INN

Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences

Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad

Ways to be a person: How schools contribute to 'making up' intellectually disabled pupils

INN

Abstract

How do 'kinds' of knowledge and practices existing within schools contribute to 'making up' intellectually disabled pupils in relation to perspectives on inclusion?

This project departs from a micro-perspective on inclusion where the object of study is the processes that take place within educational institutions and between actors in the classrooms and other contexts at schools. Based on this, the dissertation aims to understand how education contributes to 'making up' intellectually disabled pupils. Drawing on the theoretical works of the Canadian philosopher Ian Hacking, this project discusses how produced knowledge, stereotypical assumptions, values, beliefs and so on that are implemented in the category 'intellectual disability' affect organisational practices, which in turn interact with the children classified as intellectually disabled and influence how they understand themselves and their surroundings.

The dissertation consists of three articles that are based on empirical data gathered from three pupils diagnosed with intellectual disability. The three informants are each devoted their own article. Individually the articles discuss different issues and themes related to different dimensions of inclusion, respectively: participation, fellowship, democracy and benefit. Based on the mentioned perspectives on inclusion, the purpose of the articles is to discuss how intellectual disability as a category affects the surroundings attitudes, practices, assumptions, understandings and so on, which in turn provides certain descriptions from which the classified pupils experience, behave and act.

The project argues that the beliefs and practices that pupils classified as intellectually disabled are subjected to in school play a major role in regards to the kind of person it is possible for them to be. When education is organised based on beliefs that intellectual disability refers to pupils that deviate from others, the descriptions available for them to interact with will also be of a deviant kind. On the other hand, if education provides descriptions related to high expectations, ambitions and opportunities for all, the way in which it is possible to be a pupil for children classified as intellectually disabled might thus resemble normalised descriptions similar to those available to their peers. Just as interacting with perspectives that consider intellectually disabled children as different or special might construct barriers relating to normative standards of society, more socially oriented approaches to education might contribute to deconstructing barriers for present and future participation.

Sammendrag

Hvordan bidrar kunnskap og praksiser i skolen til å konstruere utviklingshemmede elever forstått relasjon til perspektiver på inkludering?

Utgangspunktet for dette prosjektet er et mikro-perspektiv på inkludering. Studiens objekt er prosessene som foregår innad i utdanningsinstitusjoner og mellom aktører både i og utenfor klasserommet. Med dette som utgangspunkt tar avhandlingen videre sikte på å forstå hvordan utdanningsinstitusjoner bidrar til å konstruere utviklingshemmede elever. Basert på teorier av den kanadiske filosofen Ian Hacking, diskuterer denne avhandlingen hvordan produsert kunnskap, stereotypiske antagelser, verdier, oppfattelser og overbevisninger som er implementert i kategorien utviklingshemming påvirker organisering og praksis. Betydningen av organisering og praksis diskuteres videre i relasjon til hvordan elever klassifisert som utviklingshemmet forstår seg selv og sine omgivelser.

Avhandlingen består av tre artikler basert på empiri hentet fra tre elever som alle er gitt en utviklingshemmingsdiagnose. Hver av de tre informantene er viet sin egen artikkel. De tre artiklene diskuterer ulike utfordringer i skolen knyttet til ulike dimensjoner av inkludering, henholdsvis; deltakelse, fellesskap, demokrati og utbytte. Med utgangspunkt i disse fire dimensjonene av inkludering er formålet med artiklene å diskutere hvordan kategorien utviklingshemming påvirker omgivelsenes holdninger, antagelser og praksis, som videre gir visse beskrivelser de klassifiserte kan handle, erfare og oppleve ut ifra.

I prosjektet argumenteres det for at organisering og praksis som elever klassifisert som utviklingshemmede i skolen møter spiller en viktig rolle med tanke på hvilke 'type' menneske det er mulig for dem å være. Dersom utdanningen er basert på en antagelse om at utviklingshemming betegner elever som avviker fra andre, vil beskrivelsene som er tilgjengelige for dem også være av en avvikende 'type'. Imidlertid vil også en utdanning som er organisert slik at alle elever møtes med høye krav og forventninger i skolen kunne gi utviklingshemmede tilgang på normaliserte beskrivelser å handle, erfare og oppleve ut ifra. På samme måte som en utdanning basert på perspektiver om utviklingshemmede som annerledes eller spesielle kan bidra til å konstruere barrierer for deltagelse, kan perspektiver som er mer sosialt orienterte bidra til å redusere eller fjerne nåværende og fremtidige barrierer for deltagelse både i skolen og i samfunnet for øvrig

Acknowledgements

Contents

Abstract

Sammendrag

Acknowledgements

Articles

Articles

Article 1:

Snipstad, Ø. I. M. (2018). Framing inclusion: intellectual disability, interactive kinds and imaginary companions. *International Journal of Inclusive Education.* Doi: 10.1080/13603116.2018.1511759

Article 2:

Snipstad, Ø. I. M. (2018). Democracy or fellowship and participation with peers: what constitutes one's choice to self-segregate. *European Journal of Special Needs Education.* Doi: 10.1080/08856257.2018.1520493

Article 3:

Snipstad, Ø. I. M. (2018 – Under review). Inclusive education and the construction of the 'normal' pupil. *Disability and Society.*

1. Introduction

> What things are called is unspeakingly more important than what they are. The reputation, name and appearance, the worth, the usual measure and weight of a thing – originally almost always something mistaken and arbitrary, thrown over things like a dress and quite foreign to their nature and even to their skin – has through the belief in it and its growth from generation to generation, slowly grown onto and into the thing and has become its very body: what started as appearance in the end nearly always becomes essence and effectively acts as its essence! (Nietzsche, 2001, p 69-70)

By naming nature and ordering it into categories, it enables us to speak, order and distinguish aspects of reality from one another. When we apply a category to an object, a phenomenon or even an idea, we do not just give it a name, we create truths, associations, assumptions and attitudes about the being that is classified. Intellectual disability is one such name or category. When certain individuals are assigned to this category, we are not providing a name for an object that has existed all along, but instead we create the very being itself. It was only after intellectual disability was invented as a category that we could speak of the intellectually disabled person. More importantly, it was only after intellectual disability came into existence that it became possible to *be* an intellectually disabled person (Hacking, 1999, p 111-112). Consequently, there is more than one way to be an intellectually disabled pupil in school. Humans, according to Hacking (1999, p 103-104), act under description. Depending on how education perceives intellectual disability, i.e. how schools organise education and what practices they subject groups of pupils to in addition to what attitudes, assumptions and beliefs exists within school, provides certain descriptions from which it is possible to be a person.

