. 61).

Thus, according to the experience from this pupil, the professionals' attitudes towards pupils in the general school are the reason why the pupil is now in a special educational needs setting. As seen in other empirical examples and as a general trend in the whole empirical material on pupils' experiences as well as parents' experiences, parents seem to be the main 'allies' for many pupils who face problems in school. Similar trends were also seen in Tangen's research (2009). Compatible with several other experiences of pupils in special educational needs settings, they are elucidating *attitudes* from the professionals as the main reasons for being in segregated settings. Almost all the pupils explain that the reason for being in a segregated setting is because of other reasons than that of special educational needs. They say the main reason for moving to a special educational needs setting is due to their suffering in the general school. These sufferings stem from exclusion, bullying, loneliness etc, in the general school. Pupils in special needs settings speak of experiences in the general school producing feelings of being *ghosts* and *shadows* in the general schools. As one pupil who had attended a general school setting and subsequently moved to a special educational needs setting puts it:

Interviewee: My suffering was enough for me. In the end I did not manage to come to school. Here (in the special educational needs setting) it is better. Here there are not too many people and not so much noise. Although I miss the building (the general school, he has left) e.g., the library, I do not want to go back to my former school. I am too afraid to be alone again. It is good to be here (in the special educational needs setting), because here I do not miss belonging and being afraid of feeling lonely and alone. I wish there were more focus on well-being in the school (Pupil in a special educational setting, no. 22).

Thus, although having moved to a special educational needs setting, the yearning for the previous environment is still latent for many pupils seen in the reference to how very rarely that the former teachers or classmates keep in touch with them. The pupils miss the relationships with their peers, even though they struggle to fulfil educational demands compared to their peers and might need additional support and help to meet the demands. Through these perspectives from the pupils, ideas of how to develop inclusive education could be developed. Social relations with peers are learned by at least frequent participation in a large community of peers (Frønes, 2016) referring also to the importance of pupils' community (Hedegaard-Sørensen & Grumløse, 2020)

The analysis indicates that attitudes matter for acceptance (Farrell, 2004) and thus, for the sense of being included/excluded. School political 'silence' on developing an inclusive school environment, leaves professionals to figure out how or whether to promote an inclusive environment. Dealing with acceptance and inclusion is anchored in cultural values revealing those who do not belong to the 'we' and are thereby excluded. In the further analysis sections, I will follow the concept of 'we culture' in agonistic terms as a development point for inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. As I see it, there are two ways of thinking about 'we': an exclusionary and implicit relationship that acts as a sanctioning of those who do not fit in; or as guiding lines in agonistic terms to work as professionals to create inclusion within Farrell's (2004) criteria.

## 13.2.2 Pupils' increased awareness of their rights

In the interview extract below I demonstrate that there are changes on the way in the way pupils react and advocate for their rights. In this interview extract a pupil in a general setting is speaking about the unpleasant feeling when pupils are treated differently. The example below is to demonstrate that objections to being treated based on attitudes of the professionals also come from the pupils:

Interviewee: There is a xxx in my class, which the teachers all the time were chasing. But xxx simply went up to the teacher and said: "I do not accept that you are chasing me all the time". Xxx stood up for himself and that is good (Pupil in the Faroese public school, no. 7).

This example can be interpreted in two ways. One is that due to an informal pragmatic practice culture characterised as 'child friendly' (see chapter 4), the pupils show confidence in objecting to and addressing disliked behaviour from the adults by saying it directly to the involved professionals. The other explanation can be that pupils' growing consciousness of their rights increases the awareness of their rights to be treated respectfully. The awareness among the pupils concerning their rights can reflect further moves to break the silence by emphasising children's rights. Recently, there has been an effort to translate the Convention on the Child's Rights into Faroese together with teaching material (Nám, 2017). This teaching material, titled "*Children have also rights*"⁵⁵, was produced as a continuation of the establishment of a Children's Representative appointed by the Government⁵⁶ in 2014 and the 30th anniversary of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 2019. The growing awareness of children's rights among the pupils could be a starting point to develop the inclusive school further. Approaching diversity and inclusion through the pupils' awareness can foster or contribute to a cultural development moving in an inclusive direction.

Another example is an interview extract with a pupil in a general school setting reflecting on teachers treating pupils differently and pupils objecting to this treatment:

Interviewer: Do you feel that all the children are allowed to be here [accepted and wanted]. Are all treated equally, or do you feel that children are being treated differently? Do you feel sometimes that the grown-ups like somebody more than somebody else?

Interviewee: Yes, in any case in xxx [...] The teacher is never scolding us. If we are doing something wrong, he just says: "ok, it doesn't matter", but if somebody else does something wrong, then the teachers get angry. Then is good to be me, but [...] it does not feel good [...] I do not think it is so much injustice now. It was more in the past. (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 8)

The quote calls for an understanding of equity, which includes differentiated teaching so that making "mistakes" is turned to a learning potential. Otherwise, there is no justice present in educational work⁵⁷. The pupils are uttering that unfair treatment of classmates really bothers the pupils. Sometimes this unfair treatment even results in pupils changing school settings, as seen in previous examples. These utterances from pupils clearly indicate that pupils are also concerned about unfair treatment. In the interview extract below, which is a continuation of the previous interview extract, there is an awareness from the pupil of injustice and children's rights that makes the change:

Interviewer: *How come that it has changed*?

Interviewee: I told the teachers seriously about it, and how it bothers to be scolded [...]

Interviewer: Is it often you feel, that the grown ups are listening to you?

Interviewee: Yes. They are listening to us [...] for sure they do. (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 7)

⁵⁵ Børn hava eisini rætt

⁵⁶ Børneombudsmand

⁵⁷ And in principle, no one should be scolded for making a mistake.

In the quote above the pupil addresses how they are listened to and have an awareness of the rights of the pupils. These empirical findings, being supported by the conceptual criteria of acceptance and participation as two of the four criteria for inclusive school listed up by Farrell (2004) indicate the school is moving in an inclusive direction.

To sum up, developing inclusive school environments in small, homogeneous societies like the Faroe Islands, where a strong sense of a 'we culture' can lead to positive and negative consequences, is challenging. Analysing the data from the pupils highlights that the professionals' attitudes based on kinship and relations can lead to exclusion. This is a significant factor affecting the school's inclusivity. Although the Faroese society's interconnectedness and intimacy can help create an inclusive school, communities must have a degree of differentiation to ensure cohesion. Finally, while pupils' voices on practical matters are heard in small societies, some pupils feel excluded from the 'we culture' due to teachers' attitudes.

## 13.3 Being a pupil in a school system lacking supportive measures to work inclusively.

This section focuses on how pupils experience the school system and the professionals working with the differences and diversity among the pupils. Challenges are found in structural factors and teaching strategies affecting the pupils' sense of achievement, presence, participation and acceptance in school life. The analysis will further elaborate on structural factors and teaching strategies in analysis section 3 on special needs education and general education. As the research is about capturing and exploring the process of developing inclusive schools and education, I focus here on how pupils experience these processes. In the school, there might be other competent professional pedagogical practise and good intentions. However, as said, this research is about examining all children's rights for a supportive and developing school environment. For that purpose, supportive/unsupportive measures to work inclusively by the professionals as experienced by the pupils are the focus in the following analysis.

A way of meeting the differences and diversity in the pupils' groups has resulted in special needs classes within the general school (Kunngerð um at skipa serflokkar, 2019). This was done as an attempt to give pupils opportunities to be in a general school environment while getting special needs education. There is also special educational needs support given within the general classes, in accordance with the executive order on special educational support (Kunngerð um sernámsfrøði, 2018). Almost all pupils in the special needs classes within the general school have 'a home class'⁵⁸ which is a general class with classmates compatible with the pupil's age. Although these structures with special needs classes or special educational needs settings within the school have been established recently, there are no explicated translated purposes or guidelines about how these establishments must or ought to promote inclusion.

Although the schools' obvious intention is to provide opportunities to some pupils to be both in a special educational needs setting and general school setting, the pupils experience these

⁵⁸ The practice with home classes is not stated in the order but is a common practice in the schools, indicated in the empirical material.

structures as challenging, as the purpose is unclear⁵⁹, with undefined educational strategies for working in these different settings. The difficulties for pupils being in a special educational needs setting and, in some cases being in between a special needs class and a home class, are highlighted in the following explanation by a pupil in a special educational needs setting (special needs class) situated within a public school:

Interviewee: *I am just here in the special needs class. This is not my school. I am just walking around* (Pupil, in special educational needs setting within the general school, no. 61)

This is a common utterance by the pupils in the empirical material, that is, that they experience the separation between the general school settings and special educational needs settings as problematic because the separation also leads to a division in the 'social' and 'subject' communities. According to the example from the pupil above, the division between 'social' and 'subject' inclusion is problematised. Translating these findings into Farrell's four criteria on feeling the school environment is inclusive, all four components must be in play simultaneously if the pupils are to experience being included. In the example above, there seems to be just one component of being physically present in the school. Thus, inclusive schools require the pupils' right to attend school but also imply the right to be part of the school curriculum. This sets demands for a flexible curriculum embracing differences, which could imply having common goals while not having identical individual goals as a prerequisite for an inclusive school (Skibsted et al., 2015).

To be caught between a special educational needs environment and general school environment when labelled as having special educational need with/or without diagnosis is problematic. This is partly due to a tendency for pupils to feel that they belong in the special educational needs setting but, at the same time, that they are not suitable for the public school (see, e.g. Skovlund, 2019). The pupils in special educational needs settings utter a desire or wish to get special educational needs support when needed. However, often they experience the special educational needs support as humiliating. They feel they are regarded as less capable because they are treated as "*small kids*". They are clear they want to be addressed as "*normal regular pupils*" like their peers in general school but getting support when needed. As one pupil in this context declares:

Interviewee: *I do not bother to get help, but I am not stupid and can understand when speaking normally.* (Pupil joining both special educational needs and general school settings, no. 50)

The pupils' experiences in special educational needs settings address feelings of being invisible, being submitted to a school system lacking frameworks and guidelines concerning collaboration and support and without an overall aim to promote inclusion. Instead, pupils express that being a pupil with special educational needs fosters a feeling of humiliation. The pupil in the example above expresses that he does not mind getting support when needed but dislikes being humiliated. Almost all the pupils in special educational needs settings within the general school appear to share the experience of being looked down upon. Thus, Farrell's terms

⁵⁹ The professionals emphasise the advantage of having special pedagogical settings within the school because of the apparent opportunities for inclusion e.g. in the school community, even though not included in the teaching of the subject in the home class.

affect the sense of being accepted. This is done through signs, for example, by giving them material, which is not differentiated, as one pupil utters:

Interviewee: I have moved from another school. The school is boring because I learn too little in the special needs class and I want to do and learn other things like pupils my age. I get books [learning material] for first grade [although his "general class" is sixth grade.] This is annoying and makes me feel stupid and starts to be irritating. They are treating me as more stupid than I think I am. I have been seeking a lot in the general class. And there I must have a supporter. That is ok if they are not a hindrance. I do not think I am wanted in the general class, as even though I am with my classmates, they often forget me. They even forgot my birthday.

Interviewer: What could be better?

Interviewee: *I wish that teachers treated and handled all the pupils the same. Sometimes they speak with us with special needs as small kids.* (Pupil in both special educational needs and general school settings, no. 49)

In the empirical examples above, the professionals address the special need by giving teaching material far below the pupil's age, indicating that they understand the problem as an individual defect requiring individual treatment or compensation. As a result, the pupil is set in the periphery of the common learning environment and thereby excluded from the social environment. In the extract above, this pupil advocates self-involvement and possibilities to influence his own learning processes, as echoed in other research (e.g. Subban et al., 2022; Tangen, 2009; Ulvseth, 2019).

Translating these perspectives into suggestions on improvements to work inclusively, the challenge is to change the approach to supporting pupils' learning. In the example above, the stance shows a deficit understanding, where the aim is to reach the level with the 'normal'. As seen in the example the experiences of belonging - or not belonging - are not formed in the individual, but in the relationships with others and it is in these relational encounters that pupils experience themselves as being different.

Together with other examples in the data, the example above indicates that special needs education does not appear to have been transformed to develop inclusive education, for example by inclusive teaching strategies, which both accommodate the special educational need and the need to be part of the learning and social community in the school. A suggestion is to approach learning with a difference and diversity perspective working with common, but not identical aims (see e.g., Skibsted et al., 2015), maintaining both the individual and the relational perspectives.

Pupils in special educational needs repeatedly mention that they receive teaching materials below their grade level. Here, there is a big task of developing age-appropriate materials that differentiate sufficiently professionally. Thus, from these pupils' perspectives, it is not being different that bothers them but the attitude – in the form of lacking acceptance and respect from the environment to the difference – that bothers and humiliates them. For example, in the interview extract below, a pupil in a special needs class who also attends a general class expresses relief when the supporter walks out of the classroom:

Interviewee: When the supporter walks out of the classroom, then I feel that I manage. (Pupil in special educational needs setting attending general school setting class, no. 51)

Here the structure with the supporting system is addressed as a pitfall to an inclusive environment. Even though, in some cases, the support is intended to act for the whole class or a group of pupils, the pupils' experience that the support is individualised to specific pupils (this is also found in the empirical material from special educational needs professionals in the school, see chapters 12 and 14). Thus, the supportive intent ends up being a barrier to accessing both communities or sub-practices.

The pupils in special educational needs settings also underline how the special needs class treats them differently. In the general school, the pupils express that they are treated more as adults. As one pupil in a special educational needs setting utters:

Interviewee: *They* [the teachers in the school] *are speaking about me instead with me. They say that I am not managing*. (Pupil in a special educational needs setting, no. 61)

Thus, inclusion in the special educational needs setting will be, at the same time, exclusion from general educational subjects, endangering inclusion as a full member of the school environment. The contradiction is further reinforced by the pupils' perception of the special educational needs settings as two-sided. On the one hand, the special educational needs settings for other purposes, for example in the main subjects, but they are also special educational needs settings for other purposes, for example to regulate behaviour or to provide treatment, which thus adds to the pupils' experience of being fundamentally different from other children (Skovlund, 2019). As a possible consequence, pupils exhibit an 'exclusive self-understanding' when they relate their special educational need to their roles in general educational needs to the special needs education communities (Skovlund, 2019, p. 398-399). This said, it is a basic condition to be similar or dissimilar to others, but pedagogically in the school environment, it is essential to think and work inclusively.

Pupils also experience being present, but not to belonging, which seems to be related to divergent understandings of teaching and educational achievement. In the interview extract below, a pupil in the general school setting reflects on his experiences of the schools' professionals coping with differences among the pupils' group:

Interviewee: Some pupils have a need of more help/support. For example in maths [...] and there are pupils that do not bother doing any maths [...] then the teacher says that they will be thrown in the special needs class, because they do not bother[...] the teachers do not like to say the same again and again, if the pupils do not bother [...] (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 7)

Here the pupil experiences that the teacher uses the special needs class as a threat. This is highly problematic, as are the pupil's experience of the teacher's disliking of repeating the teaching material. Engaging the pupils by teaching differentiation, listening to their voice and engaging the pupils is a way of working inclusively by showing acceptance (Ainscow & Messiou, 2018; Messiou et al., 2022; Tangen, 2009; Ulvseth, 2019). In the interview extract below a pupil in the general school setting reflects on how it must feel to be in a special educational needs setting within the general school:

Interviewee: I think there are advantages and disadvantages joining a special needs class. It is good to get help and support, but then it is the socialisation. If you are joining the breaks with a little group among all the other pupils in the school. I think they (pupils in special needs class) must feel shy to play and speak.

Interviewee: Once a pupil was in our class for a long period and everything was fine. But then he needed more support and help than we did, and then he needed to join a special needs class, although he thrived and spoke with everyone in the class.

Interviewer: Do all in you class get the same teaching and same material all the time, then?

Interviewee: Yes. (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 38)

These divergent self-understandings are consistent with the general perceptions of the special educational needs, which are embedded in the different communities' practices. One supposes the same perceptions characterise the general educational settings when the pupil leaves the special educational needs setting. In that case, the pupil's special educational need could be back in focus in a negative way and support the exclusionary self-understanding in the general education communities. The solution is not to ignore special educational needs, but to perceive special educational needs in the light of including alternative learning strategies rather than perceiving the special educational needs as a momentary guiding image rather than a definitive characteristic. An inclusive strategy could be an awareness of how to relate to the special educational needs within the school environment and between school settings to facilitate the movements between the settings and including the professionals to facilitate these movements and transitions between the settings (to be discussed further in chapter 14).

These inclusive strategies are experienced in special educational needs settings while getting support to manage difficulties for example, for dyslexia. Pupils say that it is good to get help through joining the special educational needs settings and thrive there because of special educational needs support, the smaller number of pupils and because of a quieter environment. This support is combined with access to the general school's subject and social community. In the interview extract below, a pupil experiences that he receives more help and support concerning his special educational needs while also enjoying joining the general class, where he feels accepted and valued.

Interviewee: It is good to have opportunities to be in both general settings and special needs classes. In the special needs class, I get more help and often, I can choose which set to join. And I have friends in both the special needs class and in the general class. Often my classmates in the general class join the special needs class for example in the breaks. Often, I have a supporter with me in the general class. They always remember me. Also, my teachers in the general class [...] It is good to be in a special needs class because I get help for my dyslexia [...] (Pupil joining both a special educational needs setting and a general school setting, no. 53)

In this example the pupil is both in a special needs class and attends a general class. He appreciates having the ability to be in both settings and nonetheless having the opportunity to choose which setting to be in, as he points out that he is supported more in the special needs

class. Despite this, he experiences being a full member of the school community regardless of his membership in two different structured settings within the same school.

A general trend in the data is that pupils in special educational needs settings within a general school feel that it is good when the teachers and pupils in the general class remember them, but often they are forgotten, they say – for example on class pictures, in birthday invitations and in many other of the activities in their general class⁶⁰. Otherwise, the pupils are simply left to contradictory school environments. This is not least expressed in the pupil's self-understanding, where the special educational needs get different status depending on whether the pupil is in a general school setting or in a special educational needs setting (the analysis in search for inclusive special needs education will continue in chapter 14).

In a systematic review (Subban et al. 2022) of the literature investigating factors that support or hinder inclusive education in secondary schools according to the experiences of pupils with diverse learning needs, five factors were found by pupils as supporting inclusive education: supportive relationships, positive teacher beliefs, positive school leader beliefs, supportive teaching practices and accessibility. Conversely, two factors were identified as barriers to inclusion: unsupportive school cultures and inappropriate learning support. These findings resulted in recommendations to strengthen teacher training programmes and an ongoing professional development focusing on learning strategies to teach in diversity and topics addressing the professionals competency to work with special needs in an inclusive perspective (Subban et al., 2022, pp. 1, 10).

## 13.3.1 Inclusive education implies professional inclusive pedagogical measures

Pupils in the general settings experience that those pupils receiving different teaching must feel outside. A pupil in a general setting reflects on pupils in the school receiving special needs education as follows:

Interviewer: If we take this picture⁶¹ first. Here is a boy, sitting in a wheelchair. But it could also be other challenges. In the guided tour you showed me of the school we saw some children speaking other languages than Faroese and some not apparently participating in the classroom or in the breaks?

Interviewee: Yes, some have some challenges [...] some do not learn so fast [...]

Interviewer: How are they supported?

Interviewee: The school tries completely to help.

Interviewer: How?

Interviewee: They get maybe something more...I do not know. Maybe some individual teaching. I am not sure.

Interviewer: It is not something you think about?

⁶⁰ Home class (Heimaflokkur) is a term for the general class in many schools in the Faroes with special classes.

⁶¹ (The interviews with children were conducted/structured by pictures illustrating Farrell's (2004) four criteria for inclusive school environments)

Interviewee: No, I do not think so. You do not think about him as another person. He is just ordinary, I think.

Interviewer: Does the school use a lot of time to speak about being friends and working together with everyone?

Interviewee: Yes. Extremely much. I do not think it is ok, to feel as an outsider. And I do not think some should receive another kind of teaching. Because then they will feel a little outside. If children with challenges are together with children without challenges, they would feel like everybody else.

Interviewer: Do you think that children feel themselves outside the community if they receive different teaching?

Interviewee: [...] Maybe yes.

Interviewer: Do children want to be as all other children or?

Interviewee: Yes, of course. Yes, they want. That is what we always want. (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 9)

According to this interview extract, the pupil suggests that instead of being taught in different places and with different material, pupils with some challenges ought to be together with pupils without challenges, because then "they would feel like everybody else". The informant adds the importance of not acting differently towards pupils with some challenges, because despite of challenges "he is just the same person". Herein lies another dilemma for the school concerning academic requirements and standards and how to manage within the same learning environment. To facilitate development conditions for everyone implies that not everyone can reach the subject attainment/learning standards for their age/grade level. This also places demands on the teaching materials. Here, there is a gap between the pupils' expectations and the educational realities. Seen in the perspective of inclusive education and inclusive school development, special educational needs and inclusive education feed a paradox, as inclusion both excludes and necessitates special needs education (Baltzer, 2015). Understanding educational challenges as a mismatch between the schools' educational goals and the pupils' learning prerequisites, the didactic challenge for the professionals in the school is to handle these dilemmas (Baltzer, 2015, p. 50). One didactic way of working in these dilemmas is to work with common, but not identical goals in knowledge-sharing classrooms (ibid.). Farrell's ultimate formulations can be put into practice by the professionals' teaching competencies and strategies, for example by using the UVD⁶² model (Skibsted et al., 2015) and co-teaching (Friend et al., 2010).

Common to other research findings (e.g. Ulvseth, 2019), the empirical material from the pupils indicates challenges in terms of being heard and involved in school-related issues, for example concerning placement, participation and influence on their teaching and learning process and concerning the feeling of being listened to. In one example in the empirical material, a pupil in the special needs class says that the importance of school is:

Interviewee: [...] to have something to work towards, but the purpose with school is unclear. (Pupil in a special educational needs setting, no. 62)

⁶² UVD: <u>Undervisnings</u> differentiering

This pupil wanted to join the 'motor subject' but was denied access because she belonged to a special needs class. Her dream was to learn to be a 'machinist', as this was her main interest. But now she doubts if she would manage that education in the future. This example illustrates how a pupil is trying to create meaning with school but is deprived of the opportunity because of being placed in a special educational needs setting. Through this example, a pupil, through her experiences in her social world/arena also points out ways to translate the vision through a new understanding of the purpose and meaning of school.