Since entering the discourse of education, inclusion has been the subject of much debate. Disputes over what causes pupils to struggle in school and for whom inclusion is concerned appear to divide the field of education. Some argue that difficulties arise from pupils' biological nature (Hallahan, 1998; Kauffman, 1999; Kauffman, Hallahan, & Lloyd, 1998) whilst others claim that institutional structures and norms oppress a minority of students (Booth, 1996; Oliver, 2013; Sebba & Ainscow, 1996). In addition, there are also perspectives arguing that social and educational difficulties in school are caused by a relation, gap or mismatch between factors intrinsic to the individual and extrinsic factors that arise from the

social structures of which pupils are a part (Ainscow, 1998; Norwich, 2002; Shakespeare, 2014a; Tideman, 2005; Vehmas & Mäkelä, 2009).

The object of study in this dissertation is the processes that take place within schools and the classroom, where pupils classified as intellectually disabled are constructed as subjects in an interactive relationship between school practices, beliefs, attitudes and so forth and the individuals classified. How these people have developed ways of being in relation to the organisational structures that they are part of is further discussed in relation to different perspectives on inclusion.

1.1. **Aim of the project**

In this dissertation, inclusion relates to all levels of education, from policy makers down to the individual classrooms and pupils. Inclusion is thus regarded to be about more than placement or teaching strategies – it is also about participation, fellowship, democracy and how schools are able to provide an education that is beneficial both socially and substantially (Haug, 2010, p 207; 2014, p 18).

Inclusion is often studied as ideology or policy and is often concerned mainly with placement (Haug, 2004; 2017; Nilholm & Alm, 2010). However, it is equally important to understand the reality that takes place within schools and classrooms. In light of this, the overall purpose of this dissertation is to provide greater knowledge of how inclusion and exclusion practices are experienced by children diagnosed as intellectually disabled and how they understand themselves and their surroundings in relation to the organisational practices they are subjected to. Further, how they experience their everyday life in school will be discussed in relation to the educational arrangements that they are subjected to. This project is empirical and the data were collected through participant observation and semi-structured interviews with three[1] children/youths diagnosed as intellectually disabled. The data from the informants were analysed as different cases, where each case addresses different issues concerning inclusion. By applying general principles of inclusion to individual cases and practices in schools, this project attempts to illustrate and discuss matters relating to how organisational practices, teacher to pupil communication, peer-to peer interaction, degree of self-determination, learning methods, participation and so forth are experienced by the pupils themselves.

---

[1] Originally there were four participants in this study, but only three were included in this dissertation. The decision to exclude the fourth case is discussed in the methodology chapter.

The dissertation consists of three articles based on the three cases mentioned above. The three articles will revolve around the four dimensions of inclusion presented by Haug (2010, p 207): participation, fellowship, democracy and benefit.

1.2. Research question

Based on the four dimensions of inclusion, participation, fellowship, democracy and benefit, the main research question is as follows:

> How do 'kinds' of knowledge and practices existing within schools contribute to 'making up' intellectually disabled pupils in relation to perspectives on inclusion?

Using a micro-approach to inclusion, by studying the processes that take place within schools, this project aims to understand inclusion through the point of view of pupils categorised as intellectually disabled. From this perspective the articles in this thesis will discuss how different organisational practices provide certain descriptions from which it is possible for those classified as intellectually disabled to be a person. The three individual articles all have individual research questions that together aims to answer the main research question above.

The first article is about a boy who spends a major part of his day in school segregated from his peers. Being segregated from his peers seems to have caused him to construct an imaginary universe with which he interacts whenever there are no other children present. This boy is not included in line with the general principles of inclusion (Haug, 2010, p 207). However, he has constructed a kind of fellowship and participation by entering different roles (pretended identities) and by interacting with imaginary companions. The research question in this article is based on two dimensions of inclusion, fellowship and participation and is as follows:

> How can imaginary companions and pretended identities be interpreted and to what extent should we accept this as a satisfactory kind of social participation and fellowship?

The second article focuses on democracy in relation to fellowship and participation. This case consists of a girl who spends time both in the fellowship with peers in the classroom and outside either in a segregated setting alone with a special education teacher, with younger children or with pupils also defined as having special educational needs. At school, she is granted the right to influence her physical placement during classes and sometimes during lunch- and break-time. That she is allowed to influence matters concerning her education appears to support the democracy dimension of inclusion. However, this girl often uses her

decisive power to self-segregate, where she removes herself from the fellowship and possibility to participate with her peers. This reveals a potential paradox within inclusion as it seems that one aspect of inclusion, democracy, in this case complicates the right to participate within a fellowship. From this emerged conflict, the article has the following research question:

> What causes a child to prefer being taught outside the fellowship with peers, and to what extent should the child's preferences and wishes be supported by the school when they conflict with other aspects of inclusion?

The last article is about a boy who seems to have a clear ambition of what he wants to be when he grows up and what he needs to do in order to achieve his goals. The purpose of this third article is to discuss what, if any, role his teachers and the school as a whole play in the construction of this ambitious boy who seemingly has realistic expectations about his future. The organisational practices in this school seem to be somewhat different from the two other cases: From the top down the school seems to have a clear perception that participation and fellowship are important. It also appears to be an agreed upon vison that this boy is to complete school with grades in all subjects. Teaching outside of the classroom does not seem to be directed towards certain groups of children but instead is an option for all pupils that struggle in particular subjects. In addition, the time spent outside the classroom rarely exceeds what appears to be considered absolutely necessary. This article has the following research question:

> How does educational practice that focuses on fellowship, participation and benefit relate to the construction of a pupil who achieves in school and who has normalised expectations for the future?

The purpose of the three articles and the issues they address is to answer the main research question. Together the articles touch upon all four dimensions of inclusion as presented by Haug (2010, p 207) and do so by discussing how structures imposed by the school influence how children diagnosed as intellectually disabled understand themselves and the social environment they are a part of. In relation to this, the goal of this project is to provide a framework for understanding inclusion/exclusion practices as they unfold and are played out in everyday life in schools, and it critically discusses how school as an institution contribute to 'making up' people.

1.3. **What 'is' intellectual disability**

As mentioned, this project is concerned with classifications and how categories interact with classified individuals. Even though the project does not refute that intrinsic biological factors might affect pupils diagnosed as intellectually disabled, the main concern in this dissertation is the social consequences that follow from being understood and treated as this particular kind of person. Based on this approach, the findings in this dissertation are not limited to pupils classified as intellectually disabled. Discussions about categories are more general, which implies that every known category associated with human kinds interacts with those that are classified, which in turn change the person and how they perceive themselves and their surroundings. The decision to concentrate on intellectual disability is practical as it is a relevant category to discuss in relation to perspectives on inclusion.

Regarding recruitment, another practical consideration had to be made. In order to gain access to relevant informants, a medical definition had to be applied in the recruitment process. All participants in this thesis have formally been diagnosed with intellectual disability in accordance with Norwegian standards based on the ICD-10. The ICD-10 defines intellectual disability as follows:

> A condition of arrested or incomplete development of the mind, which is especially characterized by impairment of skills manifested during the developmental period, skills which contribute to the overall level of intelligence, i.e. cognitive, language, motor, and social abilities. Retardation can occur with or without any other mental or physical condition. (WHO, 2016, p F70-F79)

1.4 **The dissertation's position within the doctoral programme Child and Youth Participation and Competence Development**

This dissertation is framed within the doctoral programme Children and Youth Competence Development. In line with the aims and scope of the doctoral programme, this dissertation studies children and youths as they are situated in context and in practice in educational institutions.

A central concept included in the title of the doctoral programme is participation. In this project, participation is understood as a central dimension of inclusion (Haug, 2010, p 207). In light of this, participation or lack of participation is an important element when discussing educational practices in relation to inclusion. In this dissertation, pupils' participation is understood and problematised in relation to the surrounding structures were individual participation is largely dependent on the social environment of which they are part. In order to

discuss concepts like participation, the project focuses on the participants' own voices regarding their own experiences along with observing how they behave and act in relation to the context and practices that they are subjected to.

The doctoral programme applies a definition to competence development that refers to activities that enable children to participate in social practices as well as to reach goals and master tasks (Lillehammer University College, 2010, p 7). Though not explicitly discussed in this dissertation, the project's scope can be argued to take a broad approach to the competence concept. As argued by Lillehammer University College (2010, p 32), development does not always result in ways of doing and being that are enabling in regards to the normative values in society. As discussed in this project, the social and educational structures pupils are subjected to and influenced by in school may cause them to develop competences that cause the child to experience, behave and act in a deviant manner in relation to the demands of education and society at large. Likewise, social structures are considered to play a significant role in relation to developing more normalised ways of being.

1.5 Structure

Following this introduction (chapter one), the dissertation consists of the following chapters.

Chapter two is devoted to inclusion. The chapter departs form the Salamanca statement that is generally referred to as a 'new' way of thinking within special education. Further, this thesis goes on to discuss different perspectives on education, inclusion and disability and what implications different perspectives have regarding how educational difficulties are understood. In this chapter, the project's approach to inclusion is also presented along with some existing research on inclusion.

In chapter three, the project's theoretical framework is presented and discussed. Theoretically, this project is concerned with classifications and how the category intellectual disability not only affects how those classified are understood by their surroundings but also how being understood and approached as a categorised kind influences the classified individuals themselves.

Chapter four consists of the dissertation's methodological framework. Here, methodological approaches and considerations as well as a presentation of how the data were collected and with what methods are presented and discussed. The recruitment process, the fieldwork process, analysis, ethical considerations as well as questions about validity are also included in this part of the thesis.

Chapter five consists of the findings. Following a brief introduction, the three articles are presented here. The first article is titled "Framing inclusion: Intellectual disability, interactive kinds and imaginary companions". The second is titled "Democracy or fellowship and participation with peers: What constitutes one's choice to self-segregate" and the third article is titled "Inclusive education and the construction of the 'normal' pupil".

Chapter six and seven form the discussion part of the paper. The purpose of these two chapters is to highlight how the three articles are related and how they together answer the main research question. By discussing the articles and the relations between them, the ambition is to provide insight into how and in what way this project contributes to the field of education, disability studies and more generally to children and youth participation and competence development.

2 Inclusion

Originally referred to as the Regional Education Initiative (REI), a definition of inclusive education emerged in the United States as early as in the beginning of the 1980s (Skrtic, Sailor, & Gee, 1996, p 146). In short, REI was an initiative that argued in favour of one general education system with responsibility for all learners, including disabled leaners (Davis, 1989, p 440). Though not referred to as inclusion, similar trends in education can be identified in other countries as well. For example in Norway, where this study takes place, in 1975 the legislation on special education and the legislation regarding the ordinary education was to become one general legislation encompassing all learners. During the following years this resulted in a gradual reduction of special schools. The national policy leading up to a common legislation in the Norwegian educational system was based on policies arguing in favour of special and ordinary education sharing the same objectives, where special education should be coordinated with the ordinary education as far as possible. Providing all children with the opportunity to grow up with their families and not in special schools organised as boarding schools, as well as securing that all disabled children in upper secondary school were provided with equal theoretical, practical and aesthetic opportunities were also central arguments in this debate. On the administrative side, it was suggested that an interdisciplinary use of economic, pedagogical, psychological, medical and social resources and support should be organised in a beneficial way for all children in education and society (Ministry of Church and Education, 1973-74, p 4). The American, Norwegian and similar trends in other western countries were the foundation of inclusive education as later formulated at UNESCO's World Conference on Special Needs Education in Salamanca in 1994 (Kiuppis, 2014, p 748-749). The following presentation and discussion on inclusion mainly concerns the trends that have emerged post Salamanca and in Europe, as the project is positioned within this context.

As an institutional practice and part of a wider social discourse, education, regardless of its ambitions or conceived purpose, will always be normative. Within education, all practices, whether claiming to be inclusive or if it is systematically exclusionary, do not work independent of the normality concepts. There are naturalistic/individualistic approaches that view deviance as something biologically intrinsic to the individual (Hallahan, 1998; Kauffman, 1999). There are social model theories that describe deviancy as a social construct (Barnes & Mercer, 2010; Oliver, 1999; Thomas, 2002). In addition to these, there are perspectives that position themselves somewhere in-between, where the purpose is to grant

disabled people normalised living conditions by considering the relation between individual and social factors (Nilholm, 2006, p 433; Shakespeare, 2014a).

2.1 The Salamanca declaration: Introducing a 'new' thinking in special needs education

In June 1994 more than 300 participants, representing 92 governments and 25 international organisations, assembled in Salamanca to reaffirm the necessity to provide an education for children, youths and adults with special needs within the regular educational system (UNESCO, 1994, p viii).

Inclusion was introduced in the Salamanca statement as a 'new' way of thinking about special needs education (Kiuppis, 2014, p 753-755; UNESCO, 1994). The 'old' way of thinking, integration, had gradually been subjected to increased criticism. The intention of integration had been to create wholeness within groups and was ideologically founded on the perception of equality and democracy (Emanuelsson, 1998, p 96) reflecting in parts perspectives formulated in the mentioned Ministry of Church and Education (1973-74). However, integration had obtained some unfortunate connotations where the concept had started to be associated with the mere placement of certain groups, disabled, within the mainstream, rather than a process taking place within groups as a means to create wholeness (Emanuelsson, 1998, p 97 & 101).

The intention behind introducing inclusion was a change of perspective. The Salamanca declaration stated that 'every child has a fundamental right to education, and must be given the opportunity to achieve and maintain an acceptable level of learning' (UNESCO, 1994, p viii). Further, the declaration states that inclusion and participation are essential to human rights and are important when developing strategies that promote equal opportunities for all leaners (UNESCO, 1994, 11). Inclusion promoted a shift of focus in special needs education, with the starting point being the heterogeneity of all learners (Kiuppis, 2014, p 755-756). According to the UNESCO framework, schools should accommodate all learners regardless of physical, intellectual, social, linguistic or other conditions or backgrounds (UNESCO, 1994, p 6). Inclusion was not intended to be a concept that primarily related to disability; instead, the Salamanca statement claimed that all children were unique, with different interests, characteristics, abilities and learning needs (UNESCO, 1994, viii). Consequently, this implied that all children, not only disabled, potentially had special educational needs (Emanuelsson, 1998, p 104; Kiuppis, 2014, p 755).