A literature review (Hedegaard-Soerensen, 2021) concerning inclusion and exclusion in teaching, points out, referring to Bragg (2016) that children's own choices in relation to learning content and learning methods can be a way of linking their culture and interests to what they work with at school. Bragg's (2016) research concerning children's co-determination showed that children's schooling became more meaningful and relevant to the children when the teachers loosened control. We also know from existing research that pupils' influence on, for example, working methods is of decisive importance for pupils' desire for and engagement in teaching (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2005, In: Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2021). The assumption is that children can contribute positively to the quality of teaching if they take part in the planning. When children have an influence on the teaching, they gain ownership and the desire and courage to participate in the lessons.

## 13.3.2 Inclusive school environments set demands to the pupils.

As seen in the previous analysis, the issue with professionalising the school system needs to be addressed as the school system lacks strategies and tools to train teachers and pedagogues in practice to work inclusively. A part of the professionalising of the school system is also to inform and find strategies to educate the pupils in the inclusive mindset. This is an issue addressed in the pupil interviews, as one pupil expresses:

Interviewee: Sometimes we have somebody with "handicaps" [...] is there any nice way to say "handicap"? It sounds so terribly wicked [...] And I think we are really trying to get them into the school community and to be friendly and nice. (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 10)

In the interview example, a pupil is addressing the necessity for pupils also to be educated in how to be a pupil in an inclusive school, as the inclusive direction also places demands on the pupils. This means that developing inclusive environments includes everyone - both pupils and all professionals, both in general and special needs education contexts. And maybe also to be educated and aware of the vision of inclusive schools (Bragg, 2012) as highlighted by this extract from an interview with a pupil in a general school setting, also functioning as a home-class for a pupil in a special needs class:

Interviewee: This pupil went to a special needs class, but I think he wants to join our class even today [his 'home class']. He got a little more help from the teacher and needed help to join the other pupils in the class. It must be hard to help and need help/support all the time.

Interviewee: *He is still in the school. But I do not know*[...] *I do not see him a lot anymore. I do not know* where he is, but he is still among us, for example when we took a class picture. He is still a part of the class, but he differs (Pupil in a general school setting, no. 37)

In this interview extract, the pupil is searching for an explanation and guidance about being a pupil in a school environment wanting to embrace diversity and differences. The demands in the national school curriculum limits the access to be present in the school influencing the possibility to participation. These statements could call for a discussion of how professionalism can or perhaps even must be understood in the inclusive school, not only by teachers and pedagogues and other parties, but also by the pupils when they address the learning culture and education for pupils to collaborate in an inclusive perspective. This could stimulate the pupils to contribute spontaneously and competently to establishing and maintaining inclusive learning spaces. Attentive teachers are pivotal in contributing to inclusion by adjusting the organisation of group work and intervening supportively when peer support is challenged to the breaking point. The educational and learning environment can have a highly inclusive quality and contribute positively to inclusive processes in the participants' daily schoolwork (Baltzer & Nissen, 2019, p. 319).

## 13.4 Summing up the analysis of the pupils' perspectives and experiences

Summing up, this chapter has analysed the pupils' perspectives and experiences of being pupils in a very small society in a school system that lacks clear aims to be an inclusive school and that lacks supportive measures to work inclusively. The analysis shows these lacking factors influence the pupils' experiences of quality of school life and the quality of school. The fact that other actors and actants are not working politically, consciously or professionally with inclusive development has consequences for the pupils. The production of 'silencing' of the inclusive vision leaves the pupils to the professionals' arbitrary understanding and interpretation of inclusiveness, which has serious consequences for some pupils in that it affects their sense of meaning and belonging in relation to what pupils identify as the meaning and purpose of school, and thus also in relation to their perception of quality of school life.

Analysing the empirical material from the pupils highlights that the professionals' attitudes based on kinship and relations can lead to exclusion. This is a significant factor affecting the school's inclusivity. Although Faroese society's interconnectedness, interdependency and intimacy can help create an inclusive school, there are also pitfalls. While pupils' voices on practical matters are relatively well heard, some pupils feel excluded from the school environment due to teachers' attitudes.

From an overall perspective, the empirical material produced by interviewing pupils on their perspectives and experiences of an inclusive school environment calls for a more central and active role for pupils that can allow them to influence teaching and learning practices. The insight into the pupils' perspectives can provide understandings into what it will take to achieve inclusion and can make a decisive contribution to the development of inclusive education. This is even more evident when it pertains to all pupils' voices, that is, those at risk of stigmatisation and exclusion. In developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands, the pupils' voices can contribute if they are listened to and consulted with as experts in their school life. In a search for school effectiveness and quality of school life, including pupils' perspectives can empower and serve as an 'inclusive direction indicator' for where to look and how to listen. The pupils

point at revising school content, structure and strategies to embrace differences in the pupils' group.

# Chapter 14. General education and special needs education

This section will explore dilemmas and tension between general education and special needs education in the processes of transferring, translating, and transforming inclusive principles into practice in the Faroe Islands. As seen in the previous analysis sections, the development of inclusive education is connected to various values rooted in the local political, societal and cultural platform. This is shown in a silence on pedagogical issues in general, which affects the understanding of the relationship between general education and special needs education. Values anchored in traditional, homogeneous, and conservative culture have dominated other values, for example, values concerning individual rights have been suppressed (see chapters 10 and 12). The "silencing battlefield" on values has also silenced and suppressed minorities, for example the special educational needs field that, throughout history, to a large extent has been written out of the legalised general educational field in the Faroe Islands. This will be further explored in this analysis section (see also the previous analysis sections and chap. 4 where the historical development of the special needs education field is unfolded). The analysis findings in this present analysis section will be further explored in chapter 15, through the Faroese societal and cultural platform as an essential basis for the development of the Faroe Islands in general and the school as an integrated cultural institution in Faroese society. Therefore, the last analysis section in the next chapter (chapter 15) will involve all the previous sections focusing on the whole society, expanding the discussion in a broader cultural and societal perspective.

Leaning on Norwich & Koutsouris (2017), developing inclusion requires negotiating multiple values, which can lead to dilemmas that need to be addressed (Norwich & Koutsouris, 2017). In this chapter, I will approach dilemmas as not only an issue that needs to be addressed but as a fundamental condition of inclusive pedagogical principles and practice that pops up in endless ways both concerning school policy and in everyday practice in schools (Baltzer & Tetler, 2005). I approach inclusion as nothing in itself but as a fluid and movable concept that pervasively explores ways and coherency in the processes of providing all children opportunities to quality schools (Florian, 2014b; Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2022), that is, to be present, participate, accepted and achieve (Farrell, 2004).

Consequently, this analysis section draws on the previous sections on the involved actors' and actants' perspectives and experiences concerning the development of inclusive schools situated in the Faroese political, societal, and cultural platform. Those previous sections documented an overall silencing of the inclusive principles in the school political and practical fields. This silencing leaves the practical field to interpret the principles individually in a very small society, which proves problematic according to the actors' experiences, especially those of pupils. Furthermore, as the analysis of the school policy documents and the perspectives and experiences of the actors in the field reveals, the attempt to translate and transform the inclusive vision into practice in the Faroe Islands is closely connected to the understanding of the relationship between special needs and the general educational field, which again is caught up in the broader societal, cultural, and political situation (Norwich, 2014; Ainscow, 2020).

## Ainscow (2020) points out that:

In some countries, inclusive education is still thought of as an approach to serving children with disabilities within general education settings. Internationally, however, it is increasingly seen more broadly as a principle that supports and welcomes diversity amongst all learners. It presumes that the aim of it is to eliminate social exclusion that is a consequence of attitudes and responses to diversity in race, social class, ethnicity, religion, gender, and ability. As such, it starts from the belief that education is a basic human right and the foundation for a more just society (p. 9)

In the quote, Ainscow highlights that there are two ways of approaching inclusion, anchored in two different understanding of the relationship between the special needs education field and general education. These two understandings are characterized as a compensatory approach and an inclusive approach⁶³ (Ainscow, 2020; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011; Haug, 2017; Lloyd, 2008). I have found similar approaches and understandings of the relationship between general and special needs education related to developing inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands in the empirical material, with a tendency to approach the field through the compensatory understanding. However, as Ainscow's quote indicates, even though several countries worldwide have taken the inclusive approach with political intentions and efforts to transform schools to be more inclusive, there are still challenges in translating and transforming the inclusive principles into practice. In this analysis section I will analyse the empirical material through the two approaches related to developing inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands. Before explaining the approaches further, I will, for the purpose of guiding the reader, list the headlines for this chapter:

- 1. Description of the two approaches: the compensatory and the inclusive (ibid.)
- 2. Presentation of the interdependency of the special educational needs system with other aspects of the school system, using Norwich's model (2014). This model can help understanding the subordinated mechanism of how special needs education is caught up with tension between special educational needs and general school policy and practice in a broader societal, cultural, and political situation.
- 3. A presentation of the Faroese legislation relevant for this analysis section to recall the political and cultural platform the actors currently are part of.
- 4. With an outset in a SA approach to the compensatory and inclusive understanding, the actors' perspectives, positions, and experiences on dilemmas between special needs education and general education will be analysed.

# 14.1 Two approaches

This analysis section takes its outset in two approaches towards inclusive education anchored in two different ways of understanding the relationship between general education and special needs education. One is the compensatory approach anchored in an understanding that pupils with special educational needs need to be supported to enable them to be in school. The other approach to special needs and general education has an inclusive approach focusing on the environment to provide access, participation, acceptance, and achievement for all pupils

⁶³ ⁶³ The two approaches will be unfolded in this section.

(Ainscow, 2020; Farrell, 2004). Inspired by Haug's (2017) interpretation of the narrow and the broad understanding of approaching inclusion, I have illustrated the two different approaches: the compensatory (fig. 20) and the inclusive (fig. 21) understandings combined with the challenges these two different approaches might foster concerning the four interrelated criteria of moving the inclusive principles into practice (Farrell, 2004).

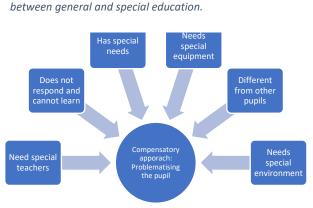
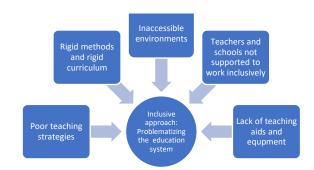


Figure 20 Compensatory understanding of the relationship

Note: Based on a narrow understanding of inclusive education centred on a classic perception of special needs education. Challenges in placement, participation, acceptance and achievement is problematise as difficulties within the pupil.

*Figure 21 Inclusive understanding of the relationship between the general and the special education.* 



Note: Based on a broad understanding of inclusive education with a focus on environment-based problematisation: addressing challenges in placement, participation, acceptance, and achievement development are found in the school environment.

## 14.1.2 A compensatory approach

A compensatory approach towards understanding the relationship between special needs education and general education strives to change the special needs education area to fit into the general education area. Scholars explain this approach as a narrow understanding of special needs education that impacts translating and transforming the process of the inclusive vision into practice (e.g. Haug, 2017; Lloyd, 2008; Tetler, 2019; Watkins et al., 2016). The compensatory approach has an individual focus in the sense that handling dilemmas between special needs education and participation in the general school environment is problematised according to the special need of the pupil. To compensate for the special educational need, the pupil needs teachers, and other supporters with special needs competences because of the pupil's lack of learning and social response to the general educational activities in the school. In addition, the pupil with special educational needs requires special need types of measures and equipment, for example teaching strategies and material. The compensatory approach considers the pupil with special needs as different from other 'general' pupils and thus in need of a particular learning and development environment.

## 14.1.3 An inclusive approach

An inclusive approach to understanding the relationship between special and general education has focus on the school environment (e.g. Florian & Spratt, 2013; Norwich & Koutsouris, 2017; Slee & Allan, 2001). This approach focuses on all pupils' potential for marginalisation and strives through inclusive education to stimulate and promote the entire school environment to

be inclusive. This approach to handling dilemmas between special needs education and general education has a progressive mindset, indicating that the narrow approach is affected by an old classic perception of special needs education focusing on problematising the pupil. The inclusive understanding (Haug, 2017; Tetler, 2019) has focused on problematising the environment and the education system. It has done so by pointing out poor teaching strategies, rigorous methods and rigid curriculum, inaccessible environments, including teachers and schools not being supported to work inclusively by the school authorities, and a lack of teaching aids and equipment. Thus, the inclusive approach problematises the compensatory approach as a way of working in dilemmas between special needs education and general education in the broader field of school policy and practice.

### 14.2 A situated approach

With an outset in the compensatory and the inclusive approaches to understanding and handling dilemmas between special needs education and general education, the empirical data will be explored with a situated approach to discover the perspectives, positions, and experiences from the actors in the field. To highlight the compensatory and inclusive approach combined with a situated approach, I will dwell on an interview extract, where an adviser from the advisory and educational sector is reflecting on the inclusive school development in the Faroese schools in tension and dilemmas between the general school and special educational needs:

Interviewee: The inclusive school in the Faroe Islands, as it looks now [...] gives place to pupils with special educational needs in the general school. In that sense the school is accommodating [...] They are in the school. Still, pupils with special needs often are not part of the school community in the sense of not providing development opportunities with an outset in their development potential. [...] They are often not a part of the learning community in the school. Thus, they are not learning and developing as they ought to be.

Interviewer: Why? What are the obstacles?

Interviewee: For sure, resources. But also mindset [...] There is an acceptance that it is ok for pupils with special educational needs to physically attend the school. But there needs to be more acceptance that for some pupils, the common goals in the curriculum are not necessarily (reachable) goals at the same level for all pupils. It is not accepted in the schools, that for some pupils, the standards and levels set for ordinary subjects are not necessarily the ultimate goals for all pupils. This understanding of the diversity of developing and teaching goals needs to be included in schools. And in that sense, we do not have an inclusive school in the Faroe Islands. Now more and more special needs classes and special units have been established. But the old school lives ongoing in these special needs' settings. Here pupils' learning and developing aims are still measured and compared with the ordinary subjects with the same goals as are in the national curriculum (Adviser from advisory and educational sector, no. 12).

In this interview extract, the informant addresses an observed compensatory practice in handling dilemmas between general education and special needs education, resulting in exclusionary practices where pupils seen as different are not part of the school curriculum and thus not part of the school community. As a result, there is an increased demand for special needs settings with a compensatory approach by copying the general school into the special needs settings. Reflecting on these practices, this adviser points at an inclusive approach by

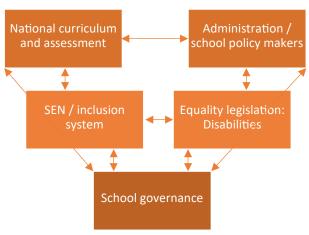
addressing several sub-practices that need to be altered. The adviser emphasises resources, the approach to curriculum, teaching strategies and a change in mindset to work out of the compensatory direction into a more inclusive approach implicating a range of interrelated sub-practices.

# 14.3 The interdependence of the special educational needs system with other aspects of the school system

In order to address the complexity of acting in dilemmas between special and general education in the broader context of school policy and practice, I will lean on the model below inspired by Norwich (2014). The model illustrates that developing inclusive schools are caught up in a tension between special educational needs and general school policy and practice.

One of the key points is that inclusive education and the special educational needs field cannot be understood in isolation from the broader context of school governance, leaning on the concept of school policy enactment (Ball et al., 2012). This reflects a fundamental principle in the field, assuming that what is specialised about *the field is interdependent on – and* cannot be detached from or treated as *separate from – the general system* (Norwich, 2014, p. 404). This model combined with the previous analysis sections provides a way of analysing these complexities towards some development points where local policy and the local societal and cultural features are considered (see also chapter 15).

Figure 22 Inclusion caught up in tension between special educational needs and general education.



Source: Inspired by Norwich (2014)

Note: the figure illustrates the interdependence and interconnections between the special educational needs system and four aspects of the general school system: the National Curriculum and assessment, school administration, the governance of schools and equality legislation.

The model can help understand the subordinated mechanism of how special needs education is caught up in the tension between the national curriculum and assessments, school policy, legalisation to equalise/standardise all pupils and the prevailing school governance. Turning to the Faroese legislative platform presented in the following section, using the model as a way of understanding the complexity of the special educational needs system with other aspects of the school system reveals a compensatory approach to the field of special needs education.

## 14.3.1 The legislative platform in the Faroe Islands

As pointed out in the previous sections, the special needs education system is only moderately supported or legalized by the school legislation as a legal part of the educational system in the Faroe Islands. Recently, with the amendment in the Public School Act in 2018, the special educational needs field was given more authority through executive orders. Since 2018, a couple of orders concerning special needs education, special needs support, special educational needs settings, and CCs have come into force by the Ministry of Children and Education, where also the inclusive school is mentioned. See also chapter 10.

The emerging legislation on special needs education measures, as seen in chapter 10, is a step toward bringing the area out of hiding and silencing. This said, it is a problem that the special needs education field is, to a great extent, written out of context with the general educational field. From this fact, one can posit that the approach to understanding the relationship between general and special needs education has been compensatory. Consequently, a pitfall concerning developing inclusive schools is that this approach can create separation between the general and the special needs education field and can be a new way of silencing and hiding existing problems. However, the emergence of written official school policy texts concerning the special needs education field and the inclusive school can also signify the transferral and translation of the inclusive vision (see chapter 4 for a more detailed description of the present school system and its history, including the special needs education field).

Due to the few and relatively recent legislative documents on special needs education, there is a need for further work on legalising the special needs education field and translating the documents to be transformed into practice. A developing point concerning developing inclusive schools would be to incorporate a more inclusive approach in this early translation and transforming process, which has just started in the Faroe Islands.

Turning to the Public School Act, it is only in Section 4(5) and Section 12(2) and (4) that special need education is mentioned in the Public School Act (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997)⁶⁴, stating that:

4(5). Sernám provides schools, parents and others, taking care of pupils in the public school special educational needs and psychological advice. Pupils, who are in need of special educational needs support, or which do not get satisfactory results in the general school setting in the school get special need education and/or special need support⁶⁵

12(2). Special needs education and special needs support, according to Section 4(4), which is not permanent shall be based on a pedagogical/psychological examination and shall be conducted within consultation with the pupil and the parents. If the parents refuse, the school shall inform the social care

⁶⁴ Additionally the amendments in 2018 of the Public School Act incorporated regulations in Section 24 on CC and in Section 45 on special pedagogical school settings.

⁶⁵ Sernám veitir skúlum, foreldrum og øðrum, ið varða av næmingum í fólkaskúlanum, sernámsfrøðiliga og sálarfrøðiliga ráðgeving. Næmingar, ið hava tørv á serligum tiltøkum, ella sum ikki fáa nøktandi úrslit í vanliga undirvísingartilboði skúlans, fáa serundirvísing og/ella sernámsfrøðiligan stuðul.

services.66

12(4). Learning plan is to be made for pupils who receive special needs education or special educational needs support, according to Section 12(2).

According to these provisions in the Act, special needs education and support are seen as compensatory to "*reach satisfactory results in the general school setting*", thus reflecting to the model of Norwich (2014) in the sense that special needs education is caught up in the national curriculum and assessments. By mentioning an individual teaching plan without saying or translating whether or how the teaching plan is to be regarded in the regular class and school community, the teaching plan could be viewed as a substitute to the national curriculum, addressing special needs as a protecting characteristic. However, the protective and compensatory measures can result in exclusionary processes, as an informant in a special educational needs setting stated:

Interviewee: If the general school could be organised in small groups and not so obliged to the national curriculum it should be possible for some of our pupils (in the special educational needs setting) to be in a general school. (Teacher in a special education setting, no. 71)

In this interview extract, the teacher points out that due to the way schools are organised in fixed classes and by the national curriculum, dilemmas arise whether to approach the pupils as being the same or as being different. Thus, the dilemmas are experienced as being about norms to normalise and accommodate diversity, which is the core issue in the inclusion discussion, as inclusion is an insistence on working in dilemmas on all levels and on considering without stigmatising as ongoing and fundamental dilemmas in all societies and all cultures and thus also in schools (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011; Norwich, 2013). Seen in that light, inclusive education calls on consistent discussion about how to give pupils under challenging circumstances better conditions and how to create and develop schools where all pupils benefit (in Farrell's (2004) interpretation), and in the end, how to maintain the welfare society caring for the individuals' needs. Without going into details in pedagogical suggestions on how to work inclusively in dilemmas raised in the empirical example above, I will mention some practice examples of how to work on an individual plan while remaining connected with the general curriculum, that is, not replacing it, but with the plan working in a way that meets the special needs within the framework set by the general curriculum applying to all pupils - also in general education contexts. One way of working with different goal sets for different pupils' needs while still maintaining common goals is by using the teaching strategy of setting common, but not identical goals (Baltzer et al., 2012), as captured in the UVD⁶⁷ model (Baltzer, 2015; Skibsted, 2015). These are examples of how to work in dilemmas in practice. I will not unfold them here, but in chapter 15, I will elaborate more on how to develop inclusive education situated in the local situation.

When comparing with experiences from other countries, for example Denmark, the Faroe Islands school system faces two choices in this early phase of translating and transforming the

⁶⁶ Serundirvísing og sernámsfrøðiligur stuðul, sbrt. § 4, stk. 4, ið ikki er fyribils, skal verða grundað á eina námsfrøðiliga/sálarfrøðiliga kanning, og skal fara fram í samráð við næmingin og foreldrini. Um foreldrini nokta fyri hesum, skal skúlin kunna barnaverndina um avgerðina hjá foreldrunum

⁶⁷ Undervisningsdifferentierings modellen

inclusive principles into practice: The broad or the narrow way, or to see the two ways as two complementary ways of understanding the relationship between the general and the special needs educational field. It is easy to argue for an inclusive approach, but as other researchers have shown (see e.g. Ainscow, 2020), it takes work to carry out in practice.

Approaching the field situated and anchored in the local policy and culture may indicate some sub-practices to practising inclusive education by combining the two approaches to working in dilemmas between special needs education and general education.

## 14.4 Interrelated sub-practices

Viewing inclusive education as interconnected, deeply anchored, highly tensioned, and complicated with and in the broader structure and organisation of school policy and practice, one single professional, classroom or school cannot independently develop inclusive education. This is pointed out by Hansen et al. (2020):

[...] inclusive school development involves a process of transforming general and special needs education into inclusive education, which requires changes in content, teaching methods, approaches, structures, and strategies in education. In order to succeed, classroom practice is only one sub-practice among many sub-practices in a school practice that needs to be transformed (Hansen et al., 2020, p. 47).

Taking these points from Hansen et al.(2020), it is crucial to identify, articulate and make visible sub-practices to work with inclusive education and inclusive special needs education (Hedegaard-Soerensen et al., 2018; Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2013; Hedegaard-Sørensen & Grumløse, 2016). As one teacher working both in a special educational needs setting and a general school setting recounts:

Interviewee: The biggest challenge to working inclusively is a rigid system, ridged frameworks, and ridged mindsets. We should think in more flexible terms, also, as teachers. As it is now, many teachers work isolated with closed doors to the classroom, often with more than 20 pupils. This is a challenge because, as a teacher, you have maybe most pupils managing, but in every class, you have a diversity and a minority which needs something extra. In the classroom, there must be more professionals' eyes watching and observing together, for example using co-teaching and mixed professional groups.

We must have more hands - together. This also means that the resources must be increased. The "twoteacher-system⁶⁸" in the first, second and third years promotes inclusion, where the resources are kept in the class. We must work on our mindset and how we meet and see each other. This also has to do with the fact that the relations are often so close. It is often difficult to move wishes into practice. We must put effort into collaboration and discuss how we approach each other. We must discuss much more how we work with the inclusive school. (Teacher in a special educational needs setting and a general school setting, no. 3)

This empirical extract addresses dilemmas of working in a practice that is supposed to embrace a diversity of pupils with a minority requiring something extra that a "rigid system, rigid framework and rigid mindset" have difficulties supporting. Thus, there are interrelated situated sub-practices that need to be altered. The staff in the schools are calling on new ways of understanding being professional in an inclusive school (also discussed in chapter 12), pointing at shared knowledge and collaborative patterns between the social worlds and arenas. SA calls

⁶⁸ Tvílæraraskipan means that there are mainly two teachers for most lessons in the first, second and third years. Tvíslæraraskipanin was implemented in the Faroese Public School after the first PISA shock in 2006.

for exploring the "ecology of knowledge" (Star, 1995. In Clarke et al., 2018, p. 10), recognising that social and cultural environment shape knowledge and is situated in different perspectives and experiences, which can lead to different forms of knowledge. In the interview extract, the informant emphasises that it is often difficult to "move wishes into practice" due to close relations. If we interpret these utterances into the broader societal and cultural platform, the inclusive principles may be out of sight and mind due to a pragmatic school policy invented by the practice field. This makes it difficult to move "wishes into practice", as the authorities' political 'wishes' are unknown. Seen with a situated interrelated approach, the flow of knowledge between the different positions and social worlds and arenas creates knowledge to shape practices anchored in understanding the relationship between general education and special needs education.

# 14.4.1 Collaboration patterns and creating and sharing knowledge between the professionals in the schools

Inclusive schools consist of diverse pupils with different personal, social, and learning needs (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011; Hansen et al., 2020; Hedegaard-Soerensen et al., 2018). Thus, there is a need for several different specialised, situated approaches, including different forms of knowledge, skills, and competence, which require more than qualified teachers are generally able to provide (Hansen et al., 2020).

Teachers cannot be expected to possess as much knowledge, as much varied competence and such a variety of different experiences as are needed to develop inclusive learning environments (Friend, 2007). Friend asserts that inclusive schools must move towards an approach consisting of many different professionals with various educational backgrounds, knowledge, skills and competence who collaborate to realize the common goal of inclusive education. Actually, cross-professional collaboration is in general the main strategy required to develop inclusive schools (Hansen, et al. 2020, p. 48).

Taking an outset in the assumption that inclusive education implies creating learning opportunities and access for all, the development of inclusive education demands expanding what is generally available to all. This is not done by using teaching approaches that target most pupils and by making special and extra arrangements for the few who experience difficulties (Florian, 2014a). As one pedagogical supporter in the empirical material expresses:

Interviewee: Some of the teachers see the whole pupil, but some... just take care of themselves and the blackboard. It is not exciting going to a general class with a pupil from the special educational needs setting. (Pedagogical supporter in a general school setting, no. 4).

In this empirical extract, the dilemmas between special needs and general education are in terms of individual parallel practices of teachers and pedagogical supporters working with two different mindsets. Changing this practice into more inclusive terms calls upon more collaboration and knowledge sharing. If one takes these analytical points further with the support of the findings of Hansen et al. (2020), developing more inclusive schools must be open for more shared and accepted knowledge contributions from different professionals with various educational backgrounds, knowledge, skills, and competence who collaborate.

Another pedagogical supporter points out that, in his experience of being a pedagogical supporter for several years, the visible placement of pupils with special pedagogical needs in

the general setting makes the schools more inclusive, as being present and participating is extremely important when speaking about the inclusive school.

Interviewee: The fact that all the children are in the same building makes the school more inclusive. A lot has changed for the better – we are now among all the other children – everything is more visible. You are not hidden away as before when situated in another building remoted from the main school. (Pedagogical supporter, no. 29).

This interview extract highlights that a prerequisite for cross-collaboration and knowledge sharing is that the social worlds and arenas are visible to each other. However, the question of how to work inclusively through knowledge sharing and collaboration with other professionals in the school remains. Together with the previous empirical example where the pedagogical supporter calls for more collaboration, these empirical examples raise several questions about how to be a pedagogical supporter, also because they are not part of the wider professional pedagogical community among the teachers in the school. A starting point could be to include these professionals' work in the school's overall pedagogical work and thus enable knowledge sharing.

In the interview extract below, a pedagogical supporter highlights a necessity to work on knowledge sharing to handle dilemmas concerning working according to the national curriculum while differentiating their teaching to reach all pupils in a school structured by "the class concept".

Interviewee: We should better discuss how to structure the relationship between the general and special needs classes. The mindset in the different class teams differs a lot. Some of the teachers in the general class are paralysed when pupils with special needs attend their class. The teachers come running to us to get help – they ask why we – the pedagogical supporters – are not with them in the general class? We do not have the resources today to be with the pupil in the general class.

We give them their lesson and school material with them in the home class [...] the teacher is not involved [...] we miss involvement from the general teachers. (Pedagogical supporter, no. 47).

The empirical example illustrates that the intended inclusive structures do not alone encourage inclusive education. If not also working with the individual and collective professionals' competencies, the intended inclusive structures can have the opposite effect, stimulating exclusion processes. The example above focuses on the pupils' special needs, not addressing strategies involving changes concerning the pedagogical supporters and the teachers' didactic, pedagogical, and organisational approaches. The example highlights how deeply interwoven aspects of structural measures combined with the understanding of being a professional in an inclusive school complicate the development of inclusive school environments. Ensuring structural reforms while not working with the professional staff in inclusive terms can be catastrophic. A structure that signals inclusive education while not preparing the professionals. A teacher in the special educational needs setting expresses frustration and even has a feeling of humiliation being a "guest" in the classroom:

Interviewee: Going to a general class with a pupil from the special needs setting is not exciting. You, as a teacher, are not part of anything in the general class. The teacher in the general class is leading, and the other teacher coming in as a supporter is helping. It is humiliating for the supporting teacher.

When I join as a supporter, I do not experience the general teacher helping 'my' pupil. Never. The teacher expects me to help the pupil from the special needs class [...] But I always encourage my pupils to be included in the general class. To ask, to speak and so on. In that sense, the general teacher often asks my pupil and tries to get him included. Some of my pupils say: "It is good when you walk out of the classroom because then I feel that I manage".

Some old teachers have said that it is unfair that he must teach all the pupils and does not get any extra pay for the pupil in the special needs class. So I ask: "Do you differentiate your teaching according to the pupil with special needs?" Moreover, he says no. However, he still thinks he should get extra pay even though the pupil has a supporter.

Two to three years ago, before the formal structure of the special needs class, teachers got extra pay to have pupils with special needs in the class. Now the staff in the special needs classes gets extra pay. The teachers ask us why we do not teach the pupils in the special needs classes in all the subjects. I have not commented on it but handed the issues to the school leader. (Teacher in a special educational needs setting in a general school, no. 46)

This empirical example shows a compensatory approach to handling dilemmas between special needs and general education, anchored in the teacher's understanding of being professionals. This example shows that the professionals' understanding of their practices affects their engagement and view of the class and pupils' community. Although the intention of having a special needs education setting in the general school provides opportunities to join across the different settings to handle the dilemmas, an inclusive approach may be lost without focusing on understanding the professionals' working practices and, for example the way provision is distributed. According to the example above, teachers in the special educational needs setting get extra provisions. This may result in more exclusionary practices, although the intention might have been the opposite.

All the sub-practices must be considered to work inclusively in dilemmas between special needs and general education. For example, in a research project in Denmark concerning the collaborative practice of inclusion and exclusion (Hansen et al., 2020), the findings showed that inclusive school development is mainly directed towards strategies targeting and compensating for the needs of the pupils but seldom involves changing the practice of teachers and other educators (Hansen et al., 2020, p. 5).

#### 14.4.2 A new way of understanding to be a professional

Inclusive education calls for a renewed understanding of being professional within the school system. The school professionals' perspectives on special needs and inclusive education concerning pupils' diversity are critical (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011; Hedegaard-Sørensen et al., 2018). Inclusion is a pedagogical and didactic lasting challenge as inclusion is about promoting all pupils' participation, learning and education, but often the understanding of special needs education is not challenged and altered. The school culture and practice generally do not become more inclusive because the underlying assumptions are not changed or challenged (Hansen et al., 2020).

In a Faroese perspective, working inclusively also means to have the courage and dare to break the silence about dilemmas between the relationship between special needs and general education. In the interview extract below, a teacher (also working as a special needs teacher) reflects on the gap between the special needs education field and the general school and appeals for making a bridge between these two different worlds to work in an inclusive direction:

Interviewer: You mentioned that teachers may not understand what inclusion means.

Interviewee: *Teachers do not really understand inclusion in the same way* [...] *maybe because the fields* (the general and the special) *have been so divided. Also, I think that the field* (the special needs field) *is highly vulnerable. Moreover, there are often 'budget cuts' in this area.* [...] *This area* [the special needs field] *demands more than many think* [...] *Let us be more open towards this area* [...]

[...] It is shameful to be a professional in the special needs setting compared to being a professional in the general setting. This is especially regarding the attitudes of colleagues, saying, for example, "Aha, do you want to be in the special needs field?" Moreover, often you are accused [...] by colleagues, remarking: "I should work in the special needs field where you are two teachers with three to four pupils...". Then I think, "Thank you [...] you are welcome in the special needs setting and stay here [...] just because it looks nice and cosy, there are also tough days and moments" [...] And you need to be passionate about your work here [...] This field is so vulnerable and maybe extra vulnerable because, so few know about the field.

But I think that if we (in the special educational needs settings) had someone being in front and daring to fight more for this area concerning children with special needs. Moreover, concerning the inclusive school, I think we are not so open towards that (idea of inclusion.) Or we do not know much about it.

Society is appealing for a spacious society. The school must, of course, be focused on achievement, but at the same time, it must also focus on the social dimension – the child's well-being. [...] here, I think there is great tension between many teachers who think well-being is nonsense. I think the biggest challenge is that we do not know enough, and the aims are unclear. How shall the puzzle be laid, as best for the pupil? (Teacher, no. 28)

In the interview above, the informant first explains that the understanding of special educational needs is left to the individual member of the staff to define. This results in, as the informant points out, the special needs and general educational fields being divided into two different settings. In this framework, the special needs field is being dominated by a general school discourse, resulting in the special needs field being suppressed. In this interview extract, the informant calls for the authorities to advocate the special needs field more, which could also lead to more discussion on the inclusive school. Interpreting this empirical example into SA terminologies, the different sub-practices in the different social worlds and arenas must connect and interrelate through negotiating values and communicating directions in a situated approach (discussed further in chapter 15). If not, inclusive development will not proceed.

Working in dilemmas are challenging and is even further complicated if the dilemmas are not discussed and debated, and thus not enabling or facilitating negotiating the values and purposes of the school. Consequently, the model of special needs education is not challenged or altered. This leads to the school culture and practice, in general, not becoming more inclusive, if the the underlying assumptions are not changed or challenged. Thus, the analyses indicate a need for rethinking the special educational needs field, for example calling for new ways of understanding being a professional learning and development place and how to be professional in an inclusive environment.

We now turn to learning and the special needs education given by teachers whose professional self-understanding is primarily aimed at teaching (Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2019). Hedegaard-Sørensen and Grumloese (2020) point out that although achievement and inclusion should be equally prioritised, teachers focus on achievement as their primary professional goal and thereby, maybe not intentionally, promote excluding practice. There are many indications that there is a need for far more comprehensive special needs education thinking, another teaching practice or another type of organisation if the special needs of the current pupils are to be accommodated (Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2012).

Taking these arguments further, understanding inclusive school development is about pedagogical and didactic strategies. However, the community's features and local societal and cultural dynamics must also be considered. By only understanding inclusion as a pedagogical and didactic concept, inclusive school development relies on the professionals' understanding of inclusive practice, leaving behind other powerful societal, political, economic, and cultural dynamics (Norwich, 2014). The possible consequences are that translation and transformation processes fail to appear, and the prevailing school culture and practice are maintained (Hansen, 2020).

### 14.4.3 Collaborative patterns between the supportive systems and the school

To elucidate the point above that structure and strategies must take the situation into account, I will turn to the empirical material. The empirical material shows collaboration features characterised by a high degree of randomness due to a lack of authorities' directions and frameworks for collaboration and leading partly to problems of understanding and solution strategies based on the professionals' interpretation and opinions and personal and professional relations. To elucidate this claim, I will draw on an example from the empirical material where a school leader elaborates on collaborating with the special needs education advisory centre (Sernám). The school leader is comparing the collaboration patterns with Sernám as a teacher in a general school and as a teacher in a special educational needs setting. While working as a teacher in a general setting, the collaboration with the special advisory centre was often problematic because he felt Sernám was far away from the school practice. After moving to work in a special educational needs setting, he explains that his picture of the special needs education advisory centre has changed. The school leader reflects upon the reason and says:

### [...] maybe these institutions are more positive towards this school because it is more exciting and compatible with their mindset (School leader, no. 73).

Additionally, he says that the mindset in these special educational needs setting differs in that they, for example, are not afraid of asking for advice. Interpreting this finding in an understanding of knowledge sharing between social worlds and arenas, collaborative patterns are not just built-in structural frameworks but also in values and mindset and a strive to collaborate where those not seen as adversaries. Digging deeper into this analytical finding, I find it relevant to address the term on antagonism and agonism. The concepts have been used in political philosophical terms by for example Arendt (1958) and later by Mouffe (1999) as a way of understanding possibilities to sustain and develop democracy, by Clarke (2022) using

the term in a SA approach, and by Koutsouris (2022) who has investigated the use of the concepts in educational studies (Arendt, 1958; Clarke et al., 2022; Koutsouris et al., 2022; Mouffe, 1999). In this research I will use the concepts of antagonism and agonism, where agonism is described as representing the notion of being able to challenge and dissent in a productive way (Koutsouris et al., 2022). I will use agonism as a way of understanding how collaboration and negotiations concerning inclusive development can prosper despite different values sets. Based on Koutsouris et al.'s (2022) systematic scoping review on agonism in education, agonism is the opposite of antagonism. Agonism emphasises "oppositional yet respectful civic and political relations and practices," embracing what makes people different (Koutsouris et al. 2022, p. 1030). There are different approaches to agonism, categorised as dissociative and associative. In dissociative agonism, the emphasis is on resisting reconciliation and emphasising an 'us and them' divide. Leaning on Mouffe (1999, 2000), she understand politics being built on the distinction between "us" and "them". Mouffe argues that the inevitability of conflict should be accepted and that the prospect of a rational solution should be abandoned. Mouffe's (ibid.) vision involves creating channels through which collective passions can be expressed while allowing enough possibility for identification so that opponents are seen as legitimate adversaries rather than enemies. Mouffe (ibid.) sees the us/them divide as central to political life, where she identifies the main difference between her dissociative agonism and associative approaches.

As seen in the empirical example above there are, despite antagonistic traits, mutual curiosity and willingness to learn and share knowledge. A developing point could be cultivating agonistic collaboration patterns to act in general and special needs education dilemmas. Another point I wish to elucidate, anchored in the empirical material, is that different establishments invented to act in dilemmas between special needs education fields and general education seemingly have a similar purpose but without collaboration with each other, acting in 'lonely planets' terms. For example, the CC was established because, as it is stated in the recommendations (Fólkaskúlaráðið, 2011, p. 6), Sernám did not provide the needed support that the schools were calling for⁶⁹. Seen in the light of silence, these new establishments can be interpreted as a 'silencing' of addressing and negotiating tensions and dilemmas in the relationship between special and general educational fields leading to fractions instead of coherency (also discussed further in chapter 15). With the very small society in mind, these fractions, also seen in a continual increase of special needs settings across the Faroe Islands, can be a significant obstacle to moving the area into more inclusive terms.

Hansen et al. (2020) point out that in their research, the collaborative feature of professionals inside and surrounding the school practice was characterised by, besides its arbitrary nature, also a strong consensus culture, resulting in un-reflected and unexamined perspectives, understandings, and experiences found among the professionals. This consensus culture

⁶⁹ Flest øll, ið vit hava tosað við, eru samd um, at hendan skipan, ið eigur at tæna øllum fólkaskúlanum og vera fakligt stavnhald fyri alt sernámsfrøðiligt virksemi í landinum, er ov illa mannað og hevur ikki nóg góða tvørfakliga javnvág.... Brúkarin, tvs. skúlar, næmingar og foreldur fýlast á, hvussu torført og seinført er at fáa hjálp, og starvsfólkini eru samd um hetta. Sigast kann, at í løtuni megnar skipanin enntá ikki at veita føroyskum skúlabørnum bráðfeingis sálarfrøðiliga hjálp..., fýlast mest sum øll, ið onkursvegna varða av økinum, á, at lítið og einki samband er millum ta sernámsfrøðiligu skipanina og stuðulsvirksemiðið...

maintained the status quo, failing to contribute to change and development towards a more inclusive school (Hansen et al., 2020). Reading through these arguments, developing antagonism into a consensus culture is not fruitful for inclusive school development. Instead, it is fruitful to insist on working from different perspectives. To meet diversity and remain curious among the different perspectives in the school and society forum. An inclusive approach towards the pupils' groups also demands the professional community to be inclusive in meeting different opinions and understandings.

When taking a situated approach, every single sub-practice must be engaged in developing inclusive school environments and thus indicating that handling dilemmas between special and general education is less about introducing techniques or new organisational arrangements but more about social learning processes within contexts (Ainscow, 2020, p. 14). Following Ainscow's argument, in addition to structure, organisational and strategical measures, developing inclusion is also about developing new knowledge about how different disciplines, professions, practices, and forms of knowledge can be integrated and linked in various ways (Hansen et al., 2020).

Seeing inclusive schools in the light described above, structural and organisational arrangements are of minor importance, and sometimes segregated special needs education settings are a reality and maybe also a necessity when the special educational needs are so extensive that there are no other options. This accords with Norwich (2013), who advocates an inclusive approach that recognises being together – and separate – in order to respect differences that must not be overlooked. This also refers to the wishes of the pupils wanting to be supported when needed, but otherwise wishing to be treated as everybody else (See the analysis section in chapter 13).

The interview extract below highlights sub-practices in the whole system as more problematic than the organisational form of a segregated school setting. The extract shows how the potential for developing inclusive education can be viewed as more a question of processes of altering mindsets and social practices in the different social worlds and arenas in a whole situational approach rather than a question of segregated, mixed or general school settings. In the interview extract, a teacher in a special needs education setting elaborates on the reason for receiving pupils from the general school setting to the special needs education setting and the further lack of collaboration with the school system on the other side of the "wall":

Interviewee: When a pupil joins this school [the special needs school setting], a wall is set up between this school and the rest of the school system. This is even though the pupil might be able to get some exams for example (Teacher in a special needs education setting, no. 15)

According to the claims in this interview, the indications are that there is no collaboration or connections between the special educational setting and the legal and official school system, for example the national exam office. Thus, a pupil in these special educational needs setting is defined in organisational terms, not being approached as a pupil who might need to be facilitated by the more comprehensive school system with an inclusive mindset. The

perspective presented in this example diverges from the utterances of the pupils' experiences and suggestions for working in dilemmas between focusing on individual needs and the need to be part of the community.

Further, in the interview extract below, the teacher says that he sees that the reason for joining the special needs settings is due to *failing inclusion in the general school*, which, seen with my analytical lens, could be due to a lack of inclusive mindsets in different sub-practices in a whole-system optic.

Interviewee: The pupils come here because they have been burned [...] it has gone wrong in the general school, and there is no other alternative than to come here. Moreover, there is no gateway to come out again – to the general school - even though we often think that the pupil has the resources to join the general school again [...] We have many boys who attend special needs school settings because of behavioural factors. There is no space for them in the general school [...] It ought to be easy to establish collaboration with a general school [...] some are our neighbours [...] some pupils could follow some subjects and attend exams, but it is not easy. There are no frames for such a collaboration. I have tried it. It is like you have to do everything yourself. Moreover, everything is so closed. (Teacher in a special educational needs setting, no. 14)

Even though this teacher is aware of the need for and tries to construct a flexible structure concerning the school setting for the pupils, there needs to be more flexibility in approaching the understanding of the relationship between special needs education and general education in inclusive terms in the broader school system. As the empirical example highlights, the collaborative patterns are arbitrary and lack frameworks promoting inclusion in the whole system concept. As a consequence of a compensatory approach and even a silent non-reflexive approach to the relationship between special and general education, the special needs field is written out of the mindset of the general pedagogical advisory centre. In the extract below a teacher is uttering his frustration at the exclusionary practice of these sectors:

Interviewee: The special needs setting is excluded from the rest of the school system [...] We do not get any advice from Nám (the general pedagogical advisory centre) concerning the special needs class or special needs pedagogy. The exams office is just occupied with the exams of general pupils. The teachers here in the school are self-producing individual material to evaluate pupils who cannot join the regular exams.