In order to combat discrimination and exclusion, it was claimed that education of children defined with special needs would best be served within the mainstream school environment. Therefore the Salamanca statement urged that educational policies, from the national to the local level, as far as possible should stipulate that all children with special educational needs should attend their neighbourhood school (UNESCO, 1994, p 17-18). Segregating practices or special schools should only be the exception. In cases were special schools or other segregated provisions were deemed necessary, they did not need to be entirely segregated. Instead, efforts were to be made in order to facilitate that everyone, at a minimum part time, attended a regular school and class.

As the focus of inclusion was argued to concern all learners and at the same time implied that disability and special needs are not necessarily one and the same thing, schools were expected to become more flexible and able to adapt to the variety of learners. For example, the UNESCO (1994, p 22-23) framework argues that children should not be adapted in accordance with a fixed curriculum; instead, the curriculum has to be adapted to the individual child's needs, abilities and interests. On more general grounds, Barton (1997, p 234) claims that school's cannot expect the child to fit within a static and unchanging schools structure and that the school itself has to adapt in order to meet the needs of the variety of learners. By introducing inclusion, the purpose was to provide quality education for all as a means to remove discriminatory attitudes which would then result in a welcoming community both within education and in the wider society (UNESCO, 1994, p 6-7).

2.2 **Debates of inclusion**

There are multiple ways to approach the debates that exist in research and practice concerning inclusion. This dissertation departs from disability studies and the different models for interpreting and understanding disability. According to Wendelborg and Tøssebro (2010, p 702), the organisation of education for disabled pupils relates strongly to how disability is interpreted and defined. Common to inclusion, exclusion, special needs education as well as perspectives on disability is the normality concept. The position that the research and practice have in relation to the norm consequently affects how and where deviance is considered to be located.

The practical state of inclusive education varies amongst countries, between schools and also within schools (Haug 2017, p 206). During the years following the Salamanca declaration uncertainty and debate regarding interpretations, implementation and research on inclusion emerged. According to Kiuppis (2014, p 757-759), there is a general consensus that inclusion

is associated with a 'school for all' but that there exists disagreement regarding how to take into account the universalistic character of inclusion versus considerations regarding the particularity of disabled pupils. Part of the issue, Kiuppis (2014, p 758) argues, was based on the perspectives and interests of the different stakeholders that UNESCO had to balance when formulating the declaration and the definitions of inclusion. Even though the declaration claims that inclusion represents a 'new' thinking regarding special needs education, where the focus is on the heterogeneity of all learners, it frequently refers to the disabled in particular.[2] How schools were supposed to educate pupils defined with special needs was also not precisely formulated and was thus open to interpretation (see UNESCO, 1994, 12). In addition, during the three decades of inclusion being the global descriptor of education, the concept has travelled through both space and time. Consequently, the concept has taken on new meanings and different forms along the way (Haug, 2017, p 206; Nilholm, 2006, p 436; Kiuppis & Haustätter, 2014).

From the ambiguity stemming from different interpretations of inclusion, multiple perspectives on what inclusion is and who it concerns have developed. Kiuppis (2014, p 749-750) exemplifies this as he has identified three parallel perspectives in research on inclusion. The first is a non-labelling interpretation of inclusion. In this approach inclusion is understood as something that concerns all learners, regardless of disability or other background. The second is an approach that focuses inclusion particularly on groups that are considered especially vulnerable, such as disabled, those from a minority background, those in poverty and so forth. The third perspective is a categorical approach, where inclusion is directed first and foremost towards children with disability.

Ainscow (1998, p 10-11) and Haug (2017, p 208-209) claim that there exist both a narrow and a broad definition in the debate about inclusion and special education. The narrow definition is mainly concerned with placement and developing differentiated and individual support towards certain classified students, similar to a categorical approach. The broad definition on the other hand takes into account the wider context of education that includes both cultural and structural dimensions (Ainscow, 1998, p 10-11). The latter approach concerns not only disabled or other classified groups of children but all learners, which is in line with more social or non-categorical approaches to inclusion (Haug, 2017, p 208-209). The broad definition has a wider scope and raises more critical questions about the cultural and structural

---

[2] For examples see UNESCO (1994, ix, 6,12,18,35 and 40).

dimensions of education, which in turn promote critical reflections on why schools fails to educate all children (Ainscow, 1998, p 10-11).

According to Haug (2010, p 200) it is possible to distinguish between at least two different kinds of inclusive research in the literature. One is a macro-approach, studying the general characteristics of the educational system. The second is a micro-approach studying the processes that take place within the particular schools and classrooms.

2.2.1 A categorical approach to education: individualistic and traditionalist perspectives

A non-categorical approach encompassing all types of disabilities should be developed as a common core, prior to further specialisation in one or more disability-specific areas. (UNESCO, 1994, p 28)

As mentioned, the Salamanca declaration had to balance the interests of different stakeholders when formulating the statement (Kiuppis, 2014, p 758). This has resulted in uncertainty about how inclusion was to be implemented and for whom it was concerned (Haug, 2017, 206). As a result of this uncertainty, Kiuppis (2014, p 749-750) identified a categorical approach that considers inclusion as a concept concerning children with disabilities in particular. Referring to labelling in relation to inclusion suggests that some children are categorically different from others.

Traditionally, disability has been associated with a personal tragedy or an unfortunate state of being from which the individual suffers (Vehmas, 2004, p 213). Understanding disability in this way relates to an individual understanding of disability. In this perspective, disability is considered a pathological condition where deviance is considered to be intrinsically located within the individual. By considering the disabled as pathologically different from the normal, individualised or special interventions have to be applied in order for the person to overcome their deviance and become cured or 'more' normal (Barnes & Mercer, 2010, p 18-24). In this perspective, normality is understood as a universal entity that some people, because of presumed natural causes, deviate from.

A categorical approach to inclusion relates to a narrow definition of inclusion. The narrow definitions view inclusion as an advancement of integration and are mainly concerned with questions related to special education (Haug, 2017, p 208-209). Ainscow (1998, p 10-11) claims that a narrow definition in education is caught up with discovering the most effective strategies of teaching those pupils that do not respond to general teaching. Haug (2017, p 208-209) further claims that a narrow definition is mainly concerned with where and whom

students with disabilities should be educated. Inclusion in this perspective is interpreted as a state, where the purpose of special education is to develop the most effective strategy for educating children labelled as 'special'. Ainscow (1998, p 10-11) claims an overemphasised search for effective methods distracts education from asking more fundamental questions about why some schools fails to educate all children.