The special needs setting is excluded from the school system, and a framework is missing. We do not know whom to contact in the official school system. They do not know about our pupils or us. Our contact with other schools is based on friendship or that we know somebody. There is a lack of knowledge about the inclusive school (Teacher in a special educational needs setting, no. 15).

Although addressing a need for an inclusive approach on the broader school system fed with knowledge about the inclusive school, this teacher also shed light on how being in an isolated school setting lacking inclusive measures also fosters a culture of separatism and isolation:

Interviewee: If you have been in the special educational needs setting for 20 years, you do not know what general/ordinary teaching looks like [...] you become blinded [...] It would help if you had windows open to the general school and general education. Sometimes, the system itself becomes more important

than what the system should protect or develop. Maybe we should start to work on the system (Teacher in a special educational needs setting, p. 46).

The interview extract raises an essential point question about whom the system should protect or develop. Recalling the experiences and perspectives analysed in chapter 13, where we saw pupils advocating issues influencing their school content, flexible structures which support presence and participation and acceptance and achievement, that is, structures that are both sensitive to their special educational needs and to a need to be part of the broader social community. In the example above, the whole school system is not sensitive to the needs of the pupils. As pointed out previously, working on altering the system does not come through just by inventing collaboration frameworks (Hansen et al., 2020), as profound changes demand altering the built-in elements in the situation (as will be analysed further in chapter 15). These include beliefs, attitudes, and norms which the staff in and surrounding schools (and the pupils) take into school practice. With inclusion in focus, these elements affect how processes of inclusion and exclusion proceed. From this perspective, inclusion is based on values and ideas that draw on a social-cultural perspective of affecting developing inclusive education in the local school practice. Thus, within the special needs setting, values and ideas are also a carrier of culture advocating a separatist approach.

To ground the above arguments, I will return to the empirical material. The leaders of the special educational needs settings explain that they want to be self-governing, both because this leaves them free to set the special needs education agenda and to preserve "open doors" to special needs supportive systems as opposed to "close windows" to the general educational supportive system, as uttered by an informant in the example below:

Interviewee: One of the reasons for wanting to be self-governing was that we wished to have doors open, for example to Sernám, the psychiatric unit, the child protection service etc. (Teacher in a special educational needs setting, no. 60)

Thus, this example and other examples below, show how the special needs settings reinforce the excluding school system by maintaining and preserving their isolation from the general school system as an opportunity to set the agenda themselves as they are forced to practice by the compensatory approach. Seen in this light, the consequence of lacking direction from the authorities to work overall in the whole school system are falling apart, promoting the sub practice to develop into *lonely planets* (which is one of the overall nodes in the whole empirical material, see chapter 8). The empirical material indicates that the professionals in the special needs school system. As one teacher in a special needs setting outside the general schools says:

Interviewee: You can look at inclusion from a helicopter perspective and from an individual perspective [...] Our strength as a (special needs school setting) is that we shall not be a community – here we are individuals (Teacher in a special educational needs setting, no. 13).

In this utterance, a teacher in the special needs setting reveals a compensatory and individual approach to special needs education, not considering and calculating the importance of the relations to a broader educational and social school community. The teacher even sees the general school system (and the slow translation and transforming processes of inclusive schools) as a threat to the special educational needs settings situated outside the general school. One teacher in the special needs settings stated that developing inclusive education is a direct threat to the existence of this special needs setting, as he points out that:

Interviewee: *This* (inclusion) *is a trend that wants to eliminate the special needs settings* [...] (Teacher in a special need setting, no. 16)

This perspective in the empirical material is striking when compared with the engagement of the special needs field within the general school. As highlighted in the analysis, this task is impossible to fulfil. On the other hand, it is nevertheless necessary to explain the purpose of establishing special needs classes within the general school and formulate the inclusive vision as a whole system approach. As one teacher in a leading position in a general school that has special needs classes within the school recounted:

Interviewee: They work individually with inclusion and the connection between general and special needs classes. The special needs class are a little on their own. I lead the general classes [...], but the special needs class? I am not involved [...] (Teacher in a leading position in a general school that includes a special educational needs setting, no. 25)

A teacher reflects further on the relation between the special needs class and the general class:

Interviewee: We [the professionals in the special needs class and the general class] must cooperate much more and join team meetings and plan together - also concerning adjusting the teaching. We need to speak about why the pupils from the special needs class join the general classes, and we also need to speak about their special needs.

*Often it seems to me that they* [pupils in special needs settings] *are like shadows – nobody knows why they join the general class sometimes* [...] *The general class has got information in the beginning, but we must continuously remain and speak about it. We do not have joint team meetings* [...] *we need to collaborate much more.* (Teacher, no. 28).

When analysing the empirical material, it becomes apparent that the positions of several of the professionals in special needs settings situated outside the general school – as opposed to professionals in the special needs settings within the general school – are not occupied with the inclusive vision, as it seems that the vision of inclusion does not make sense in their social worlds/arenas as special needs settings outside the general schools. These position differences can be understood in terms of an overall silencing of direction. Drawing on the analysis in chapter 10, the pragmatic way of letting school policy happen through an invisible and (un)conscious strategy creates and feeds antagonism between the general school and special needs school settings (outside the general school), making inclusion apparently redundant, as there is no contact and thus no dilemmas to work on between special needs and general education, the dilemmas show up in the daily practice. With a compensatory approach to these dilemmas, it

becomes the special needs field's responsibility to advocate and work to promote inclusion, as the inclusive vision is not anchored in the wider school policy system. Approaching the dilemmas with an inclusive approach requires both political and local leadership promoting and advocating the inclusive vision. Moreover the analysis indicates that working inclusively in dilemmas between general and special needs education requires that every piece in the composition of the school system is working in an inclusive direction and that each and every one considers the others and is considered as brick in the big picture. Failing to consider the complexity and approaching the field in too ridged principles and practical terms by just focusing on, for example structural and organisational factors, can lead to exclusionary practice by stimulating discourse on a dichotomy of right/wrong. For example, in the interview extract below, an informant articulates their frustration concerning which opinion is legitimate:

Interviewee: Where do we guarantee pupils' well-being best? This is a thought that I am struggling with when discussing general school and special needs class and special needs school and inclusion. Many pupils feel well-being in special needs classes, and special needs schools, and these settings do not necessarily contradict the idea of inclusion. However, that is not acceptable to say, ha? I don't know if the general school is best for all pupils, but this is not legitimate to say. (Informant (other stakeholders), no. 95)

According to this interview extract, the informant is seeking a more situated approach to inclusion, both respecting the circumstances in the situation while not missing the inclusive principles. Therefore, having the inclusive principle within educational settings and thinking inclusive thoughts within the situation is essential, which can mean that inclusion does not necessarily always means that everyone shall be together all the time, as in some cases, it is not the (only) solution. Thus, according to this claim, the inclusive idea and practice must be incorporated into different organisational structures. In the interview extract below, a teacher in a general school setting reflects on the possibility to work with special needs in a general school environment with situated inclusiveness.

Interviewee: Being in big classes we often divide the classes into smaller groups... and for some, we need even smaller groups and sometimes separate special teaching for some few children, but that is not inclusion, is it? It is not easy for some children. They fall outside both cognitively and socially. Even though they live in the same neighbourhood as the other children in the class, they are not included either in the school or after school. The child feels outside everywhere, even though we keep playing as if the framework exists [...] and she or he is in this setting just because she or he was from precisely that year (Teacher in a general school setting, no. 45).

One school leader points at a way of handling dilemmas in practice which they consider valuable and possible, according to their situation. The school leader says:

Interviewee: As a principle, we do not like that special educational needs classes are in another environment than the general school. However, sometimes it can be necessary if the special need is so special that we cannot offer the pupil an appropriate environment. On some occasions, we have referred to the special needs school when the general school could not provide a good enough school offer. (School leader, no. 42).

Following the interview extracts above, a situated inclusive approach can sometimes mean that moving a pupil to a more protective environment is better and more respectful. Using the term "limits to inclusion" as situated and movable, Hansen et al. (2020) discuss the limits to inclusion by pointing out that no social practice could ever be limitless. Thus, there needs to be a limit to how much diversity a community can support without losing the idea of community, or without feeling a threat to the community's cohesion. Hansen (2020) points out that inclusion and exclusion are both necessary processes in the constitution of all communities and exclusionary processes will always be a fundamental part of the existence of an inclusive school practice to construct a shared social identity. In the empirical material, I argue we can see *limits to inclusion* are movable and elastic terms to be set in the situation, in accordance with Clarke's definition on situation, see chapter 5. It is the concrete daily educational practice and its content that must justify limits and their handling in the different sub-practices. On the basis of SA's situated approach to analysing the empirical extract above, I posit that handling dilemmas between special needs education and general education with a situated inclusive approach is both grounded in the local pedagogical practice inspired and combined with (international) ideological visions. So, if taking the principles into practice concerning the present, participation, acceptance, and achievement in mind (as understood by Farrell, 2004) this means acting in the situation with the general principles of inclusive education as guidelines. Ignoring individual special educational needs and presuming one size fits all is not the answer. If the teachers do not recognise individuals and their special needs, they fail to support the individual to achieve and participate. Acting in dilemmas between special needs and general education with a situated inclusive approach also implies creating learning environments or learning situations that support all pupils and bring different competent persons into the environment to meet the needs of the individual pupils (this is also according to the pupil's perspective, as seen in the previous analysis section). At the same time, the professionals need to examine if the culture and social practice need changes and adjustments to ensure pupils' participation. In the interview extract below, a teacher in a special needs setting experiences difficulties acting in dilemmas created by the system. In this example, the pupils want to be between the different settings but are denied entrance to the general system because of a rigid system and lack of resources:

Interviewee: We have some pupils here [in the special needs setting] who want to return to the general school. It will be good for some pupils to be together with other children in good physical and cognitive shape. Behavioural issues are why some pupils are here in the special needs setting. If the resources were in the general school, these pupils could easily be in a general school. (Teacher in the special needs setting, no. 71).

As addressed earlier in this analysis section, there is a need for rethinking the special needs education offer to combine teaching, special needs education, and treatment with the need for the professionals to be supplied with knowledge from disciplines other than the teaching profession. Simply placing pupils in difficulty together can have the negative consequence that pupils with resources do not support a fruitful social community in the class (Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2012).

As seen in the example above, the teacher points out that this can be an argument for creating access to general schools. This as a way of approaching dilemmas between special needs and general education in a situated inclusive manner, by both facilitating and embracing the special educational needs and the need to be part of a general school environment. Offering the opportunity to shift between settings can balance the individual special educational need and the need to be part of the school community.

Understanding the relationship between special needs and general education with a situated inclusive approach, is supported by the concept of moderate inclusion (Norwich, 2013) and inclusive special needs education (Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2013) being practised through, for example, the Danish concept of "nest classes" and in the newest word in the Danish context as "intermediate forms⁷⁰". In these structures, special needs education theories and practices contribute to a dynamic development process together with general pedagogical theories and practices, wherein the dilemma perspective can be productive for teaching all subjects and activities in the school.

A concrete example is the project on teaching differentiation in an inclusive perspective (Skibsted, 2015), as mentioned previously in this analysis section. The project exemplifies how general and special needs education can contribute to qualifying to teach in a public school. These could be examples of approaching the relationship between special needs education and general education with situated inclusion as both having foci on the individual need and the community and sometimes just on the individual need and sometimes just on the community if the situation requires that, but all the time working on having paths between the different social worlds and arenas open as the situation requires.

Within the above assumptions, the underlying school culture and practice based on a classic understanding of differences must be challenged. Consequentially pupils will be offered only a few possibilities for inclusive school environment. To develop inclusive settings, all four criteria suggested by Farrell (2004) must be in play, depending on the specific situation and context. In other words, altering the classic understanding of special needs education is done by something other than a recipe or specific strategy. It must be built on the experiences of sensitising being in an inclusive environment taking care of both present, participation, acceptance, and achievement of the pupil. How to work with this task will differ depending on the situation and whether diversity is understood as a problem to solve or a dilemma to manage.

Curiosity about situated ways to work inclusively could be a path to walk on. As one teacher highlights:

Interviewee: We know, in fact, too little about the opportunities we have to organise the school differently and teach differently. Moreover, often we are afraid to try. However, if we prepare and are a foot in front, adjust and are sensitive to the situation, then often we also manage to give pupils in special need a meaningful teaching and school life. (Teacher, no. 28).

⁷⁰ In Danish: Mellemformer

This and other examples suggest an inclusive direction in school environments suitable for meeting today's pupils. Teams working together across different professions, more resources, different learning strategies including teaching differentiation, and flexible frameworks are strategies that are known to function to promote inclusion. In the interview extract below, a teacher in a special needs setting reflects on the question of how to approach dilemmas between special needs and general education and work inclusively:

Interviewee: It is difficult to say something concrete about that question. Often it ends up with a question of resources and pedagogy. However, of course, these two components are connected. Our idea is that we try something else if something is not functioning. We find a new path or solution. Often, we find a solution in our dialogue with the pupils. However, we must listen and hear what the pupils say. If the environment is stressed, listening and hearing can be difficult. Often the pupils have the solution, and sometimes these are tiny little things that can change the situation from failure to success [...] but if the environment is stressed, we are reacting to the symptoms. We must go behind the symptoms and look for the reasons. (Teacher in a special educational needs setting, no. 3)

This professional has a situated inclusive approach as he points at having a dialogue with the pupils to find paths to work in dilemmas. This point is supported by the experiences and perspectives of the pupils as explored in the analysis section on the pupils' perspective in chapter 13. Nevertheless, as has be argued throughout this analysis section, as well as the previous, that the practice field cannot set the direction solely on their own. There must be both school political and local leadership supporting the inclusive direction, as pointed out by this informant:

Interviewee: We should consider the advantage that we are small, and it is quick to establish relations. We cannot copy other systems. We are unique in size and culture. The aims and purposes must be clear and supported by frameworks and some elementary signals and orders. Moreover, the leaders in the school system must go in front (Adviser in the administrative, political, educational and advisory sector, no. 91).

Placing these perspectives in an ecology of smallness, such as the Faroese one with a culture of very close relations and silence, the question remains how to encourage people to talk about the dilemmas and to dare to deal with them, as they are both difficult to handle and thus, we may keep on being quiet. But quietness will not develop inclusive schools. The silencing in Faroese society juxtaposes and addresses an urge to scrutinise ways to handle dilemmas between special needs education and general education to prepare the ground for developing more inclusive schools. In the upcoming chapter on a whole situated approach to situated inclusion I will expand the discussion to a broader cultural and societal perspective. The analysis of the dilemma between general education and special needs education in this chapter has to a large extent used existing research - primarily about the overall dilemma and dilemmas derived from it as they appear in Europe, including the Nordic countries and specifically with the inclusion of much Danish research. This path was chosen since the development of schools and education on the Faroe Islands, as previously described, has been linked to the Faroese historical dependency on Denmark, though currently with ever-increasing independence from Denmark. The analysis findings in chapter 14 thus still need to be explored through the specific Faroese situation in order to provide an essential basis for the development of the Faroe Islands

in general and the school as an integrated cultural institution in Faroese society. Therefore, the last analysis section in the next chapter will draw on all the previous sections, focusing on the whole community analysed with the Faroese situation as the analysis entity.

### 14.5 Summing up the analysis on general education and special needs education

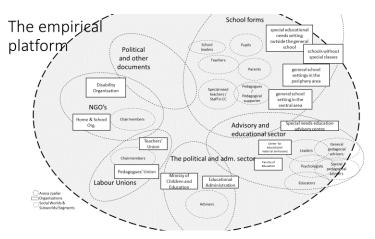
This analysis section has focused on the tension between general education and special needs education problematised through the compensatory and inclusive understanding. The compensatory approach views special needs education as separate from general education, requiring a specific supportive learning environment. However, the inclusive approach challenges this view and suggests the inclusive approach should be used to address dilemmas between special needs and general education. Analysing the empirical material reveals that the Faroe Islands' education system primarily has a narrow approach to turning inclusive principles into practice, while also revealing that the actors view the inclusive approach as desirable, but as requiring significant changes both in the legislation, concerning political and local leadership, in structure, collaboration and concerning the understanding of being professional. The analysis argues that developing inclusive education must be anchored in local policy and culture and may require combining compensatory and inclusive approaches to work in and handle dilemmas. Both the compensatory and inclusive approaches have limitations as conceptual approaches that may bypass situational principles of relations. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the dilemmas between general and special needs education through the societal and cultural platforms and seek the positions and experiences of actors and actants acting on this platform. In the Faroe Islands, there is an increased demand for special needs settings with a compensatory approach, copying the general school into the special needs setting, which may hinder the transformation of inclusive principles. Ensuring structural reforms while not working to ensure that teachers, pedagogical supporters, and other educational and advisory staff work inclusively does not lead to transformation of the inclusive principles into practice. To develop inclusive education requires recognising and working in dilemmas between special needs and general education. It is crucial to cultivate agonistic collaboration patterns, and involve pupils, parents, and other partners.

The focus must be on interrelated sub-practices, collaboration patterns, creating and sharing knowledge and involving pupils and parents as collaborative partners. Considering an ecology of smallness such as the Faroese with its culture of very close relations and silence, the questions of how to address, navigate and work in dilemmas between special needs education and general education remains. These questions will be answered in the following analysis section on the whole situational approach to developing inclusion.

### Chapter 15. From a whole situational approach to situated inclusion

In this section, I will explore the 'whole situation'. This exploration is inspired by Clarke et al.'s (2018; 2022) understanding of 'situation' (see also chapter 2.1.1 where the concept 'situation' is explained in SA terms). Taking a SA approach, the situation is the analysis entity of this research study. I have arranged the different elements in the situation through relations that are not predefined but defined and qualified by relevant existing research literature and the empirical material. This means that the different positions and experiences of the actors and actants in the different social worlds and arenas form the essential threads for analysing the whole situation in the Faroe Islands, characterised by unique features between tradition and modernity and the "*social ecology of smallness*" (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018, p. 340) as a prevailing condition.

Recalling the big empirical platform of this study (see also fig. 11 in chapter 6), the social worlds and arenas are not separated entities. However, the actors and actants go in and out of the different worlds and arenas, seeking interaction, challenges, knowledge, meaning sharing, and interconnectedness. These could



be development points concerning developing inclusion and will be unfolded later in this chapter. When I, in order to capture processes, approach the situation as always situated and ongoing, I imply that the situation is an elastic entity, where one can zoom in and out in search of relevance to the overall situation of developing inclusive education in the public schools in the Faroe Islands.

As the previous analysis has revealed, inclusion faces significant political, structural, organisational, strategical, cultural, and in-practice challenges. By taking a situational approach, I am able to refrain from emphasising one or just a few factors. Instead, by using a multidisciplinary and SA approach, I will advocate a whole situational approach. I will combine the insight I have gained into the field through my research and place these insights into a new framework that enables me to approach inclusion with a whole situational approach across all the analysis sections, which allows me to suggest a new way of understanding inclusive education as 'situated inclusion'.

This chapter is structured as follows:

- A Whole situational approach implying four essential involvements:
   1.1. a. Community involvement
   1.2. b. Negotiations on principles of involvement
   1.3 c. School policy and school administration involvement
   1.4 d. Argument involvement
- 2. **Situated inclusion** approaching inclusion with a whole situational approach and the four pillars of involvement will lead to new suggestions for understanding inclusive education, incorporated in the concept of **situated inclusion**, which leads up to answering the research questions in chapter 16.

Before turning to these two elements, I will recall the unique features of the Faroe Islands mentioned above and elaborated on in more detail in chapter 4. Here I will highlight two essential characteristics of the Faroe Islands. One is that the Faroese society is transitioning from tradition towards modernity (Gaini, 2021; Skorini et al., 2022), or with late-modern characteristics (Johannesen, 2012, p. 32). The second characteristic I will highlight is that due to its very small society, the Faroe Islands also have special characteristics of a social ecology of smallness. Thus, the assumption is that although Faroese society is moving towards more heterogeneity and individualism as a modern society, the conditional social relational feature of being a very small society remains. This raises the question of navigating the "social ecology of smallness" (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018, p. 340) while simultaneously moving towards modernity. As the international inclusive vision is developed in a modern or even postmodern international environment, challenging and questioning the traditional assumptions on school purpose and environment, the processes of developing inclusive education.

With the two characteristics mentioned above in mind, there are challenges to translating and transforming the inclusive principles into practice in Faroese society, as seen in the previous analysis where traditional values and the purpose of school are questioned and anchored in the cultural and societal process of moving to modernity. For example, we saw this in the battles on values between the two politicians, and in other signs of break up, for example the new parents' association calling for schools more compatible with modern society, as pointed out in chapters 10 and 11.

The inclusive vision is also deeply anchored in the idea of communities and communities' involvement (Ainscow, 2020; Ainscow et al., 2003). Ainscow (2020) argues for the involvement of the wider community for inclusive education to prosper. He defines the concept of community by drawing on the empirical description of communities in the sense of forming partnerships among key stakeholders who can support and own the process of change:

These stakeholders include: parents/caregivers; teachers and other education professionals; teacher trainers and researchers; national, local and school-level administrators and managers; policy-makers and service providers in other sectors (e.g. health, child protection and social services); civic groups in the community; and members of minority groups that are at risk of exclusion (Ainscow, 2020, p. 12).

I use Ainscow's empirical understanding of communities in this section on community involvement. The understanding of community in this research is based on the social arena and social worlds, in accordance with my use of SA. However, I find Ainscow's understanding and explanation of communities' involvement an essential and valuable element in the situational approach. In a further conceptual understanding of communities, I am leaning on Berliner's (Berliner, 2004, 2016) understanding of the community concept by focusing on the close and direct environments that form the framework for people's lives. These frameworks are embedded in larger social development processes – including economy, ecology, and culture. Berliner (2016) points out that the immediate environment offers certain conditions with risk and developmental factors. A sense of belonging can be promoted in the local community where economic equality and respect for cultural diversity can promote well-being (Berliner, 2016).

The very small society in the Faroe Islands is based on close relationships within the family and other members of communities characterised by bonds of an emotional nature and bonds found in the necessity of being able to help each other in everyday practical life (Gaffin, 1996). In these communities, it has not been easy to travel within the Faroe Islands, due to the geography of the islands, just as daily life has required that people help each other and take responsibility for each other, for example through solid family ties (Gaffin, 1996). While finding one's place in the available community is necessary to maintain a solid and vital community (Gaffin, 1996), finding one's place implies that one avoids discussing problems, wishes, and the need for change, which are otherwise behaviours characteristic a modern society.

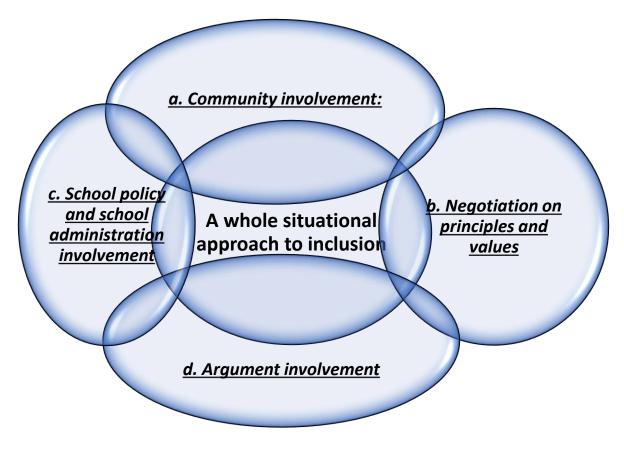
Taking an outset in the situation described above, the Faroe Islands have the potential to take the social worlds and arenas into consideration as a starting point to translate and transform inclusive principles into practice. Using SA as an analysis approach addressing the relational ecologies of the situation (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 68), interaction does not exclusively take place between selves but between people, objects, and situations and, beyond that, between groups, cultures, and environments, recognising that social and cultural environments shape knowledge (Star, 1995. In Clarke et al., 2018, p. 10). Thus, knowledge is subjective, created in relations and situated in different perspectives and experiences, which can lead to different forms of knowledge. Using a situated approach enables a better understanding of how different actors and actants can shape knowledge and practices to create more inclusive environments. One can use situated metaphors to argue this point, and later in this chapter, I will posit that the Faroese chain dance can be used as a metaphor for the potential of communities of practice in the local ecology of relations in small-scale societies, which could be expanded and contribute to developing inclusive schools. I will elaborate on the Faroese chain dance later in this section, in combination with existing elements, for example the national curriculum emphasising basic competencies of communication, creation, tolerance and exploration and the improved and highly modern infrastructure in the Faroe Islands as illustrative and metaphorical examples of development potentials for future development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. The point here is to illustrate how practices already existing in daily practice in the local culture and can be expanded and cultivated in inclusive terms where the interconnectedness and social ecology of smallness are used as development points in inclusive directions.

A frequently used phase in the Faroe Islands is that "it takes a whole village to raise a child". In this analysis section, I will expand on this utterance and claim that "it takes a whole situational approach to develop inclusive schools" to guarantee all society's children an inclusive and thus also effective school characterised by presence, participation, acceptance, and achievement (Farrell, 2004). Several scholars point out that developing inclusive schools requires an ecological approach (Ainscow, 2020; Anderson et al., 2014; Mitchell, 2018), acknowledging that developing inclusive education rests on different sub-practices that have to have an inclusive direction as their DNA. Scholars recommend approaching the field with, for example, a Bronfenbrenner-inspired approach contextualised in micro, meso, and macro levels (Anderson et al., 2014), a "whole system approach" (Ainscow, 2020) or "a system which places children at its centre and recognises the impacts of school, community, bureaucracy, and society, to maximise learning opportunities" (Mitchell, 2018, abstract). The approaches mentioned above suggest frames to identify elements, relationships, and interactions in inclusive education to find paths to practice inclusive education. However, these approaches and frames might not capture the dynamics of the processes and might bypass some of the features of the ecological principles of relations. With an SA approach, I attempt to explore the dynamics of the processes in the situation by inventing the whole situational approach unfolding below.

### 15.1 A whole situational approach

Inspired by predecessors in the field of inclusive education, for example Ainscow's (2020) whole system approach, Dyson's (1999) four discouses of inclusion, Farrell's (2004) four criteria for turning the inclusive principles into practice, as well as more ecological approaches to developing inclusive education (e.g. Anderson et al., 2014; Mitchell, 2018), I have developed *a whole situational approach* as a way of understanding pitfalls and developing points in the process of developing inclusive schools (based on an SA approach to the situation in the Faroe Islands). The whole situational approach implies four different kinds of involvement. These are listed in figure 21 below in four overlapping bubbles (to emphasise their interrelatedness): *a. Community involvement* concerning shared and situated inclusion; *b. Negotiations on principles involvement*, including discussions on values; c. *School policy and school administration involvement*; and d. *Argument involvement* to point at rationales for developing inclusive schools.

Figure 23 A whole situational approach to inclusion



Source: inspired by Ainscow (2020); Dyson (1999); Farrell (2004) as well as ecological approaches to developing inclusive education, e.g. Anderson et al. (2014) and Mitchell (2018).

### 15.1.1 Community involvement

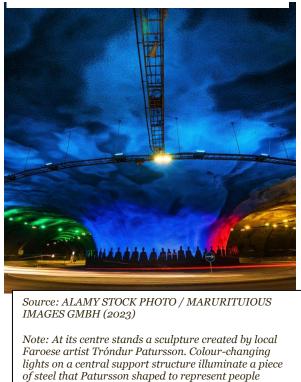
The previous analysis has revealed that community involvement is essential for developing inclusive education, although there are both pitfalls and development points found in the empirical material concerning community involvement. The analysis assumes that although Faroese society is moving towards more heterogeneity and individualism as a modern society, the conditional social relational feature of being a very small society remains with traditional family and relational patterns. This is seen in the empirical material concerning the examples of "outsiders/foreigners" moving to villages consisting of traditional relational bounds in the community in a "social ecology of smallness" (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018, p. 340) where the way of practice is performed in silence. This results in lacking frameworks and a lacking language for including a new 'social world' into the existing traditional environment, which presents a challenge to inclusive school development. A development point could be to set the framework for migrants to receive information about how the school system works, what is expected of children and parents etc.

Other examples in the empirical material concerning community involvement are the traditional ways of approaching community with a strong aspiration for a 'we culture' (see chapter 12.2). Developing community involvement to support the development of inclusion calls for an expanding understanding of the 'we culture' in more comprehensive and modern

terms. This development might be hindered if community involvement is bypassed as essential in developing inclusive education. On the other hand, by considering, involving, and even expanding the social worlds and arenas, for example by including children's communities, new understanding a of professionalism and parents' involvement can contribute to developing the schools in a more inclusive direction.

The geographical conditions of the Faroe Islands for inclusive development have recently been altered by changes in the Faroese transport infrastructure. Previously separated islands and villages are now connected by a series of undersea tunnels, the latest and most expensive of which (the Eysturoy tunnel) was completed in 2020. This means that tunnels now tie most of the major islands together. Considering the traditional patterns with local schools across society, these infrastructure improvements also call on the school system's

Figure 24 Eysturoyartunnilin's roundabout



participating in a traditional Faores chain dance

(faroeislands.fo, 2023)

traditional coherency to move into these adjusted modern infrastructures, which can give inclusive development a different starting point.

I have previously mentioned the Faroese chain dance, which I will use as a metaphor, inspired by the use of the chain dance in a sculpture in the new Eysturoy tunnel. The chain dance sculpture (see figure 24) connects this huge piece of modern infrastructure with Faroese tradition. This infrastructure to connect the islands has carried Faroese society into a new era of modernity. The change in the infrastructure calls on similar changes within the school system. This implies carrying the school system's coherency and meaning into the era of modernity while still anchored in the Faroese conditions of social ecologies of smallness, much like the chain dance sculpture anchors the Eysturoy tunnel in Faroese traditions. The Faroese chain dance can metaphorically symbolise meaning and coherency in the traditional way of understanding school. This is seen in the empirical material as the school content and purpose are anchored in traditional cultural values. The Faroese school legislation and curriculum emphasise Faroese culture (see chapters 10 and 11). Although Faroese culture comprises many elements, I will draw upon the example of the Faroese chain dance, also because the Faroese chain dance is repeatedly discussed politically,

with many advocating that pupils' awareness and interest in the Faroese chain dance should be maintained and strengthened. Faroese chain dance ballads and chain dance are required topics to be learned in public schools as stated in Section 8(1) in the Public School Act (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997). The Faroese chain dance is also incorporated into the national curriculum, indicating the tremendous weight and importance put into the





Source: Nám (2023)

Faroese chain dance inside the Faroese schools. To demonstrate the enormous emphasis on the Faroe chain dance and relate it to development points for moving from tradition to modernity while still anchored in the Faroese culture, I must dwell on recent news from Nám (2023). The photo in figure 25 is taken from the homepage of Nám, which has used the photo combined with information on an upcoming national school event on chain dance for pupils. Nám writes⁷¹:

[...] an opportunity for pupils throughout the Faroe Islands to connect around one of our most valuable cultural heritages, namely the ballads. The purpose of the event is to support the teaching of ballads and chain dance in the Faroese public schools (Nám, 2023)

As written in the quote from the Nám homepage, the event's purpose is to support the teaching of ballads and chain dance in the Faroese public school. However, the idea of strengthening the purpose of teaching anchored in the Faroese chain dance could be expanded to explore how to support and expand the pedagogical environment through inclusive teaching supported by communities of practices among pupils and professionals. The national curriculum emphasises four basic competencies meant to guide all the subject competencies listed in the curriculum: to tolerate, to communicate, to explore and to create (Námsætlanir, 2011). They are stated as being the foundation of the overall schools' curriculum; yet, they are silenced compared with, for example Faroese traditions and subject learning in the schools as mediated by professional knowledge, not by general values, even if they are mentioned.

Although having traditions for informal communities (e.g. Gaffin, 1996), the empirical material reveals that the community involvement as a means of collaboration and linking sub-practices (Hansen et al, 2020) between the different social worlds and arenas are challenged (see also chapter 14.4 on interrelated sub-practices). In the interview below, an informant outside the school system points out:

⁷¹ My translation of the Faroese text: 15. februar 2023 verður høvi hjá næmingum úr øllum Føroyum, at savnast um ein av okkara dýrastu mentanararvum, nevniliga kvæðini. Endamálið við tiltakinum er at stuðla kvæðaundirvísingina í miðdeild í føroyska fólkaskúlanum.

Interviewee: We should be better at cooperating. The advisory centre is moving more and more away from the child. There must be ways and possibilities to be closer to the child. The chains, supposed to embrace and strengthen, are de-coupling instead of coupling the school system. This leaves no waves of opportunities.

We must start building an inclusive society with the children – if we exclude them already when they are kids, how can we include them later? (Informant outside the school system, no. 94)

The interview extract shows how the community involvement supposed to support inclusionary development is practiced in the opposite direction (see also analysis in chapter 14).

On the other hand, the interview extract elucidates the awareness and wish for an inclusive community, which, as the informant points out, must start with an inclusive environment for children. Based on traditional values in the Faroe Islands, a family-based society (Gaini, 2021) has, to a certain extent, been based on communities, including the children, for example, seen in the previous analysis where pupils express being relatively well heard in the local community.

A development direction could be to cultivate the traditions in the local society into modern terms while continuing to carry out welfare tasks and supporting the development of the inclusive school in a more local and pragmatic (situated) manner. Moving the school towards modernity with an ecological and situated approach calls for change, altering and interplay between many sub-practices, which can build bridges as a foundation for shared life. Building communities among the different actors and even adding communities contributing to the change process could be a development path. Community involvement could include parents/caregivers, professionals, researchers, administrators, leaders, policymakers, service providers in other sectors, civic groups in the community, and members of minority groups at risk of marginalisation (Ainscow, 2020). As we have seen in the analysis, parents' perspectives and pupils' perspectives can also provide valuable input in developing more inclusive approaches to education by sharing knowledge, resources, and experiences to address issues of inclusion collectively. Partnering with local actors in different social worlds and arenas - as shown in the empirical platform – and further expanding on this, can further strengthen the efforts of schools to develop inclusion. Ultimately, this means changing how the actors and actants and social worlds and arenas interrelate and collaborate, enriching what they offer pupils through ongoing engagement in these both formal and informal communities.

Previously I have mentioned the term "competition state" (Pedersen, 2016), where knowledge is a significant parameter (chapter 3.2.1. p, 34). Lately, Pedersen has put forward the view that it is no longer possible to use knowledge as a productive force to solve the economic demands to finance the ever-growing economic sector, including the welfare state (Kristeligt Dagblad, 2023). He, therefore, sees a development moving away from the welfare state, that is, winding down the state's task of providing welfare in all respects and instead moving to the development of the welfare society, where welfare is provided mainly in the social relations in local communities. So, the state 'only' takes care of the welfare tasks that civil society cannot solve.

### 15.1.2 Negotiation involvement

Negotiation involvement is a fundamental pillar in changing from a traditional society towards modernity and thus also moving the traditional school into an inclusive school development direction guided by inclusive principles. This means that the traditional values and ways of acting, structuring and organising the school as a professional learning and developing place must be questioned. This can be an obstacle in a culture characterised by a social ecology of smallness, as in the Faroese, where pedagogical debates, to a great extent, are uttered in wordless silence, as seen in the previous analysis sections.

Inclusion is about negotiating the ideals and intentions of what schools ought to be (Brantlinger, 1997; Haug, 2020a; Magnússon, 2019). Leading on from this aim, inclusive education intends to solve challenges/problems in the school systems, which according to scholars, mainly stem from historical stigmatisation and exclusion of certain groups of pupils and a historical tradition of organising schools in a way that separates special needs education from the general school system. An alternative interpretation could be that establishing a separate special needs education system was done in an effort to give more children access to at least some form of primary education by creating a school setting they could attend. However, this dichotomy turns out to lead to stigmatisation and exclusion. Furthermore, stigmatisation and exclusion hinder the development of the inclusive school, and therefore it is necessary to deal with the dilemmas arising from this dichotomy. Moreover, having a classic, compensatory approach to the relationship between special needs education and general education, as seen in chapter 14, further complicates the development of inclusive schools.

Although the vision of the inclusive school can be considered a "rhetoric masterpiece" lacking realistic possibilities for practice, it can, as an organic ideology (Gramsci, 1971) inspire and provide direction for practice (Brantlinger, 1997). Brantlinger (ibid.) points out that socially beneficial theories result from communication between people's everyday activities. Following this point, developing inclusion into practice involves deep considerations and negotiations about dilemmas and values on a principal level. This dissertation should be considered as facilitating and inspiring a discussion about the inclusive school, about how we can make schools become inclusive, and about how we can break the silence. As it is now, "*the word "inclusion" does not exist"*, as one informant in the empirical material states. A culture of silence is not no-communication, and silence constructs discourses. Nusbaum points out in her research that:

[...] the culture of silence was evident [...] which worked to reinforce the school's public status as "inclusive" and thus legitimised the systematic exclusion of the students in the segregated classroom and encouraged ways of thinking about some students that would lead to their eventual marginalisation and stigmatisation. This study concludes that inclusive education needs to be discussed and taught as an ideological commitment. (Nusbaum, 2013, p. 1295).

There must be an ideological discussion about inclusive principles as a prerequisite for developing inclusive schools to become a sustainable phenomenon integrated within the school system. Otherwise, inclusive education will not happen (Brantlinger, 1997; Óskarsdóttir, 2019). According to the empirical material, this has not happened on a large scale, if at all. The informants' common utterance in the empirical material is that inclusion is not discussed as a

matter for the whole school system and society but more as an issue for the special need educational field, including the CC (see chapters 10.5 and 14.4.3). The analysis in chapter 10 shows that the establishment of the CC had the purpose of being a bridge between special need education and general education with an inclusive approach, moving inclusive education from being an issue for special needs education to an issue for the entire school system (Norwich, 2014) (discussed in chapter 14). Developing inclusive education could start where a framework has been established for a new understanding of the dilemma of special needs education and general education as a place to work from.

Returning to the analysis of the school policy documents (chapter 10), the national curriculum emphasises four basic competencies meant to guide all the subject competencies listed in the curriculum: to tolerate, to communicate, to explore and to create (Námsætlanir fyri fólkaskúlan, 2011). These values could be a basis for discussing inclusive school development, together with other development projects mentioned in chapters 11 and 13 on signs of development concerning increased focus on well-being and children's rights. Capturing these processes situated in the situation in the Faroe Islands, pointing at pitfalls and development points, is much about capturing and adjusting relations that exist or are on their way in the situation. Thus, the situation is always on the way, changeable and adjustable and is about communicating, exploring, tolerating, and creating and being curious about relations and connections which could point in an inclusive direction situated in the whole situation in the Faroe Islands.

The above approach would contrast with large-scale assessments, e.g. Pisa, that are rarely used in daily school practice, and when used, this is a rather random affair. The large-scale assessments are also a point to take further in the discussion on research in inclusive education. Researching inclusion in a very small society as the Faroese, can raise different perspectives on developing inclusion than the accountability discourse raised by scholars researching with focus on inclusion policy and practice in larger scale communities (e.g. Ball, 2016; Engsig & Johnstone, 2015; Pettersson et al., 2017). In the Faroe Islands, the question of school policy (see chapter 10.7) also faces other dimensions than in larger societies and will be discussed in the upcoming section on policy and administration involvement.

The informant quoted below calls for more organised reflection in schools because the school system acts too much on impulses and acts too quickly. Due to a lack of reflexivity and collaboration between and surrounding schools, the informant even doubts if the Faroese school system is ready for the inclusive school. The informant experiences that pedagogical development is often on the shoulders of individuals and emphasises that:

Interviewee: [...] it is typical in the Faroe Islands that everybody wants to be independent and selfleading. Culturally, the Faroese are anti-authority and used to being self-led and inventing their practice. However, because of the small size of society and the close relations, changes can happen fast if we work hard and seriously. (Actor in the advisory, education, political and administrative sector, 86).

The quote above gives insight into actors' experiences of the Faroese working individually in their practices, despite the small size of the society and close relations. Thus, there might be an absence of the negotiating involvement that can serve as a glue in the community of knowledge sharing. However, this uncovers a development point also, as changes can happen quickly in

the very small society of close relations. Faroese history also shows that this 'folk character' (being *"anti-authority and used to being self-led and inventing their practice"*) has formed the basis for cohesion in Faroese society - and proves so strong that the Faroese are increasingly working towards creating and developing the society.

We know from the Faroe Islands and other countries about visionary people – politicians, artists, activists, and the like – who have set important educational agendas. In the Faroe Islands, we have had educational pioneers that have contributed to the development of the Faroese school (Petersen, 1994; Nielsen, 1998). Pioneers have striven to develop the Faroese language and preserve and strengthen the Faroese culture. The Faroese Teacher's Union and the Faroese teacher's training programme have been leading institutions in developing education and schools anchored in Faroese society and culture and inspired by ideas and practice abroad. There are also other pioneers, for example, parent groups and other actors contributing to the development of the schools. The newest recommendation from a working group concerning well-being and achievement in the Faroese public school appointed by the Ministry of Children and Education recommends that the public school's purpose and values need to be negotiated towards values, purpose and working strategies more compatible with modern society, to embrace the more complex composition of pupils of today's society (Tilmæli um at fáa børn at trívast mennast og læra í fólkaskúlanum, 2023).

#### 15.1.3 School policy and school administration involvement

School policy and school administration involvement are core pillars in developing inclusive schools (Ainscow, 2020; Dyson, 1999). As the previous analysis reveals, there is a considerable absence of school policy and administrative involvement in school principals and practice. Thus, translating the political vision of inclusive principles into practice is complicated. The political sector might find I difficult to move from traditional school values towards modernity, as the sector represents a political and administrative environment where school policy and administration is handed over to the practice field due to the pragmatic conservative policy that characterises Faroese society (see chapter 10 and 11). This situation is exacerbated by a lack of research knowledge, as highlighted in the previous analysis, which means administrators often act on convictions and feelings rather than on local research on pedagogical and educational issues. This means that politicians and administrators may create policy and organisational strategies based on their own experiences of the traditional school, for example seeing the inclusive school through the Public Schools Act from 1997 concerning a school for all, which makes the translation and transforming processes toward inclusion difficult. As seen in the previous analysis, it is difficult to find arguments in the pragmatic field if political arguments are absent (Dyson, 1999). Because of the small size of the Faroe Islands and the small number of professionals in the administrative and political sector and in the advisory and educational sector, the need for knowledge sharing in and between the systems is essential to move an ideological vision into practice. Gaini (2013) explains that:

The limited community of academics compared to society's institutional ambitions is every day putting the Faroes to a test. Every individual becomes, principally, indispensable for the collective. If a leading

person is on sick leave for an extended period, many seats of different boards and committees will be empty (p. 37)

As pointed out in the above quote, small island communities are limited by their small populations. Thus, few people may possess specialised knowledge, making it more urgent to collaborate in networks. This precondition in the Faroes can complicate the process of transforming inclusive ideas into practice. As inclusive principles must be developed in negotiations and arguments, academia must help the political and administrative sectors with research-based and situated knowledge. However, due to the limited research on the Faroese school system, there might be a lack of arguments to develop inclusive schools based on a discussion about principles and practice. This also raises questions about which kind of local research is especially needed in very small societies such as the Faroe Islands, see also the discussion of evidence-based research and situated research in chapter 3.1. I will further discuss approaches to research in very small-scale societies in the discussion in chapter 17.

A development point is that it is quick to make changes in a very small society, as an informant highlights in the quote in chapter 15.1.2. The actors involved in the school policy development process could use this opportunity strategically to develop inclusive schools. Taking the outset in the Faroese situation, the policy can be made among the actors with a pragmatic and bottom-up policy. It is essential to work in this reality to make these strategic features visible and to take over the school system, adjust school policy and practice to a very small society, and use the advantages strategically, and cultivate networking and collaboration. Such a process should take Dyson's (1999) four discourses seriously as a dynamic model, paying attention that inclusion is not turned into an opportunistic political buzzword anchored in diversity as a political, ideological slogan imposed on the practice field. In the Faroe Islands, due to the conservative and pragmatic policy, inclusion is not even discussed at a political level and is thus not imposed on the practice field. It is more a question of a bottom-up process that needs to be facilitated by leaders, as one informant utters:

Interviewee: We are still waiting for direction from the authorities. So, it is more a question of arguing from the bottom to get any clue of direction or change (Actor in the political, administrative, advisory and educational sector, no. 79)

There are development potentials for the inclusive vision to be translated and transformed into school practice if community involvement, negotiating involvement, and policy and administrative involvement can be established. These processes may proceed slowly, as they are grounded in the local Faroes soil. However, they may be more fruitful and enduring than if the inclusive principles had been imposed on the practice field, with minor consultancy and negotiation – as has been the case in some other countries.