A narrow definition of inclusion, where the focus is on placement and finding the best teaching strategies for certain classified groups of children, further relates to neo-liberalist trends in education where effectiveness and competition are central elements (de Beco, 2018, p 15-23). Neo-liberal perspectives further relate to what is often referred to as a traditionalist approach to education (de Beco, 2018, p 21). This educational tradition is based on an assumption that disability represents objective conditions that exist independent of knowledge or beliefs about it (Gallagher, 2001, p 642-643). Research based on a traditional approach argues in favour of maintaining the distinction between special and general education (Kauffman, 1999, p 246-247). Kauffman et al. (1998, p 276) argue that the best way of providing children with disabilities an acceptable level of education is through careful, systematic and persistent empiricist research methods. For any such research to be possible, Kauffman (1999, p 247-249) argues, studies conducted on special education cannot be deluded by post-modern thinking that questions the existence of disability. In a traditional approach, labelling is therefore considered necessary (Gallagher, 2001, p 645-647). When deviance is considered an intrinsic feature located within individuals it has consequences for the relationship between the educational system and its pupils. In line with medical/individual models of disability that understand disability as a pathological condition, traditionalist education is concerned with developing effective interventions based on distinctive diagnosis. The special and general education are treated as separate entities where the disabled, i.e. the intellectually or learning disabled, will not benefit from the ordinary education (Kauffman, 1999, p 246-247). Instead, by making the correct distinction amongst groups of learners, the so-called traditionalist education assumes that it is possible to develop effective interventions that secure beneficial learning outcomes for pupils with certain kinds of disabilities (Kauffman, 1999, p 251).

Due to being based on individualistic/medical perspectives on disability, the categorical/traditionalist approach has been subjected to massive criticism. The main concerns appear to be the related to how disability is conceived. The traditional approach takes for granted that disability is a universal and objective condition. According to Vehmas (2004, p

213), this is problematic because diagnoses, such as intellectual disability or other diagnoses associated with special educational needs, do not necessarily rely on any objective standards but on cultural norms that are socially and historically determined. Regarding intellectual disability, Vehmas (2004, p 213) even goes as far as to say that the diagnosis is often produced based on arbitrary or accidental factors. Gallagher (2001, p 642-643) shares this concern as she claims that disability does not exist independent of evaluative or moral standards but exists because humans view themselves and others in relation to a particular context. However, Gallagher (2001, p 643) continues, it is easy to be deluded by the fact that if a large portion of the population believes that certain kinds of disabilities represent some objective truth, it can create a consensus that it is real and independent of evaluative judgements.

No interpretation of inclusion, disability or even education in general exists independent of the normality concept. When defining normality deviance is also defined – where normality is often considered a good thing and deviance is often the unfortunate or unwanted state (Hacking, 1995a, p 367; Vehmas, 2004, p 213). However, a distinct feature of categorical approaches based on a traditionalist education is that it locates the deviance within the individual child. When the responsibility for a lack of participation is placed on the individual, it does not take into account how educational institutions through its construction might create disabling barriers. Traditionally, such an approach has conflicted with central aspects of inclusion as the response has often been to remove the deviant pupils from the classroom. However, exclusion from the classroom is not a necessary response. Ainscow (1998, p 10) claims that there has been teaching strategies based on individualistic approaches that argue in favour of providing specialised support in the classroom. Still, it has been criticised for not being inclusive as it is associated with mainstreaming those with special needs within the framework of ordinary educational settings. This, thus, implies that some pupils deviate categorically from others (Kiuppis, 2014, p 750).

2.2.2 *Non-categorical approach inclusion: making education responsive to all learners*

Alternatives to individualistic models of disability and categorical interpretation of inclusion are approaches that depart from more social/socio-political oriented perspectives, where the basis for understanding inclusion is on the heterogeneity of all learners. In order to meet the ambition of inclusion and respond to the variety of children, a perspective that is non-categorical emphasises institutional constructions. This approach bases itself on a broader definition of inclusion than was the case with the categorical approach to inclusion and

traditionalist perspectives on special education. Instead of working towards finding the most effective teaching strategies for disabled or other categorised groups of children, a broad definition has a wider scope that relates inclusion to how learning is facilitated for all children (Haug, 2017, p 209).

Education does not exist in a vacuum but is influenced and shaped in relation to the wider society. Therefore, Ainscow (1998, p 11) argues that there is a constant need for researchers and educators to ask themselves how the deficit perspective has shaped current perceptions and possibly blinded them from considering how institutional structures might be constructed in ways that fail to provide sufficient education for all. The broad definition of inclusion argues in favour of a more critical approach in order to be more reflective about how to improve practice rather than changing the pupil. By focusing on the structural, social and cultural aspects of educational institutions, a broad definition is in line with a non-categorical perspective on inclusion and special education.

In contrast to the case with traditional/categorical approaches, a non-categorical perspective does not consider deviance as something that arises from intrinsic pathological conditions. Instead, difficulties are argued to arise as a result of issues with the curriculum and/or more generally poorly designed educational arrangements (Nilholm, 2006, p 433). The critical question then becomes to what extent are schools and the educational system as a whole able to adapt in order to provide an education that is beneficial for all learners both socially and substantially (Haug, 2010, p 207). A non-categorical approach implies that the most effective way of dealing with exclusion and discrimination is to base education on the notion that pupils, regardless of category or background, should learn together (Sebba & Ainscow, 1996, p 7). Understanding inclusion in this way is part of a British tradition (Booth, 1996) and is closely related to disability studies and the social model which are also a British concept (de Beco, 2018, p 15; Oliver, 1999/1983). An important aspect that relates the non-categorical approach to the social model is how both position themselves in relation to the normality concept.

Resulting from the British disability movement in the 1970s, the later defined social model of disability emerged as a response to the established individualistic perspectives that considered the disabled as biologically deviant human beings (Thomas, 2002, p 39-40). Up until this point disability was more or less exclusively understood as a concept describing, not only conditions that needed medical treatment, but all participation – or lack of participation – in society (Barnes, Oliver, & Barton, 2002, p 3-5). As a consequence, societies were treated as

static and unchanging, where a lack of participation in school, work or other societal institutions was considered the responsibility or problem of the individuals. This meant that the construction of disabled persons' surroundings was taken for granted (Barnes & Mercer, 2010, p 18-24). By introducing the social model, which was initiated by Paul Hunt and Vic Finkelstein through the establishment of the 'Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) (UPIAS, 1975), and later operationalised as the social model of disability by Oliver (1999/1983), a new discourse of disability emerged. The purpose of the social model was to re-contextualise the disability concept. UPIAS defined disability as follows: 'Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from society' (UPIAS, 1975, p 4). This terminology made a distinction between the body and society. Impairment remained as a description of intrinsic features that prevented a person from walking, seeing, hearing and so forth (Barnes et al., 2002, p 3-5). However, not much emphasis was placed on the actual or assumed impairment in social model thinking. Instead, its focus was on the new content implemented in the disability term, which now referred to society as being possibly disabling. The social model considers disability as a constructed phenomenon, where society discriminates portions of the population by being constructed based on the assumption of the normal (Oliver, 2013).