### 15.1.4 Argument involvement

Developing and using the argument for developing inclusive schools is the fourth core element in the whole situational approach. Without arguments concerning inclusive schools, inclusive development will not happen. Dyson (1999) argues for developing a rationale anchored in an efficacy and ethical discourse. Ainscow (2020) points out in his whole-system approach that the "lifeblood" of development points concerning inclusive schools is to find evidence to prove the effectiveness of inclusive schools and suggests the pupil's involvement in developing inclusive schools. In the analysis section on the pupils' experiences and perspectives, I used Farrell's four criteria to turn inclusive principles into practice. Through the analysis of the pupils' views using these criteria (see chapter 13), the pupils' perspectives and experiences formed solid arguments for developing inclusive schools. According to the pupils, inclusive schools are effective schools that consider well-being and learning opportunities. Consulting and listening to pupils in this research have provided valuable insight into the importance of developing quality schools, insights provided by very conscious and reflective pupils asking for quality school environment, which implies inclusive schools.

Although strong arguments for developing inclusive schools imply the need for suggestions on transforming the principles into practice by seeking the pupils' perspectives and experiences in the empirical material, argument involvement must be expanded to other social worlds and arenas. As pointed out in the previous section, it is, besides the pupils, only the special needs education field that is primarily occupied with developing arguments for inclusive schools. The advisory and educational sectors, and the administrative and political sectors are reluctant to argue for inclusive schools. This lack of argument involvement prevents the inclusive vision from prospering and being translated and transformed into practice.

The UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities provides a detailed description of what is demanded of reforming processes to work inclusively in schools:

Inclusion involves a process of systemic reform embodying changes and modifications in content, teaching methods, approaches, structures and strategies in education to overcome barriers with a vision serving to provide all students of the relevant age range with an equitable and participatory learning experience and environment that best corresponds to their requirements and preferences. Placing students with disabilities within mainstream classes without accompanying structural changes to, for example, organisation, curriculum and teaching and learning strategies do not constitute inclusion (General Comment No. 4, Article 24, United Nations, 2016).

As described above, turning inclusive principles into practice demands profound changes in all layers, not to mention the importance of argument involvement. Thus, pointing at the importance of argument involvement identifies just one missing link to finding ways to contribute to developing inclusive schools.

As pointed out elsewhere, no country has fully transformed its principles on inclusive education (Haug, 2017). However, the previous analysis has shown that, to some extent, the vision of the inclusive school has been transferred into Faroese policy documents on schools and transferred through other means, for example through the training of teachers and pedagogical supporters. Thus, the Faroe Islands are maybe in the translation phase. In contrast, the transforming phase is hard to spot, but so much more urgent to proceed with according to the experiences of pupils in the Faroese schools. In this regard, this research does not provide (detailed) suggestions on strategies to be used in the transformation process into the practical field, as provided by several researchers (e.g. Baltzer et al., 2012; Booth et al., 2004; Mitchell, 2013; Skibsted et al., 2015).

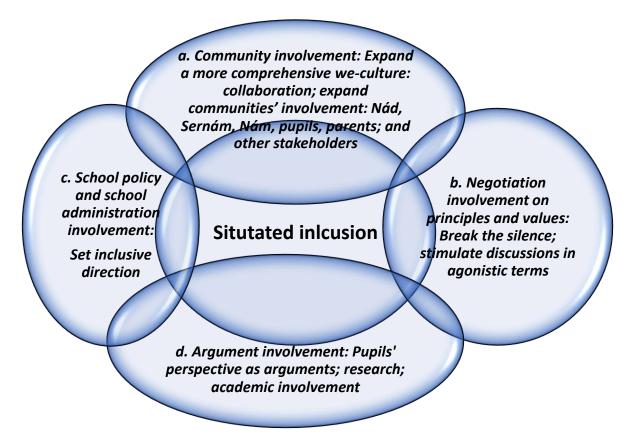
### 15.2 Situated inclusion

The ambition in all the analysis sections has been to understand the processes of developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands as a unique situation. As a result, the analysis has revealed a new understanding of inclusion in the local situation, anchored in situated knowledge instead of absolute knowledge.

Throughout the analysis crystallised in a whole-situational approach, I understand situated inclusion in the Faroe Islands with an outset in the four concepts of involvement presented previously. Together with the four concepts, the analysis has led me to develop a new understanding of the development of inclusive education, anchored in a whole situational approach, where the processes of transfer, translation and transformation must be approached by situated inclusion. The eight overall themes which have been the leading thread of the analysis mapping (see chapter 8) consisted of the themes: "invisibility" (silence), "knowledge", "attitude", "children's rights", "dilemmas", "reforms", "lonely planet" and "coherency". These themes are also addressed implicitly in this model of situated inclusion.

I have developed the concept of situated inclusion from and anchored it in the empirical analysis. The elements of situated inclusion in this concrete research will be unfolded as answers to the research questions in the chapter 16 and discussed further in chapter 17. Before turning to these chapters, I will anchor the empirical analysis in the whole situational approach model combined with points from the empirical analysis. This leads to a situated inclusion that involves the community, negotiation, policy and administration, and arguments unfolded with elements in the analysis of the situation. Situated inclusion is thus illustrated in figure 26 below with the main points found in the situation.

Figure 26 Situated inclusion



Before turning to chapter 16, I will sum up the main elements approached with situated inclusion as found in the situation in the Faroe Islands.

Situated inclusion requires us to investigate possibilities for community involvement in the concrete situation, as involvement of the different communities is considered valuable and necessary in developing inclusive schools. In the Faroe Islands as a very small society, there are both pitfalls and development points in community involvement. For example, development points include: requiring an expansion of a more comprehensive we-culture to minimise exclusionary processes and to stimulate and cultivate collaboration in agonistic terms across social worlds and arenas; and expanding community involvement concerning both Nád, Sernám, Nám, pupils, parents, and other stakeholders in developing inclusive education. Community involvement addresses especially the overall themes of "lonely planets" and "coherency".

Situated inclusion requires us to investigate the negotiation of principles and values in order to break the silence. This can be done by stimulating discussions in agonistic terms. The main obstacles to developing inclusive education in a very small society include an overall silencing which may prevent the translation and transformation. However, there are also development points found in the community of close relations and pragmatic policy that the silencing has grown out of. Negotiation involvement refers especially to the themes of "invisibility" (silence), "children's rights" and "attitudes." (See chapter 8).

Situated inclusion implies school policy and school administration involvement in order to set an inclusive direction, addressing themes of "reforms" and "dilemmas".

Situated inclusion requires argument involvement. The pupils' perspectives and experiences in the empirical material show there are strong arguments for developing inclusive schools, implying suggestions on transforming the principles into practice, such as developing learning environments that support pupils' well-being while catching and taking care of challenges. This may benefit from working in close relationships, where the adults work from an agonistic approach to understand the social processes both between the adults and between the children. Argument involvement implies also involving other social worlds and arenas, for example addressing knowledge-heavy institutions such as universities that can research and communicate arguments, which of course addresses the overall theme of "knowledge".

The elements of situated inclusion in this concrete research will be unfolded as answers to the research questions in the upcoming chapter 16 and discussed further in chapter 17.

# Part IV: Answering the research questions, discussion and conclusion

Part IV elaborates on the whole research. In chapter 16, the threads from all analysis sections are combined in search of answers to the four processual questions that form the research guidelines for this dissertation. A discussion on the research processes follows this, the research findings and contributions (chapter 17). In the final chapter, 18, a short conclusion is presented.

## Chapter 16. From the analysis to answering the research questions leading to "situated inclusion"

This chapter follows the threads from the previous analysis section using a whole situational approach to researching how the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands can be understood. This leading to the concept of "situated inclusion" developed through this research. This chapter seeks to answer the four processual questions that constitute the research guidelines for this project.

This research study on Inclusion in the Faroese public school: From political vision into educational practices in tensions between general and special needs education has been explored with an ecological and situated approach using the methodological and theoretical framework of SA (Clarke et al., 2018; 2022). First, the research was approached with the processual research questions to unfold the processes of the research topic (chapters 1 and 2). The overall research topic has thus explored these four processual research questions, weaving them into each other. The empirical material was analysed through conceptual and theoretical approaches drawn from the research literature presented in the state-of-the-art chapter (chapter 3). Chapter 4 presented the Faroe Islands as the overall analytical platform and entity. The analysis was conducted in accordance with the SA approach by mapping the empirical material in several steps (chapter 5). The analysis continued by using the eight overall themes, with the 67 underlying themes, identified in the empirical material (chapters 6, 7 and 8). In chapter 9, the analytical steps were summarised, and the structure of the abductive analysis presented. Finally, the abductive analysis (chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15) is told as a synthesis that creates a thick description, starting with the policy documents that form the fundamental basis for understanding the motivations and conditions for the Faroese school system to transfer and translate the inclusive principles. This is followed by an analysis of experiences, activities and perspectives from the actors and actants that are part of the transfer, translation and transforming processes (Christensen & Ydesen, 2015; Cowen, 2006, 2009) of developing inclusive education from their positions in their social worlds and arenas.

The above analytical steps aim to answer the four processual research questions asked as a starting point for the entire research. Therefore, I will answer each research question individually, with the analysis as the backdrop. While the outcome of the study presented in this chapter is divided into four research questions and thus told 'in pieces', the result of the whole situational analysis is meant as a coherent and consistent story about the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands. That said, the answers to the four processual research questions will, by nature of the whole SA approach of this study, overlap in some of following pages. To capture the processes of transferring, translating, and transforming the global idea of inclusive education to the local situation in the Faroe Islands, I have had to freeze the processes to present the content of these processes occurring in the situation. Therefore I have cut the analysis into parts that enable me to move out of these processes and freeze them in their position to analyse and write up the content.

### 16.1 Answer to research question 1

What is the motivation for the Faroese political vision for an inclusive public school, and what are the national and international political conditions that influence the decision to transfer, translate and transform the vision into the school system?

### 16.1.1 Motivation for the Faroese political vision for an inclusive public school

The whole situational analysis has taken its outset in the idea that international political visions on school travel globally and meet local cultures and environments. Hence, that is also the case with the global vision of inclusion, which implies that the idea of inclusive education is being transferred from the global to local Faroese culture, where a translation and transforming process is supposed to be initiated. However, the analysis revealed the absence of overall initiatives and leadership to lead these processes. These results can partly be explained by understanding the relationship between a culture/practice and the political sector in a small social entity where policy and practice are almost identical. In this situational climate where policy and practice melt, the analysis raises the question of where the pushes to initiate and motivate the inclusive development processes should come from. Although being in an exceptional situation of being a geographically remote and very small society with historical dependency on Denmark, the Faroe Islands is at the same time also in the middle of the global world inspired by international politics and research that affect practice. Hence, despite being subject to the basic conditions of a small society, there are also points of similarity with the international setting. To take the example of Denmark, although Denmark joined the Salamanca Statement in 1994, it was not until 2012 that the principles on inclusion were incorporated in Danish legislation. The analysis reveals that the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands finds itself in the middle of cross-pressures from different and divergent global school policy trends and special features of local policy practice and local traditions and culture.

Hence, the answer to the research question concerning the motivation for the Faroese political vision for an inclusive public school, if searching in the policy documents, is that there is no political leadership to initiate motivation other than found in the policy documents concerning the special educational needs area. This finding was drawn on the fact that there are few formulations of inclusive school development in the overall policy documents on school. Moreover, almost no political discussion on inclusive education is seen in the records from the Faroese Parliament and the Faroese Government (see chapter 10). Hence, the analysis concludes that the inclusive vision has not yet landed in the political system. This means the political authorities have not taken the leadership of further translating and transforming the vision's processes into practice.

Despite the above finding, the global transfer of political ideals for school also finds other paths, as found in the empirical material from the practical field in Faroese society. Motivation for the inclusive school can be found in signs indicating that society is shifting from tradition to modernity, where inclusive principles can be a way of moving society and school towards modernity and thus into the future. The signs of motivation from the practical field are found in an increased awareness of children's rights combined with other incentives taken in society concerning individual rights, for example, women's right to abortion and pressure to expand the rights of homosexuals (see chapters 11 and 12). These changes in the society lead to an urge to alter the purpose and content of the public school, an urge that questions traditional values. Faroese society is in the middle of a cultural reform period that is moving the society towards a global and modern era, as has been pointed out by scholars of Faroese culture (e.g. Gaini, 2013; 2015).

The analysis reveals an increased awareness of children's rights and well-being as signs of moving in an inclusive direction (chapter 11). This is seen in several political initiatives on schools to improve strategies to support the practical field to work with children's well-being (Fróðskaparsetur Føroya, 2015, 2019), and in other initiatives, for example, teaching material on children's rights (Nám, 2017). There are also signs in practice that schools and actors within and surrounding the schools are trying to translate inclusive principles into their local practices. Thus, the inclusive vision's transferral is given a local substance that can pave the way from translation to transformation, holding on to a Faroese cultural trait that includes both the local and the global.

Although the political vision of inclusive education is relatively silent, there are signs of an urge to develop more inclusive education. The financial support and overall interest in my research from the political and academic sector may be interpreted as an incentive to promote inclusive education. Furthermore, also in relation to this study, the overall interest from the practical field to contribute with knowledge, information and as informants for the empirical material also contributes to the process of developing inclusion in schools. Interest in inclusion was also visible at a theme day for actors in the Faroese school system. Together with my supervisors and the Faculty of Education, I arranged a theme day about inclusive schools and presented some tentative empirical results from my research. The findings in this research demonstrate an overall openness and interest in the field of inclusive education as a mean of developing the school system. As a researcher, I have also participated in creating awareness and motivation for the inclusive school. My research is part of this process to capture transfer processes and motivate to initiate processes in an inclusive direction.

## 16.1.2 National and international political conditions influence the decision to translate and transform the vision into the school system

As seen in the answer above, the decision to translate and transform the vision into the practice remains to be taken. However, the Faroe Islands must be considered as being committed to inclusive principles as it has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities. One explanation for the absence of local political decisions can probably be found in the Faroe Islands' historical dependency on Denmark, resulting in the Faroese continuing to

practice random and not conscious and independent school policy (see chapter 10). Another explanation for the absence of local political decisions on translating and transforming the inclusive vision into the practice could be that the Faroe Islands are acting on the global scene, as other societies. Hence, the Faroe Islands are also caught up in a cross pressure of different school policy agendas, for example both in a global policy of accountability and one of This explanation is reinforced as the analysis reveals that the accountability inclusion. discourse, for example realised since 2006 in the Faroese participation in the PISA assessments, has been far more discussed and legalised in the legislation and policy documents compared with the principles of inclusion in the Faroe Islands. A third explanation for the absence of local political decisions on translating and transforming the inclusive principles into practice is found in the Faroese situation of being a very small political and administrative entity. This is exemplified by the fact that, although the Faroese parliament has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities, no political discussion of this has followed (see chapter 10). As the Faroe Islands has a very small political and administrative setting that comprises few people who hold several positions, policy in the Faroe Islands will likely be created by and with practitioners. This contrasts with more comprehensive policy and administrative entities where policy and the practical field are likely to be separated. This is addressed and problematised by Ball et al. (2012), asserting that school policy is usually written by governments, while policy in practice involves negotiation, contestation, or struggle between different groups "who may lie outside the formal machinery of official policy making" (Ball et al. 2012, p. 2). The analysis reveals that this division between policy and practice is not the case in the Faroe Islands. Instead, it is, to a large extent practice that governs itself and thus creates policy – or leads to an absence of policy - through the practice. These special features of practising school policy enactment in the Faroe Islands are further complicated by the "social ecologies of smallness" (Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018, p. 340), which tend to produce silencing that challenges the production of an overall school policy. Following this argument, the political condition influencing the decision to develop inclusive education can be traced to break-ups in and silence in the local culture. This is shown as a pressure among actors and actants in the different social worlds and arenas to alter school practice to be more compatible with society moving into modernity in a cross-pressure of different cultural, educational, and school values (see chapters 11 and 12). The analysis reveals that these social convulsions are in process in the different sub-practices, but these convulsions have yet to be fully formed and led. Hence, the analysis concludes that an overall (political) leadership must be responsible for pushing the translation and transforming processes concerning developing inclusive education. The analysis points in the direction that school practice, which could lead to overall school policies, remains in the different sub-practices.

### 16.2 Answer to research question 2

What are the strategies and structural and organisational measures to translate and transform the inclusive agenda into school culture and practice?

### 16.2.1 Strategies to translate and transform the inclusive agenda into practice.

As the previous answer reveals, there is no overall (political) leadership of the inclusive principles into practice, which means that the inclusive principles are not translated to apply to the whole school system. The overall lack of translation of the inclusive principles is revealed through the actors' experiences in almost all the social worlds and arenas, pointing to lacking overall strategies to work inclusively. The analysis discusses the need to translate inclusive principles into a Faroese understanding of inclusive education. These must be the basis for laying out the framework for the strategies to work further in an inclusive direction and transform the principles into practice. As pointed out, current school policy, as seen in the political legislation, for example in the Public School Act (Fólkaskúlalógin, 1997), does not encourage an overall school policy strategy to work in an inclusive direction. Therefore, if inclusive education is to be developed in the Faroese schools, inclusion must be worded in the comprehensive legislation concerning the overall school policy.

The analysis reveals that school policy concerning inclusive education is based on and focuses on the special needs education field, which is characterised by a compensatory approach to the relationship between special needs education and general education (see chapter 14). Thus, the current political and administrative strategies to develop inclusive education are incorporated in the legislation on the special needs education fields (Kunngerð um sernámsfrøði, 2018), which has recently been formalised in the Faroese school legislation. However, to develop an inclusive school, the legislation must involve the wider educational community without neglecting the need to incorporate the special needs education field in the overall legislative and strategic considerations. If inclusion is just legislated in the special needs education field and not in the legislation for the whole school, inclusive school development will not proceed. Inclusive education must be approached with a broad understanding (Haug, 2017), where the general school takes responsibility to work inclusively in terms of involving different approaches to meet the diversity of pupils where inclusive special needs education (Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2013) could be a way of approaching difference (Norwich, 2008).

With a broad understanding of inclusion, inclusion becomes a matter of finding ways to develop practices that meet all pupils' needs, which sometimes might mean establishing bridges between the different social worlds and arenas of different special educational needs. It is essential to recognise that approaching inclusion is a fluid and movable concept that pervasively explores ways of and coherency in providing all pupils opportunities to quality schools (Florian, 2014b; Hedegaard-Sørensen, 2022). These processes are further complicated by the many cross-pressures of influences constantly seeping into the situation. The analysis points out that inclusive strategies must recognise that inclusive school environments involve dilemmas that must be addressed and worked on as a fundamental condition of inclusive pedagogical principles and practice that pops up in endless ways concerning school policy and everyday practice in schools (Baltzer & Tetler, 2005).

The task of political leadership of inclusion could be to be inspired by and involved in this negotiation and discussion of values as an ongoing process, which could create an overall foundation for inclusive school policy. This could allow the development of inclusive education in the Faroe Islands to become situated - and therefore maintained in the local culture,

and at the same time, moveable and inspired by new trends and research from the global world in ways that engage those who must carry out the task. Understanding inclusive education as situated could avoid establishing strategies that solely address structural and organisational measures in the school system. For example, this implies rethinking the special needs education field (see also chapter 16.3.1) with a more situated inclusive approach, which will be unfolded more in section 16.5.

### 16.2.3 Structural and organisational measures in school culture and practice

Structural and organisational measures that translate and transform the inclusive principles stem primarily from the special needs education area (Fólkaskúlaráðið, 2011; Kunngerð um førleikastovur, 2019; Kunngerð um sernámsfrøði, 2018; Mentamálaráðið, 2014b). A concrete structural and organisational measure to develop inclusive schools is the establishment of Competence Centres (CCs) in the schools (Mentamálaráðið, 2012). These structural and organisational measures have recently been incorporated into the legislation (Kunngerð um førleikastovur, 2019). The analysis points out that, for these measures to have an inclusive development effect, they need to be explicitly unfolded and translated into guidelines and frameworks to support the transformation process of inclusive education. The establishment of the CC could be a place to start developing inclusive schools, but the analysis reveals that other translation remains to be done. For example, this includes specifying a framework for how to use knowledge between the professionals and the different practices within and surrounding the schools. Thus, a more explicitly formulated purpose and a framework for collaboration are called for. The same applies to the recent establishment of an increasing amount of special needs education settings in the schools (Kunngerð um at skipa serflokkar, 2019). If they are to be a part of the overall inclusive direction, there needs to be a far more inclusive framework and incentives that involve the whole school and not the least the teachers and pedagogical supporters and their collaboration (see chapter 14.4.1); collaboration between the supportive system and the school (see chapeter14.4.3); and challenging the understanding of being a professional in an inclusive school (see chapter 14.4.2).

Partly due to lacking strategies and lacking structural and organisational measures, the transformation of inclusive principles into practice has not proceeded. Thus, inclusive education is challenged as it demands a reform of the school's purpose and content, which needs to be followed up by school policy and administration and anchored in the local culture and practice. Additionally, this calls for community involvement, negotiation involvement and argument involvement, which form the essential elements in the concept of situated inclusion developed in this study, which I will return to at the end of this chapter (chapter 16.5).

### 16.3 Answer to research question 3

What are the experiences and activities of actors (teachers, school leaders, advisers, pupils, and parents) within the school system participating in the translation and transforming of the vision into school culture and practice with a focus on the tension between general and special needs education?

The analysis reveals that the experiences and activities of the actors participating in the translation and transforming process are highly influenced by the invisible and silent political direction. The lack of inclusive political direction, the lack of frameworks and the lack of guidelines lead to arbitrariness in practising inclusive education. Consequently, school leaders, teachers, pedagogical supporters, advisers, educators, and other actors within and surrounding the schools decide individually how or whether to engage with the inclusive principles in practice. Subsequently, different attitudes act as signs and language for inclusive and exclusive processes (see chapters 12 and 13).