If disability is considered social and constructed by disabling barriers it favours a non-categorical approach to inclusion. A non-categorical approach is, as mentioned, based on the notion that education should be concerned with meeting the needs of all learners, regardless of how they are classified. Constructing organisational practices and other educational provisions based on the assumption that there are pupils that because of their impairment deviate from the norm is in a social model considered discriminative and in a non-categorical approach not inclusive. Despite refuting the classifying of groups of children in education, the non-categorical approach does not neglect that some pupils are in need of some adaptations with regard to the curriculum and other provisions in school. In fact, inclusion in this perspective is concerned with responding to all learners as individuals (Vislie, 2003, p 21). However, meeting the needs of all leaners cannot be confused in a non-categorical approach with an individual approach that focuses on certain classified groups of individuals, as that would assume that some pupils intrinsically deviates from the norm; a norm that relies on the existence of an educational system that at the end of the day is constructed. Constructing a perspective based on a social approach has certain implications for how an educational institution perceives leaners and how it defines special educational needs.

In a non-categorical approach it is not about mainstreaming a particular group of children in order to fit them into a static and unchanging ordinary educational provision in line with a narrow interpretation of inclusion (Haug, 2017, p 208). Instead, educational provisions should be based on the assumption that all children are unique, with different interests, abilities and needs (Sebba & Ainscow, 1996, p 7-9; UNESCO, 1994, p viii). For children to be fully included, Farrell (2000, p 154) argues that they should be provided with opportunities to take a full and active part in the life that goes on in the mainstream school. In addition, all children should be considered valued and equal members within school communities. Further, Booth (1996) argues that an inclusive school does not exist because that implies that there is a certain practice or state that is inclusive and possible to study. Instead, inclusion has to be considered as an unending set of processes where schools continuously work towards improving the ways in which they increase the social and educational participation of all learners.

Some will argue that the non-categorical approach is too radical, as the means and goals are subordinated in favour of non-negotiable values of inclusion being a good thing in itself (Nilholm, 2006, p 438-439). This position emphasises the human right's perspective of UNESCO (1994, p 5-6). Understanding inclusion in this way relates it further to other values such as democracy and freedom of speech were it does not appear that empirical investigation is necessary in order to determine whether it is a good thing or not (Nilholm, 2006, p 438-439).

2.2.3 *Relational approach to inclusion: securing normalised living conditions for disabled pupils*

If one identifies groups of children, one risks stigmatising them. However, if one does not identify groups of children, one risks neglecting children who need more support. (Nilholm, 2006, p 435)

According to Nilholm (2006, p 433) a third perspective of special education exists. This perspective can be understood as a compromise between the deficit perspective that locates the problem within the child and a non-categorical and social perspective where deviance is a symptom of curriculum-based-difficulties. This approach views educational difficulties as an interactive relationship arising from a mismatch between the intrinsic character of the individual pupil and the existing curricular or other educational or social arrangements within schools. Support in this perspective is directed towards both the individual if the curriculum

for the time being is fixed or towards modification to the system in order for it to facilitate a greater heterogeneity of learners (Ainscow, 1998, p 8-9).

These perspectives, which are often referred to as interactive or relational models of disability, have emerged partly as a critique towards the alleged radical position of the social model (Shakespeare, 2014b) and partly as a developing trend in the Nordic welfare states as an opposition to individualistic perspectives dominating the special school systems and long-stay institutional care for disabled people (Gustavsson, Tøssebro, & Traustadóttir, 2005). Relational perspectives on disability have had a major influence internationally. For example, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability (UNCRPD) states that disability is 'a result from the interaction between persons with impairment and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinders their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others' (United Nations, 2006, p 1).

One interpretation of a relational perspective is the so-called Nordic approaches that claim that there is a gap or a mismatch between how society is constructed and individual bodily structures (Gustavsson et al., 2005, p 32-34). Within this framework of interactive/relational perspectives on education and disability lies a re-conceptualisation of normality. In the second half of the nineteen century, special schools for children and long-stay institutional care for adults were subjected to increasing criticism. During this period the two most important ideological goals of disability policies were normalisation and integration (Tideman, 2005, p 221). Normality in this sense was not a matter re-constituting the medical/individual model's normality and deficit perspective. Instead, a new interpretation of normality emerged. From normality being associated with the biologically deviant and normal person, the concept became about equality where normalcy referred to the disabled person's right to normalised living condition (Gustavsson et al., 2005).

While the Nordic approach to normalisation and thus integration can be interpreted as a critique towards individualistic or medical models of disability, Tom Shakespeare, a British disability study researcher, later built on this perspective and developed a similar but slightly different interactive perspective as a critique towards the social model. Shakespeare (2014b, p 220-221) considered the social model unhelpful and argued the need for a more complex model that recognised the intricate relationship between the oppression and exclusion that the disabled face in their encounters with society and the diverse needs that people with different impairments have. The medical model, Shakespeare claims, is inappropriate because it does not speak of how society oppresses and excludes as a result of how it is constructed. He also

considered the social model to be too one-sided by claiming that it refuses to see impairment (the biological condition) as a problem. Shakespeare (2014a, p 74-84) therefore produced a model that is both social but at the same time takes the individual's impairment into account. Defined as the relational model of disability, Shakespeare argued that disability is 'the relationship between factors intrinsic to the individual, and extrinsic factors arising from the wider context in which she finds herself' (Shakespeare, 2014a, p 74-75). The intrinsic factors relate to the nature and severity of the impairment, the individuals' attitudes about it, her or his personal qualities and her or his personality. The contextual factors relate to the attitudes and reactions of others and the extent to which a particular society is enabling or disabling. In other words, he does not accept that disability is exclusively made up from social factors in a disabling environment, and nor does he accept disability as equal to impairment (Shakespeare, 2014a, p 74-84).

Vehmas and Mäkelä (2009, p 53) also argue in favour of a similar approach to disability because of its practical implication. They claim that changing social structures, practices and arrangements, in this case within schools, can be notoriously difficult and slow work. They claim that if one accepts the ontology of impairment, more tools become available in order to change the current state of affairs. Both Shakespeare (2014b, p 220-221) and Vehmas and Mäkelä (2009, p 53) emphasise the importance of challenging existing structures, with the ambition of restructuring institutions in order for them to become less marginalising and oppressional. Nevertheless, Vehmas and Mäkelä (2009, p 53) argue that structural changes do not happen overnight, and they are worried that refusing to speak of impairment or rejecting to even consider personal aspects as part of disability might have unfortunate consequences for the everyday life of disabled people, such as children with impairments in schools. Disabled people can have pain or illnesses related to their impairment which need medical intervention. They might also need individual interventions to overcome barriers in schools to increase their wellbeing, social participation and educational competences. This position therefore implies that for some children it will not help if disabling barriers are removed 10 or 20 years from now. Instead, it might be necessary in the short term to apply individual measures to overcome barriers in schools, including those that undoubtedly could and should be viewed as socially constructed.

Within a relational framework, Norwich (2002) has also proposed an approach that he calls a dilemmatic perspective. According to Norwich (2002, p 498), the dilemmatic approach is an effort to reconcile those perspectives that consider the language of educational needs as based

on values and those that consider the importance of individual needs. Though many variants of relational/interactive perspectives exist within education, as well as in society in general, they do appear to share the same basis. According to Wendelborg and Tøssebro (2010, p 702-703), it seems that common to variants of the relational/interactive perspectives in education is that that they point at the mutual dependency between the individual and the environment in order to create a school for all.

Some critics of the relational/interactive approach to education claim that this position is too close to individualistic/medical perspectives. Ainscow (1998, p 11) is concerned that by locating educational difficulties as partly intrinsic to the child, the interactive approach would contribute to a kinder, more liberal and yet more concealed version of the deficit model. The reason for this, he argues, is because the deficit model is so deeply ingrained in many educational institutions. Providing a differentiated curriculum and additional adult support based on perspectives that partly locate the difficulties within the pupil might promote individualistic understanding of educational difficulties. By being ideologically based on normalisation, relational perspectives relate closely to integration (Emanuelsson, 1998, p 100; Söder, 2003, p 198). As mentioned, integration, partly because of its history of challenging exclusion for disabled people, had gained some unfortunate connotations that related it to a matter of placing the disabled within the mainstream. When the misuse of integration appears to be related to a tendency to associate it with individually oriented perspectives regarding pupils categorised as disabled, Ainscow's critique of the interactive perspective does not seem entirely unwarranted. In countries such as Norway where the relational model has a strong foothold within disability policies, such individualistic tendencies seem to be present. Wendelborg and Tøssebro (2010, p 712) argue that as children grow older, schools increases their use of segregating provisions to deal with pupils that fail to keep up academically, which in turn leads to increased marginalisation. More responsibility in these cases is considered to be placed on intrinsic factors and gradually less on the environment. When the relational model does not offer a clear distinction between individual and contextual factors, the risk is that social aspects of disability are downplayed, thus preventing barriers created by the school from being removed, which consequently pushes responsibility for disability to the individual.

2.3 Inclusive research

According to Haug (2017, p 208), research on inclusive education should be based on a relational or social perspective. As mentioned, Shakespeare (2014b, p 220-221) argued that individual oriented approaches are inappropriate because such perspectives do not take into

account the social structures at play. By being based partly or entirely on the assumption that institutional structures enable or prevent all learners to participate, inclusion can be understood in line with fundamental human rights of justice, equality and democracy. Relating inclusion to human rights further builds on the assumption that inclusion is a good thing in itself, and it might therefore not be considered necessary to study whether in fact inclusion is the best approach to educate all learners (Farrell, 2000, p 160; Nilholm, 2006, p 438-440). Farrell (2000, p 154-155) refers to this as a socio-political position. If inclusion is viewed in line with human rights, Farrell continues, it is considered unnecessary or maybe even unethical to study the effectiveness of inclusion. According to Booth (1996), Hausstätter (2014, p 424-425) and Sebba and Ainscow (1996, p 7-9), studying whether or not inclusion works or if it is better or worse than other concepts, i.e. integration, is a misunderstanding of the concept because it implies that inclusion is a certain kind of practice or a finished solution that it is possible to study the effectiveness of. Instead, Booth (1996) claims that research should be concerned with examining the possibility of increasing the participation of groups of pupils subjected to exclusion or more broadly with how educational institutions respond to all learners.

This dissertation is not concerned with whether inclusion works or not, nor is it concerned with developing a guide to inclusive practice. Instead, this dissertation is part of a political discussion concerned with how schools facilitate for equality and justice for all learners and how certain practices, values and approaches affect pupils. This approach can be legitimated if one departs from the argument that the educational system is normative. Every concept and practice communicated in education from the governmental to the classroom level is ultimately socially constructed and thus reflects the values and norms of current society. Viewing inclusion as a socio-political concept is therefore no more ideological than neo-liberal approaches that are based on more traditionalist education that favours competitive and individualistic approaches to education (de Beco, 2018, p 15-23). At the end of the day, the question of perspective is a moral one, where all research on education and inclusion has to take a standpoint in regard to what ends educational institutions should be concerned (Gallagher, 2001, p 650-651). Positioning this project within socially oriented approaches to inclusion consequently also makes this project normative, where it enters discussions of inclusion with certain presuppositions of how inclusion should be understood.

2.3.1 Macro and micro perspectives on inclusion

Haug (2014, p 18) presents one way of researching from a social or relational basis the challenges that face inclusion and education by operationalising inclusion into four vertical and horizontal dimensions (see Table 1).

Table 1: Vertical and horizontal dimensions of inclusion

	Fellowship	**Participation**	**Democracy**	**Benefit**
Government: values, ideology and policy				
Local government: organisation and conditions for educational practice				
Schools and the classroom: practical action				
Pupil: behaviour and experience				

(Haug, 2014, p 18)

Regarding the horizontal dimension, Haug (2010, p 207) defines these as follows:

> All children should be a member of a school class and be a natural part of the social, cultural and professional life at school together with everybody else (Fellowship). Pupils should be allowed to contribute to the good of the fellowship according to their qualifications and to be given opportunities to benefit from the same fellowship (Participation). All pupils shall have the opportunity to comment upon and to influence matters concerning their own education (democratisation). All pupils should be given an education to their advantage both socially and substantially (benefit). (Haug, 2010, p 207)

The horizontal dimension of inclusion emphasises that inclusion is a concept that relates to all learners. It also reflects a broad definition, where inclusion is not merely a matter of placement or teaching strategies (Ainscow, 1998, p 10-11; Haug, 2017, p 208-209). In Haug's (2010, p 207; 2014, p 18-19) definition, placement and educational outcomes are only elements of inclusion as he also considers inclusive education to be concerned with social and cultural processes that take place within school and between learners and teachers.

Haug (2014, p 18-19) argues further that the four horizontal dimensions relate to all vertical dimensions of inclusion. It is not sufficient, Haug continues, to regard inclusion only as a policy or as an organisational matter. It is equally important to understand the processes that take place within school and how practical actions affect individual pupils' behaviour and experiences. In light of this, Haug (2010, p 200-205) argues that there are two possible ways to research inclusion: using a macro- or a micro-approach.

Macro- and micro-perspectives of research on inclusion refer to what level of education is being studied. A macro-approach defines research that seeks to analyse the structural characteristics of the whole educational system, whereas a micro-perspective studies the processes that take place within the school and the classroom (Haug, 2010, p 200).