This is further complicated, as the actors experience that the purpose and content of the public school are anchored in traditional values that only prioritise subject-based learning. Also, the public school is seen as moving towards a new and altered perspective on the purpose of the school. The OECD-influenced standardisation measurements incorporated in the Faroese school system in 2006 and since developed further (see also 16.1.2) may have superseded the practical, relational pedagogical practice of following the child's natural development – this has created a dichotomy between the 'soft' and the 'hard'. Being stuck in navigating contradictory value sets (the soft and the hard) while also lacking guidelines and direction from the authorities and a common language for inclusion (Booth et al., 2004), the translation and transforming processes towards an inclusive direction seem deemed not to be born. However, the "smell' in the empirical material leads in another direction. As pointed out previously, according to the analysis, the actors experience an educational and pedagogical climate affected by cultural changes that see a movement from a traditional, conservative, homogeneous society towards modernity and diversity, where values start to be questioned and debated. These processes are affected by the social ecology of smallness as a precondition, producing silence as a cultural premise and leaving the practical field to interpret the inclusive principles individually and in silence. Thus, although the discussions and negotiations have started in different local social worlds, they have not expanded to the broader social arenas or whole The analysis points to discussions and negotiations concerning inclusive communities. principles and practice, primarily found in special needs education settings and the CC. However, the wider school environment is not engaged in these discussions in, for example the broader formal and informal pedagogical forum in the schools and other institutions such as Sernám, Nám and Nád. A developing point here could be to work on these social worlds in the understanding of groups of actors - or communities (Ainscow, 2020) to contribute to breaking the silence. These analysis findings concur with previous research (e.g., Hansen et al., 2020), namely that the collaborative patterns inside and surrounding the school practice are characterised by, besides being arbitrary, a strong consensus culture, which may result in nonreflected perspectives and understandings that maintain the status quo and thus fail to contribute to change and development towards a more inclusive school (Hansen et al., 2020). These findings imply that striving to obtain a consensus culture does not contribute to inclusive school development. Instead, it is fruitful to insist on working in agonistic terms (Clarke et al., 2022; Koutsouris et al., 2022; Mouffe, 1999, 2000) to meet diversity and remain curious towards different perspectives. Taking a situated approach, every single sub-practice must be engaged in developing inclusive school environments. This indicates that developing inclusive education is less about introducing particular techniques or new organisational arrangements and more about social learning processes within different practices (Ainscow, 2020; Hedegaard-Soerensen, 2021). Hence, developing inclusion requires, besides structure, organisational and strategical measures to develop new knowledge about how different disciplines, professions, practices, and forms of knowledge can be integrated and linked in various ways (Hansen et al., 2020).

Developing inclusion requires that the whole school system is professionalised to work inclusively. That means that teachers, pedagogical supporters, and other staff supporting the schools must be trained to encounter the culture and practice situated to practice inclusive education (Vijayavarathan-R & Óskarsdóttir, 2023). This is a challenge because of the legislation on and curriculum for the teachers' and pedagogical supporters' training programme (Kunngerð um útbúgving av fólkaskúlalærarum, 2021; Kunngerð um útbúgving til námsfrøðing, 2021) and because of the history and status these educations and pedagogical and educational research have in the Faroese University and society (Harryson, 2023), (see also chapter 12.7). This also pertains to how academia approaches its role in contributing to developing a Faroese inclusive public school. (See chapter 15.1.3)

## 16.3.1 The actors act in tension and dilemmas between compensatory and inclusive approaches.

The analysis shows that the current development of inclusive schools in the Faroe Islands is anchored in a compensatory understanding of the relationship between special and general education. This results in the current development towards inclusion being anchored in the special needs education field and separated from general education. Thus, the strategical, organisational, structural, and practical changes meant to develop inclusive education are associated with a compensatory approach to "include" the difference (Norwich, 2014), which means the Faroe Islands have adopted a narrow approach rather than a broad approach to the inclusive school (Ainscow et al., 2006; Haug, 2017). As the Faroe Islands' education system is in the beginnings of developing inclusive education, a discussion on which approach to take, broad or narrow, remains to be taken, as indicated by the perspectives and experiences of the actors in the empirical material. According to the findings in the analysis, a broadly inclusive approach is desirable to promote inclusive development, but this approach requires significant effort and a shift in understanding. On the other hand, a broad approach must be anchored in local policy and culture. Therefore, compensatory and inclusive approaches may have to be combined to handle the dilemmas that are a fundamental condition of inclusive education (Baltzer & Tetler, 2005).

As conceptual approaches, both the compensatory and inclusive approaches have limitations that may bypass ecological principles of relations. Therefore, seeking the positions and experiences of actors and actants acting in the practical field is crucial. As seen in the analysis, ensuring structural reforms while not working on training the professionals to work inclusively does not lead to transforming inclusive principles into practice. Drawing on these arguments, developing inclusive education requires the cultivation of agonistic approaches that allow involvement through negotiation and engagement to prosper, despite the potential different value sets of the actors and actants involved (Koutsouris et al., 2022). Embracing what makes people different in agonistic terms involves creating channels through which collective passions can be expressed while allowing enough possibility for identification so that opponents are seen as legitimate adversaries rather than enemies (Mouffe, 1999, 2000). I will return to the discussion about negotiation involvement with an agonistic approach in chapters 16.4 and 16.5.

#### 16.3.2 Being a pupil in a school system without a visible and formulated inclusive vision

Although this research, in focussing on the situation, did not give any particular actors and actants more attention than others, the pupils' perspectives and experiences have had an extraordinary power of expression in the analysis. Hence the empirical material produced by the pupils has created the fundamental understanding and developed arguments for developing inclusive school. The experience of being a pupil in a school system without clear aims to be an inclusive school is highlighted by the pupils. Lacking supportive measures to work inclusively influences the pupils' experiences of the quality of school life and the quality of the school. The fact that other actors are not working politically nor consciously and professionally with inclusive development has consequences for the pupils. The production of silencing of the inclusive vision, which leaves the pupils to the professionals' arbitrary understanding and belonging. This experience is not compatible with what pupils are identify as the meaning and purpose of school and thus also incompatible with what pupils are identify as quality of school life (Farrell, 2004; Tangen, 2009).

The challenges of being a pupil in small, homogeneous societies like the Faroe Islands, where there is a strong sense of a 'we-culture' without an accompanying comprehensive understanding of the 'we-culture', can lead to exclusionary consequences. The analysis of the empirical material from the pupils highlights how the professionals' attitudes based on kinship and relations can lead to exclusion. This is a significant factor affecting the school's inclusivity. Although Faroese society's interconnectedness, interdependency and intimacy in relations (Hayfield, 2022) can help create an inclusive school, there are also pitfalls. While pupils' voices on practical matters are relatively well heard, some pupils feel excluded from the 'we-culture' due to teachers' attitudes. Moreover, some pupils get stuck in strategical, organisational, and structural measures mainly established with a compensatory understanding of the relationship between general and special needs education.

From an overall perspective, the empirical material produced by interviewing pupils on their perspectives and experiences of an inclusive school environment calls for a more central and

active role for pupils that would allow them to influence teaching and learning practices (Hedegaard-Sørensen & Grumløse, 2020). The insight into the pupils' perspectives can provide an understanding of what it will take to achieve inclusion and can make a decisive contribution to the development of inclusive education. This is even more evident concerning all pupils' voices, that is, those at risk of stigmatisation and exclusion. In developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands, the pupils' voices can contribute if they are listened to and consulted with as experts in their school life. In a search for school effectiveness and quality of school life, including pupils' perspectives can empower and serve as an 'inclusive direction indicator' for where to look and how to listen. The pupils point at revising school content, structure, and strategies to embrace differences in the pupils.

#### 16.4 Answer to research question 4

What are other professionals' views, perspectives, and positions supporting, advising, educating, and administrating the school system and other stakeholders on inclusive education?

The analytical findings show that the actors surrounding the school do not take an active part in developing inclusive schools. This interpretation results from the stakeholders being written out of the (limited) strategic measures to develop the inclusive school; this concerns both actors such as parents and other stakeholders and institutions such as NáD, Nám, and Sernám. The analysis reveals that inclusive education needs to involve interrelated ecological sub-practices, collaboration patterns, creating and sharing knowledge, and involving pupils, parents, and other stakeholders as collaborative partners to work ecologically towards situated inclusion. The analysis has revealed that community involvement is essential for developing inclusive education, although there are both pitfalls and developing points found in the empirical material concerning community involvement. The analysis assumes that although Faroese society is moving towards more heterogeneity and individualism as a modern society, the social relational feature of being a very small society remains, with its traditional family and relational patterns. This is seen in the empirical material concerning the examples of outsiders/foreigners moving to villages consisting of traditional relational bonds in the community in a social ecology of smallness where the way of practice is performed in silence. This results in lacking frameworks and a lack of language for including a new social world into the existing traditional environment, challenging inclusive school development. A development point could be to set the framework for migrants to receive information and, not least, invite them to be involved in schools' structure, organisation, framework, and content.

Other examples in the empirical material concerning community involvement are the traditional ways of approaching community with a strong aspiration for a 'we-culture', which might challenge inclusive environments. For example, minorities are in danger of being set outside the 'we-culture' and thus marginalised in the community. Developing community

involvement to support the development of inclusion in schools calls for an expanding understanding of the 'we-culture' in more comprehensive and modern terms. This development might be hindered if community involvement is not recognised as being essential in developing inclusive education. On the other side, by considering, involving, and even expanding the social worlds and arenas of all possible actors and actants, inclusion can be promoted. Including minority groups of actors in danger of being marginalised (e.g., a group of pupils and parents in special educational needs) together with a new understanding of professionalism can contribute to developing the schools in a more inclusive direction.

The main findings are that although obstacles to developing inclusive education in a very small society for example, due to silencing and the social ecology of smallness hindering the transition of a traditional understanding of school into more modern understanding, there are also development points found in the community of close relations and it associated pragmatic policy that could be harnessed for the development of the inclusive school in the Faroe Islands.

## 16.5 A whole situational Faroese approach to situated inclusion

The overall research topic to be explored in this dissertation is *Inclusion in the Faroese public school: From political vision into educational practices in tensions between general and special needs education.* Thus, the main task has been to explore processes of transferring, translating and transforming inclusive principles into practice. After researching all possible sites in the empirical field, supported by research literature in the field, I have drawn on the work of several researchers to anchor the research on inclusive education in local policy, society and culture (Ainscow, 2020; Haug, 2017). Drawing on researchers in policy, society and culture in small societies (e.g.Baldacchino & Veenendaal, 2018) applied to the Faroese societal and cultural situation (Gaini, 2013, 2015; Hayfield, 2022; Hayfield & Schug, 2019), I have built the analysis findings and conclusions on these societal, cultural and relational research insights. Together with the empirical findings and research literature, the research has taken a Faroese situated approach that has enabled me to develop a whole situational approach to situated inclusion.

My approach to situated inclusion addresses four core involvement elements. These involvements comprise community involvement, negotiating involvement, policy and administration involvement, and argument involvement.

On the basis of these four types of involvement, which are anchored in the findings of this study, I put forward the following four recommendations for the development of situated inclusion in the Faroese public school:

- 1. Community involvement should be developed with a broad, comprehensive approach in agonistic rather than consensus terms, acknowledging contributions from different social worlds and arenas.
- 2. Negotiating involvement should be developed and used to break the silence and stimulate educational and pedagogical discussions concerning the purpose and content of school.

- 3. Policy and administration involvement should be developed with a broad, inclusive approach, not failing to address special educational needs in a broader inclusive framework.
- 4. Argument involvement should be developed to visualise the rationale for developing inclusive education. Argument involvement also aims to elucidate what is required to develop quality schools, for example, to professionalise the school system with a situated approach, including what is required of and by professionals working in an inclusive school with a situated approach.

These four involvements will also be discussed in the next chapter.

# Chapter 17. The discussion

This chapter reflects on and discusses the whole research project, rather than going into detail with the main findings and results, which were discussed in chapter 16 in relation to the research questions. As a scientific work that has involved the time, resources and commitment of many actors, this research should not be aimless (Clarke et al., 2018), and, indeed, is not aimless. This research aspires to contribute with research-based knowledge concerning three fundamental areas I consider important to address, inspired by Karpatschof's (2015) understanding of scientific work. These are:

- practical and local contributions,
- methodological contributions, and
- theoretical contributions.

I will let these three areas of contribution guide the discussion. However, these areas only provide reading guidelines - as the points in this chapter mainly deal with all three areas simultaneously and thus cross each other in the presentation.

Theory is an inquiry, which is to say, a practice: a practice of the seemingly fictive world that empiricism describes, a study of the conditions of legitimacy of practices that is in fact our own (Deleuze, 2001a, p. 36. In: Coleman & Ringrose, 2013, p. 2).

With an outset in the quote from Deleuze, this chapter reflects on the research process by questioning and discussing the relationship between theory and methodology and the conditions under which this empirical research was conducted, as wells as the possible consequences, outcomes and impacts of the research (Clarke et al., 2018; Coleman & Ringrose, 2013).

## 17.1 Practical and local contributions

After this extensive research journey in the political and practical school environment in the Faroe Islands, the main finding was that the development inclusion of inclusion must be approached in a manner that is situated in the local environment. This concurs with the advice of Haug (2017), who recommends that each country develops inclusion based on its own understanding and perspectives (see also chapter 1). These recommendations and the findings of this research contribute to developing situated ways of developing inclusion that can bring development to local educational settings This research can also contribute to global developments concerning inclusion, as countries can learn from each other's experiences in developing inclusive education locally.

While this research draws on international research literature that is relevant to the research context and societal context of this study, the Faroese situation is unique and must be approached as such. Gathering the key threads from chapter 16, this dissertation concludes that the development of inclusive education requires four main types of involvement: community

involvement, negotiating involvement, policy and administration involvement and argument involvement. When understanding inclusion as an involvement and situational matter, developing inclusion is less about the structure and organisational and strategical measures or particular techniques and more about social learning processes within different practices and sub-practices (Ainscow, 2020; Hansen et al., 2020; Hedegaard-Soerensen, 2021). Leading on from these arguments, the main finding in this research is that inclusive principles require involvement from several standpoints. In the Faroese case, first and foremost, involvement is needed from the political leadership to initiate, encourage and lead the processes of inclusive school development situated in the experiences, perspectives, views and positions of involved actors and actants from various social worlds and arenas to discuss and negotiate how to approach and develop inclusion. Researching in this very small society has revealed an immense wealth of reflective actors. I have highlighted the pupils as inspiring actors in this project. The pupils were impressively precise about their experiences, perspectives, and views on the inclusive school, emphasising that their support and desire for inclusive schools.

In taking a whole situational approach, the research is limited to overall perspectives and considerations. Thus, despite the extensive empirical work of this study, there remain unexplained conditions that further research could work on, for example by zooming in on the several sub-practices in the situation that have been identified and even created and developed during this research. This research project has been ongoing for over three years. Thus, the situation has inevitably changed concerning school development during this period. The research has been performed in a situation that has been developing, and thus, the focus of the research has changed and evolved through time while working on this project. The literature review and theories and concepts I brought into the project from the beginning have been added to, and some have been squeezed out. For example, the initially central concept of 'implement' was at an early stage shifted to the concept of 'transform', which was again altered to the three main foci points of 'transfer, translate and transform' (Cowen, 2006; 2009). This is due to the research process using an ecological and grounded SA approach, which revealed a need to understand the development of inclusive education in terms of transfer, translation, and transformation. A new theoretical concept, 'agonism', that I had not considered in the initial framing of the research became a bearing concept during the final analytical stage. The eight overall themes found in the early stage of this research evolved around 'attitude', 'children's rights', 'invisibility (silence)', 'knowledge', 'dilemmas', 'reforms', 'lonely planets', and 'coherency' (see chapter 8) were the leading threads and formed the basis for the analytical mapping processes. In the further abductive analysis, the themes provided the outset for further theorising. Hence, the threads helped to form the outcome of the abductive analysis.

The research has been created along a research process where the research and the researcher have been part of the process that was being researched. Consequently, the development in the process has overhauled the research. Furthermore, one can say that the aim of the research has been accomplished, namely, some development has proceeded. Some examples of such development include the new recommendations on well-being and achievement in the Faroese Public School (Tilmæli um at fáa børn at trívast mennast og læra í fólkaskúlanum, 2023) worked out by a working group appointed by the Ministry of Children and Education that use

the inclusive principles as a bearing element for developing the public school. Looking retrospectively at the research process, the empirical material and thus the analysis would be different if the situation were another in time, space, and place. Therefore, taking a situational approach (Clarke et al., 2018) has shed light on the importance of approaching inclusion as situated. Developing inclusive education always rests on an ongoing pedagogical conversation and negotiations in and between the social worlds and arenas. In accordance with this, the situation is always in the process of becoming (see also chapter 2.1.1).

As argued in the findings of the analysis (see chapter 16), inclusive principles must be developed in negotiations and arguments. Academia must help the political and administrative sectors with research-based and situated knowledge. However, due to the limited research on the Faroese school system, more arguments might be needed to develop inclusive schools based on a discussion of principles and practice. Gaini (2013) points to the problems of the limited number of academics in the Faroe Islands (discussed in chapter 15), although he does not discuss what kinds of research are needed in very small societies. In that respect, I consider this research to contribute significantly due to the situated approach offered by SA. This gives us the opportunity to uncover both practical pitfalls and opportunities anchored in the local environment that a predominantly evidence-based approach would not have uncovered, for example Mitchell's evidence-based strategies to develop inclusion (Mitchell, 2013). In an evidence-based approach, failing to address the situatedness of the studied phenomena would mean the cultural, local foundation for keeping a school is absent. This criticism challenges 'big-data' approaches to research in pedagogical and educational development (Ball, 2016; Pettersson et al., 2017), approaches which are linked to what Clarke et al. (2022) posit are problematic aspects of neoliberalism affecting academia and research:

(A) major challenge in these times for all qualitative inquiry and research in general are the pernicious consequences of neoliberalism for the academy, especially public higher education, these include massive structural changes in universities, the near collapse of public funding of higher education [...].and tremendous preference for hard sciences, and the growth of audit cultures in the academy. All have huge implications for how we do our work, who may fund it, what kinds of research get funded, etc. (p. 71).

My research project has advocated and taken an approach that questions how to engage with the existing evidence base and large-assessment-based research and relate these to a situational analysis where people act and negotiate in relation to pedagogical and educational issues. But as very small societies are limited by their small populations, there may be few people who possess specialist knowledge, making it more urgent to collaborate in networks.

A central finding in this research is that inclusion (and overall educational and pedagogical development) needs political leadership. However, a question remains of who is to provide the knowledge base for the political authorities on the school area to take this leadership. This leads me to argue that school policy must be researched in additional or other terms than based on big data and large-scale assessments. There is a need for research capable of theorising and raising critique that can contribute to developing school policy. Therefore, there is a need to develop educational and pedagogical research that can contribute to the development of school policy and practice that is locally anchored and situated. There is a need for practice-focused

research that can be used in practice locally (Berliner, 2009; Clarke et al., 2018). Producing such research was a key contribution of this research project.

#### 17.2 Methodological contribution

Despite being conscious of the need to research inclusive school development with an ecological and situated approach, I have found this research approach challenging and complicated to accomplish. Seen in retrospect, it has been a considerable task both to research among the actors (see also chapter 7.3 on researching in one's own culture) in the practical field and to simultaneously use a multisite and interdisciplinary study (see chapters 2.3 and 5.1). Being so wide open for intakes from all possible sites, SA as a methodological and theoretical approach can be criticised for being so wide open that it produces just common sense, or for being so complex that the research becomes difficult and even impossible to communicate consistently and coherently. Thus, an SA study is in danger of not being understood by even knowledgeable scholars in the field. Geertz (1973) points out that ethnographers should be careful not to make broad generalisations based on their observations and argues further:

The notion that one can find the essence of national societies, civilizations, great religions, or whatever summed up in so-called "typical" small towns and villages is palpable nonsense. What one finds in small towns and villages is (alas) small-town and village life (p. 320).

The SA approach used in this research project has combined and intertwined different methods and disciplines and presented them in a coherent story with coherent analytical points, with the hope that the research avoids the above risk of producing "palpable nonsense" and instead theorises on inclusive education in a useful and broader meaning and sense. Including existing research, both methodological, theoretical and empirical to avoid "palpable nonsense" has also been a way to create an eye for my own blind spots. One blind spot I have revealed is my preassumptions, that the Faroe Islands was further along in understanding and transforming the inclusive principles into practice. Thus the pre-non-knowledge and silencing might have been blind spots, which the theoretical, methodological and empirical approach have uncovered. Another example of blind spots being uncovered through this research has been the understanding of the relationship between Denmark and the Faroe Islands concerning school development. As a presumption, I understood the Faroese school system as being nearly a copy of Danish school system. Through the research I have gained a different understanding of the conditions and how both global and local influences frame school policy and practice in the Faroe Islands. Thus, presumptions have been altered during the research proceedings, as I have also developed a critical eye on the school situation. This insight can be difficult to communicate in a very small society that I am a part of, and thus it can be difficult for me to contribute to breaking the silence. To work as a researcher is to relate to the situation with a critical approach, as a way of becoming knowledgeable. Meanwhile, an ethical demand to scientific work is to refrain from overstepping ethical boundaries. Seen in retrospect, I have been part of the research's social arenas and worlds and have been contributing to the very mistakes I have pointed out in the research. Before starting this research, I presumed that the mistakes or obstacles for developing inclusive education further were to be found in the different social worlds and arenas. As previously pointed out, it is in fact a more profound political leadership of the inclusive vison that is missing, a lack of political leadership that I also have been a part of, as an adviser in the administrative and political sector. The SA approach taken in this research has helped reveal this blind spot – that it is not a certain system, organisation or actor(s), which prevents the inclusive vison to flourish. Thus, the challenge of developing inclusive education is not individualised, but must be found in the interaction processes between the different elements in the situation.

Thus, to some extent, the 'bird's eye view' (see chapter 5.2) has dealt with the challenge of avoiding "palpable nonsense" (Geertz, 1973) and avoid blind spots, while also limiting and reducing the scope of the research. On the other hand, the project has not gone into depth with zooming in on selective social worlds, arenas, actors or actants. Of course, such zooming-in was not the aim of this project, as the point of SA is not to privilege any elements but to analyse the processes triggered in the different social worlds and arenas – to cope with a large amount of empirical material in the situation per se and to choose what to include and not include. The danger with choosing and zooming in on one angle or perspective, for example, just looking at the classroom practice, is that the ecological perspective gets lost. The strength of SA is that one, as a researcher, is forced to research all the elements that appear and to consider their relevance for the situational analysis and analyse them simultaneously.

The situational analysis approach is eminent at capturing processes with an ecological approach and providing mapping that can hold the project's many layers and combine them. Through such illustrative mapping, the SA approach provides tools that enable researchers to collaborate on findings and to see the findings in a processual approach that is movable and changeable, rather than static.

Due to the global onset of COVID-19, which also affected the situation in the Faroe Islands and the situation of this research, the research approach adopted in this project changed in response to that situation. While SA encouraged me to approach the empirical field anthropologically, which was my intention when going into the empirical research situation, the sudden lockdown caused by the COVID-19 pandemic forced the closure of the schools and institutions where I was carry out my ethnographic studies. Thus, I had to alter my plans. Therefore, much of the empirical data were produced through online interviews. However, they were conducted in the authentic social arenas of schools, institutions, and other physical environments. Additionally I have drawn on already existing ethnographic studies conducted in the Faroe Islands (e.g. Gaffin, (1996); Gaini (e.g. 2013, 2015); Hayfield (e.g., 2017; 2022).

A key question to ask about the present project's findings, despite their stemming from a comprehensive SA undertaken in a Faroese context with unique characteristics, is whether they enable us to identify any general traits that can be applied to a broader context or larger societies, bearing the very small sample in mind, when compared to a broader global context or larger societies (Geertz, 1973). In other words, can this case study on the situation in the Faroe Islands contribute to knowledge about developing inclusive education elsewhere, and

how can the analytical outcome be applied in other situations? Returning to Geertz, he points out that:

The danger that cultural analysis, in search of all-too-deep-lying turtles, will lose touch with the hard surfaces of life – with the political, economic, stratificatory realities within which men are everywhere contained – and with the biological and physical necessities on which those surfaces rest, is an everpresent one. The only defence against it, and against, thus, turning cultural analysis into a kind of sociological aestheticism, is to train such analysis on such realities and such necessities in the first place. (1973, p, 323)

The above issues create dilemmas for research with a situational approach in a very small society, as the researcher must decide what to prioritise while not missing out on the value of the study, despite its limitations. Researching thoughtfully in the research literature on methodological approaches to inclusive education, I have not found similar studies using SA as an ecological approach to studying inclusion. However, several researchers have studied inclusion with a more comprehensive ecological approach (see chapter 15). Clarke et al. point out that the goal of SA is:

[...] to promote methodological pluralism against methodological tribalism, and to facilitate inter- and trans-disciplinarity (2022, p. 71).

By using an SA multisided and inter- and multidiscipline-based framework, my research project thus challenges existing quality criteria in the different disciplines brought into this research project. The quality criteria in SA are partial truths, situated knowledge, thick interpretation description and analysis with the focus on heterogeneity, empirical soundness, responsibility, transparency and positionality (Adrian, 2022). Furthermore, researching inclusion with SA means including everything possible simultaneously.

## 17.2.1 Democratisation of research

As the principles of inclusive education, are closely linked to the principles of democracy, it must be reasonably justified to approach research into this phenomenon with a democratic approach. Clarke et al. (2022) call for more democratisation of qualitative research:

Engagement without domination, cooperation without consensus, and such humility will all become increasingly important as the transnationalization of qualitative inquiry – and almost everything else – continues. We will face many challenges of translation – linguistic, cultural, perspectival, epistemological, and even ontological, wherein cooperation will be of inestimable value in sharing and enhancing the interpretive paradigm. A passionate pluralism without contempt seems a worthy strategy for negotiating more democratizing futures in qualitative inquiry (p. 72).

My ambition is to produce situated knowledge as opposed to absolute knowledge. As this research is grounded in having an ecological approach, it means that knowledge is grounded and produced by the actors and actants in the situation. This leads to a democratisation of the research, and approach inspired by (Haraway, 1988), who points out that:

we do need an earth-wide network of connections, including the ability to partially translate knowledges among very different – and power-differentiated – communities [...] to [...] have a chance for a future (p. 187)

Although social arenas/social worlds are crucial elements in the SA framework, building on an understanding of communities, I find that the concepts of social worlds and arenas used in SA may be limited as an empirical and theoretical concept for further understanding processes of transforming inclusive principles into practice. In this research, I have been able to use the concept of social worlds and arenas, but in understanding school practice, the concept of social world and arenas can be problematic as they do not zoom in on the lived life in these practices. Ainscow et al. (2003) use the concept of communities of practices, inspired by Wenger's (1999) theoretical concept of communities of practices that describes the movements between central and periphery participation, which is suited to explaining and understanding inclusion and exclusion processes. The concepts of social worlds and arenas do not really capture these nuanced processes in daily life in school practice. However, one can argue it has been appropriate to use the concepts in this research as I am not zooming closely in on the individual social worlds or arenas. Thus, once more leaning on Geertz (1973), I suggest that future research reflects on the term "communities", as the concept is central to understanding practice.

If you want to understand what science is, you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not at what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do (p. 311)

While this research project has looked at what the practitioners do, another key contribution has been the project's input to theorising on inclusive education. This is also a means of enabling the local community to use the research for further development in practice and of enabling further research, which I will discuss in the following.

#### 17.3 Theoretical contribution

Inclusive educational principles are an idea inspired, supported, and promoted by international organisations, thus, in a globalised world, the idea moves across national, societal, and cultural borders to blend with local traditions and circumstances. This research has explored this journey by studying the actors' and actants' perspectives and experiences. It is this journey that has resulted in the development of a "whole situational approach" leading to the concept of "situated inclusion". In line with the new turn in studying inclusive education, the situated inclusion model proposed in this research project deals with the methodological challenges and opportunities associated with investigating transferring, translating, and transforming processes in the development of the inclusive school. Greater awareness of these conditions can help us to handle and operationalise central educational and pedagogical issues, and to do research in school policy and practice in a very small society as the Faroe Islands, being remote but simultaneously in the middle of the globalised world.

Having presented and discussed this research, my hope is that this research might have an impact on the further development of inclusive education both locally and globally. Nevertheless, the future development of inclusive education depends on global and local trends. Mouffe (2000) point out that:

Antagonism is a struggle between enemies, while agonism is struggle between adversaries [...] Envisaged from the perspective of agonistic pluralism, the aim of democratic politics is to transform antagonism into agonism [...] providing channels through which collective passions will be given ways to express themselves over issues which [...] will not construct the opponent as an enemy but as an adversary [...] For agonistic pluralism, the prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions from the sphere of the public, in order to render a rational consensus possible, but to mobilize those passions towards democratic designs (pp. 102 - 103).

This research project has called for such an agonistic approach to developing the inclusive school. The main theoretical contribution of this research has been to pave a way for researching inclusive education as a matter of involvements with a whole situational approach that engages actors and actants. My research has developed and put forward the concept of "situated inclusion", which I hope can be used as a concept in further research and discussion on the development of the principles and practices of inclusive education involving the community, negotiation, arguments, and political leadership.

# Chapter 18. Conclusion

In briefly concluding on the main findings (see also chapter 16), I will turn to an overall perspective on the dissertation. The dissertation took its outset in international political visions on schooling that have travelled globally and meet local cultures and environments. That spreading of a vision from the global to local has also been the case with the global vision for inclusive education. Thus, the outset for this project was that inclusive education is being transferred from the global environment to the local Faroese culture, where a translation and transforming process is supposed to be initiated. However, this research revealed an absence of initiatives and leadership to lead these processes. These results are partly explained by understanding the relationship between a culture/practice and a political sector in a very small social entity where policy and practice are almost identical. In this situational climate where policy and practice melt, this research raises the question of where the pushes to initiate and motivate the inclusive development processes should come from. Although being in an exceptional situation of being a very small society with historical dependency on Denmark, the Faroe Islands is at the same time also in the middle of the global world inspired by international politics and research which affects practice. This research reveals that developing inclusive education in the Faroe Islands is in the middle of cross-pressures of different and divergent global school policy trends and special features of local policy practice and local traditional traditions and culture.

This research advocates approaching inclusion as a course for overall school policy that should apply to the whole school situation, pervasively exploring how to provide all children opportunities to attend quality and effective schools, that is, to be present, participate, be accepted, and achieve (Farrell, 2004). The research provides insight into the pupils' perspectives, which can make a decisive contribution to the development of inclusive education. If pupils are listened to and consulted as experts in their school life, we can gain a valuable understanding of what it will take to achieve inclusion. In our search for school effectiveness and quality of school life, including pupils' perspectives can empower them and serve as an "inclusive direction indicator" for where to look and how to listen. The pupils point at revising school content, structure, and strategies to embrace differences in their pupil group.

Understanding inclusion as an involvement and situational matter, developing inclusion is, besides being about the structure and organisational and strategical measures, also about social learning processes, which require involvement from several standpoints. In the Faroese case, this means involvement, first and foremost, from the administrative and political sector to initiate, encourage and lead the processes of inclusive school development situated in the experiences, perspectives, views, and positions of involved actors and actants from various social worlds and arenas to discuss and negotiate how to approach and develop inclusion.

Researching inclusive education with an ecological approach such as SA enables us to democratise research and explore locally situated approaches to developing inclusion. This research advocates a whole situational approach that has allowed me to develop and propose "situated inclusion" as a new concept in the global and local discourse on inclusive education.

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# Appendix

## No 1a General about the interview guide to all the informants

	Interview guide
	Research questions/theme/elements / Interview question
	1. What do you think about the inclusive school?
•	Understanding of Inclusive Education
•	Elements & traditions in Faroese School Culture
•	School legislation compared with school practice
	2. Which changes are demanded (do they call upon) - compared with what we do now?
•	A school for all towards inclusive schools: • Participation
	<ul> <li>Achievement</li> </ul>
•	The political inclusion project and school practice
•	Differences and changes in practice Allocation of responsibilities between the actors
	3. How can we work toward an inclusive school? How could we start working towards an inclusive school?
•	Framework (strategies, support forms, education, courses and so on)
٠	Collaboration
•	Structure/organisation
oints Istitu artici	cch questions for the pupils differ, as they took an outset in pictures illustrating Farrell's (2004) four as a requirement for inclusion in the school context. These are physical presence in "their" local tion, acceptance and recognition from the institution's employees and other children, active pation in the community's activities and space for positive self-development (professional, social ersonality). If schools are to be characterised as inclusive, it is necessary, according to Farrell, that

and personality). If schools are to be characterised as inclusive, it is necessary, according to Farrell, that the school welcomes all pupils as full and active participants in the school community, where there is room for positive self-development. According to these understandings of inclusion, diversity should be welcomed and regarded as enriching the school environment (Hick et al., 2009).

# Stutt samrøðuleiðbeining / Samrøðuspurningar og evni

#### 1. Hvat heldur tú/tit um tann inkluderandi skúlan?

Evni:

- Fatanin av inkluderandi skúlum/undirvísing
- Tættir og siðvenja í føroysku skúlamentanini
- Skúlalóggáva samanborið við praksis

## 2. Hvørjar broytingar krevur tann inkluderandi skúlin í mun til tað, sum vit gera nú?

#### Evni:

- Ein skúli fyri øll til ein inkluderandi skúla?
  - o Luttøka
  - 0 Úrtøka
  - o Virðismetan
- Tað politiska inklusjónsprojektið og skúla praksis
- Munir og broytingar í prakis
- Ábyrgdarbýtið millum aktørarnar

# 3. Hvussu kunnu vit arbeiða fram ímóti einum meira inkluderandi skúla? Hvussu kunnu vit byrja?

Evni:

- Karmar, strategiir, stuðulsformar, eftirútbúgving, skeið o.s.fv.
- Samstarv
- Strukturar / organisering

Appendix 2 Kunningarskriv til skúlar og stovnar

FRÓÐSKAPARSETUR Føroya



07. januar 2020

#### Til skúlar og stovnar

Umbøn um samtykki, at skúlin/stovnurin er við í granskingarverkætlan um inklusjón í føroyska fólkaskúlanum.

Í samstarvi við Fróðskaparsetur Føroya og Danmarks Pedagogiska Universitet, eri eg farin undir eina Ph.d.- granskingarverkætlan, ið hevur til endamáls at kanna í hvønn mun vit hava ein inkluderandi fólkaskúla í Føroyum.

Eg eri áhugað í at vita, um og hvussu samanhangur er í millum skúlapolitisku visjónina um ein skúla fyri øll – ein inkluderandi skúla - og skúlaskipanina í verki. T.e um henda visjónin sæst aftur í skúlanum og í øðrum stovnum og skipanum, sum ráðgeva og útbúgva starvsfólk í skúlunum og sum umsita og fyrisita skúlaverkið.

Fokus er á inklusjón í einum spenni millum vanligu skúlaskipanina og serflokkar, serskúla og serundirvísing. Eisini er fokus á stovnar og skipanir, sum skulu vera við til at menna tann inkluderandi skúlan.

Eg eri áhugað í at fáa innlit í, hvorjar hugsanir skúlaverkið, t.e. starvsfölk, næmingar og onnur avvarðandi umframt aðrir stovnar, sum varða av skúlanum, hava um ein inkluderandi skúla.

Fyri at fáa meira vitan um hesar spurningar fari eg at gera samroður við leiðarar, starvsfólk og næmingar í skúlum og stovnum, umframt onnur viðkomandi heimildarfólk. Áðrenn hesar samroður vera gjordar, skal hvort einstakt heimildarfólk geva sítt samtykki á serskildum skjali, sum heimildarfólkið fær frá undirritaðu at undirskriva. Tá ið talan er um næmingar, skal samtykki foreldranna eisini fyriliggja, áðrenn samroðan verður gjord.

Tað krevst sum so onki annað av skúlanum/stovninum at luttaka í hesi gransking enn holi at gera samroðurnar í.

Samroðumar taka áleið ein tíma hvor fyri vaksin og millum hálvan og ein tíma fyri børnini. Komið verður inn á viðurskifti so sum sambandið millum skúlapolitikk og íverksetan, organisering, vanliga undirvísing og serliga undirvísing og fakligt- og skipanarligt samstarv. Tá ið umræður næmingar vera spurningarnir nakað oðrvísi. Eg fari at spyrja tey um, hvat tey halda um hugtakið inklusjón ella at skúlin skal vera fyri oll, hvussu tey uppliva at skúlin arbeiðir fyri hesum máli og hvussu tey ímynda sær skúlan í framtíðin, tá ið umræður ein skúla fyri oll og/ella onnur serskúlatilboð.

Eftir ætlan vera avtalur gjørdar í skúlum/stovnum í tíðarbilinum februar – mai 2020.

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#### Appendix 6 A common language for inclusion and inclusive schools

Why working on developing inclusive schools?

Faroe Islands have made some initiatives to commit to the vision of inclusive schools, which is, amongst others, a consequence of international declarations of intent on inclusion. In 2009 the Faroe Islands ratified the UN's Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2006, which means that the Faroe Islands have committed themselves to developing the school based on principles of inclusion. In addition, the Faroe Islands have joined the UN's Convention on the Rights of the child since 1990, which also points in an inclusive direction. Additionally, we have some documents concerning school policy published by the Faroese Ministry of Education stating that the schools shall work in an inclusive direction.

What is inclusive schools?

Inclusion is about the participation, achievement and acceptance (value) of all the children in the school.

Farrell (2002) lists four points as a requirement for inclusion to be implemented in the school. These are Presence, Acceptance, Participation and Achievements.

Physical presence in "their" local institution, acceptance and recognition from the institution's employees and other children, active participation in the community's activities and space for positive selfdevelopment (professional, social and personality).

If schools are to be characterized as inclusive, it is necessary, according to Farrell, that the school welcomes all pupils as full and active participants in the school community, where there is room for positive selfdevelopment. According to these understandings of inclusion, diversity is to be welcomed and regarded as enrichment of the school environment (Hick et al., 2009).

#### A common language for *inclusion and inclusive schools*

With an offset in clear intentions for developing inclusive schools, this paper will try to explain how inclusive schools are defined and understood according to mentioned international conventions.

First, it is essential to emphasise that inclusion or inclusive school is not a new word for special education or other actions aimed at special pupil groups. Rather inclusive schools try to avoid the term "pupils with special needs" because it quickly leads to an over-focus on the individual problem or challenges. Instead of "pupils with special needs" who place the problem in the individual, in inclusion terms, we talk about "barriers to learning and participation". The obstacles can be anywhere in the system, the school, the community, and local and national politics. Obstacles are something that all pupils can face. If we are only concerned with the obstacles that special pupil groups encounter, we can overlook that other pupils also can have similar experiences. Perceived the obstacles to learning alone as special characteristics of the individual, it becomes difficult to discover what hinders learning and participation at other levels, e.g., the school's working methods, organisation and content. But "pupils with special needs" is part of the culture and framework for planning at all schools. Therefore, it is also of great importance for practice.

In sum, the inclusion work at a school has two overall goals:

 to identify and reduce barriers to learning and participation and

 to maximise support for participation in learning activities and - environments for the best possible result or outcome.

An inclusive school is constantly changing to take care of the diversity of the pupil group. A key concept in this process is teaching adapted to the pupil's circumstances and conditions.

References: Ainscow and Booth (2000). Index for inclusion.

#### Appendix 6 b Inklusjón og inkluderandi skúlar

Hví menna eina inkluderandi skúlaskipan?

Almennu Forovar hava tikið nokur avgerandi stig á leiðini at taka til sín og menna altjóða politisku visjónina um ein inkluderandi skúlan. M.a skrivaðu Foroyar í 2009 undir ST sáttmálan um rættindi hjá teimum, ið bera brek. Hetta merkir m.a., at Foroyar hava bundið seg til at arbeiða fyri einum inkluderandi skúlan. Eisini hava vit bundið okkum til Barnarættindasáttmálan. sum peikar í ein inkluderandi rættning. Í fleiri almennum skúlapolitiskum skjølum er niðurfelt, at skúlaverkið skal arbeiða inkluderandi. Hesin målsetningur um ein inkluderandi skúla er m.a. staðfestur í tilmælum til Mentamálaráðið um sernámsfroði frá 2011 og 2014, í uppriti um Forleikastovur frá 2012 og í kunngerð frá 2019 um Forleikastovur og í kunngerð um serundirvísing, sernámsfroðiligan torv og sernámsfrøðiligan stuðul frá 2018.

#### Hvat er "inkluderandi skúlar?

Inklusjón snýr seg um luttøku, úrtøku og viðurkenning av øllum næmingum skúlans.

Farrell (2002) nevnir fýra punkt, sum skulu vera til staðar um talan kann vera um inklusjón í skúlahøpi.

1. næmingurin skal vera til staðar

Hesi eru:

2. næmingurin skal kunna vera virkin og taka lut i felagsskapinum

3. næmingurin skal kunna mennast, har hann er

4. næmingurin skal verða ynsktur, góðtikin og viðurkendur av skúlanum sum ein virðismikil luttakari.

Um skúlin skal kunna vera eyőmerktur sum ein inkluderandi skúlt, sambært Farrell, so eigur hann at bjóða ollum næmingum vælkomnum, sum heilir og virknir huttakarar i skúlafelagsskapinum, har rúm er fyri menning og læring. Sambært hesi fatanin av inklusjón, verður fjølbroytni bjóðað vælkomið í skúlanum og sæð sum eitt rikidømi fyri skúlanumvorvið.

#### Felags fatan av hugtakinum inklusion og inkluderandi skúlaskapi

Við støði í týðiligum politiskum ætlaðum um at menna tann inkluderandi skúlan í Føroyum, eru her nøkur orð um, hvussu tann inkluderandi skúlin verður fataður sambært altjóða viðtøkum.

Dentur verður lagdur á, at inkluderandi skúlar ikki er eitt nýtt heiti fyri semámsfroði ella virksemi, sum er ætlað ávísum bólkum av næmingum. Heldur hinvegin royna inkluderandi skúlar í storstan mun at sleppa sær av við heiti so sum "næmingar við serligum torvi". Hetta tí, henda einstaklings eyðmerking hevur fokusið á trupulleikar og avbjóðingar hjá tí einstaka. Í inklusiónsmáli verður heldur tosað sum forðingar til lærdóm og luttøku. Forðingar kunnu vera allastaðni í skipanini, t.d. í skúlanum, í stuðulsskipanum, í samfelagnum, í galdandi skúlalóggávu osfv.

Forðingar kunnu gera seg galdandi fyri allar næmingar. Um fokusið bert er á næmingar við serligum tørv, kunnu vit hava torført við at siggja aðrar trupulleikar, avbjóðingar og avmarkingar, sum aðrir bólkar av næmingum kenna.

Fatanin av, at forðingar fyri læring einans finnast hjá tí einstaka, kann gera tað trupult at fáa eyga á, hvat kann avmarka læring og luttøku í t.d. arbeiðsháttinum, skipanini og innihaldinum í skúlanum.

Yvirskipað kann mann siga at arbeiði við at menna inklusion í skúlahøpi hevur tvey endamál:

At eyőmerkja og minka um forðingar fyri læring og luttøku
At økja um stuðulin til luttøku í læringshøpi og læringsumhvørvi fyri at fáa bestu møguligu úrtøku og úrslit

Ein inkluderandi skúli er allatíðina í menning og broyting fyri at kunna møta og menna fjølbroytta næmingahópin, sum til eina og hvørja tíð er partur av gerandisdegnum í skúlanum. Eitt lyklaorð í hesum sambandi er læring rættað til hetta fjølbroytni.

#### Referances:

Ainscow and Booth (2000). Index for inclusion. Farrell, P. (2002).

Frida Poulsen

Appendix only available for the assessment committee

- No 7 Analysis with situational mapping
- No 7a Categorisation of the elements found in the messy situational map
- No 8 Overview of the work in NVivo 67 themes and 8 nodes, ref., files
- No 9 Overview of social worlds and arenas, research questions, overall themes, and theoretical foci
- No 10 The big chart The empirical and analytical approach
- No 11 Treytir og mannagong ísv transkribering (FP)
- No 12 Overview of informants with number identification
- No 13 Frida Poulsen loyvi frá DAT
- No 3 Kunning og skriv til informantar vaksin
- No 4 Kunning og skriv til informantar næmingar
- No 5 Skriv til foreldur og umbøn um samtykki