Research conducted from a macro-perspective relates mainly to the first but also to the second vertical dimension of inclusion, as presented by Haug (2014, p 18). Studies conducted within this framework can provide information regarding who receives special education and in what setting. This kind of research enables comparison between different educational systems, both in national and international contexts. Though providing useful insight into how different countries and education systems organise their education, Haug (2010, p 201-202) and Barton (1997, p 240) claim that a macro-perspective that merely focuses on organisational structures and polices is unable to present the whole picture regarding inclusion. According to Haug (2010, p 201-202), formal structures are not always what they appear to be. On a governmental or municipality level, intentions might seem inclusive. However, a macro-level study does not provide any insight into the realities that take place within schools, such as for example if all children participate in a fellowship, that they have influence over their education or that education is constructed in a way that is beneficial for all.

Sebba and Ainscow (1996) and Booth (1996) consider inclusion as a process that in addition to international and national policies also concerns the local level. Inclusion is thus about how particular schools are able to build their capacity in order to accept all pupils. Barton (1997, p 240) argues that any discussion regarding inclusion has to include listening to the voices of oppressed people. Haug (2010, p 202-205) defines research on a school and classroom level as a micro-perspective on inclusion. The purpose of a micro-approach is to obtain insight about the processes that take place inside schools and how they affect individuals subjected to certain educational practices. In order to obtain knowledge about the inclusion/exclusion processes that occur between learners and the curriculum, between learners and teachers and within the fellowship of learners as well as how this is experienced by learners (Haug, 2014, p

18), this project is positioned within the two lower vertical dimensions and studies inclusion from a micro-perspective.

2.3.2 *Existing research on inclusion/exclusion*

This dissertation takes a micro approach to inclusion. That means studying the processes that take place in the every-day-life in school.

Regarding macro-approaches to inclusion, it is often considered difficult to compare these studies between countries. According to Jahnukainen (2015, p 60-61) and Nilholm (2006, p 435-438), part of this problem is that inclusion and special educational needs imply different things. If for example some studies view special education and inclusion solely as a matter related to disability, then comparing this research with those who take a non-categorical approach becomes difficult. Soriano, Watkins and Ebershold (p 2017, 23) and Smyth et al. (2014, p 434) also point to issues regarding comparative research in the field of inclusive education in light of the complexity of a single educational system. However, Smyth et al. (2014) continue by saying that research on a policy level has the potential to illuminate the status of different countries' educational policies and their treatment of disabled pupils. Below, some examples from studies on a macro-level are presented in order to highlight what knowledge this approach can provide in regards to inclusion.

Soriano et al. (2017, p 24-27) conducted research based on statistics from the EU member states. These consisted of data about how many children were defined as having special educational needs and where they were educated in almost 30 European countries. From these data, the researchers presented differences between member countries on a variety of factors such as the enrolment rate in mainstream education, enrolment rate in inclusive education and the percentage of pupils with an official decision on special educational needs. The results from Soriano et al. (2017) show that none of the countries compared have 100% enrolment in the mainstream school system, and within the mainstream school system there is also variation between countries in regard to whether education takes place inside or outside the classroom. In addition, the number of children officially identified as having special educational needs varies greatly. This is similar to results presented by Vislie (2003, p 29), who state that there are wide-ranging differences between countries in regard to the amount of pupils identified with special educational needs. Vislie also argues that the identification appears to serve different purposes. In some countries the purpose seems to be placement in segregated provisions, whilst in others identification serves the purpose of mainstreaming. Smyth et al. (2014) compared the educational policy in four countries (Austria, Spain, Ireland

and the Czech Republic). They found that Austria and Spain were at the lower end of the scale regarding pupils identified with special educational needs, identifying between 2.1 to 4%. The Czech Republic on the other hand identified as many as 6.1 to 10%. In Ireland and Spain the majority of children are educated in the mainstream school system, either in special classes or in the ordinary classroom with additional support. In the Czech Republic pupils with intellectual disabilities were almost exclusively educated in special schools, whereas in Austria it is reported that the number of pupils with intellectual disabilities in special and mainstream schools are almost equal (Smyth et al., 2014, p 439-442).

Pfahl and Powell (2011) have studied the status of school segregation in Germany. They argue that in Germany segregated special school are widely accepted as a provision for educating children with learning disabilities. They estimate that around 6% of all pupils attend some kind of special school. In Norway, Wendelborg and Tøssebro (2010) draw on a longitudinal study called 'Growing up with disabilities'. Their findings suggest that as pupils grows older those defined with a disability, particularly those defined with cognitive impairments, become increasingly subjected to educational provisions that remove them from the classroom.

Though providing informative data, there are limits to these kinds of macro-studies on inclusion. Being part of the mainstream school system or spending time in the classroom does not provide any insight into what is actually taking place between pupils and the teacher or within peer groups. Haug, (2017, p 215) claims that another issue with the research from a macro-perspective is that it often focuses on placement at the expense of developing teacher competencies. Nilholm and Alm (2010, p 239-240) argue that placement is a necessary but insufficient condition for inclusion and therefore request more in-depth research into processes that takes place inside the classroom. According to Haug (2017, p 215), nations, challenges and schools differ, therefore every school must introduce their own inclusive processes that have to be empirically founded (Haug, 2017, p 215). In addition, Haug (2010, p 207) claims that the closer we get to educational practice and learning processes the harder it becomes to define inclusion. The arguments made above suggest a demand for more research on inclusion using a micro-perspective.

Regarding research on school and classroom processes, much research is conducted concerning teacher attitudes (see, for example, Avramidis & Kalyva, 2007; Avramidis & Norwich, 2002; Čagran & Schmidt, 2011; Humphrey & Symes, 2013; Jerlinder, Danermark, & Gill, 2010). Studies conducted on social participation and peer acceptance amongst pupils

appear to consist of large-scale research where the focus is often on how pupils labelled with special educational needs are perceived by their surroundings (Estell et al., 2008; Pijl, Frostad, & Flem, 2008). However, Nilholm and Alm (2010, p 249) argue that no school or classroom can be labelled inclusive without firm data on pupils' own experiences. Studies conducted following this approach seem to be few and far between. However, there are some exceptions: Dolva, Gustavsson, Borell and Hemmingsson (2011), for example, studied how different support strategies for pupils with Down syndrome facilitate peer interactions. Booth (1996) provides two examples from his own studies on inclusion and exclusion, where the first looks at participation in the education of students with Down syndrome and the second on how participation of all students within a school may be impeded and fostered. Nilholm and Alm (2010) studied micro-processes with the purpose of developing a methodology that is applicable to investigate the inclusiveness of classrooms. Webster and Blatchford (2018) studied the nature and quality of day-to day educational experiences by shadowing pupils in special education for several days over a school week. They also interviewed the observed pupils as well as the school staff that were involved in their learning. In addition Flem, Moen and Gudmundsdottir (2004) engaged in a micro-approach when attempting to research inclusion in practice by studying how one teacher handled a boy defined as having impulsive and uncontrolled behaviour.

As the articles later in this dissertation will show, studying inclusion from a micro-perspective may reveal examples where placement is not always synonymous with inclusion (Snipstad, 2018a, 2018b). They also shed light on seemingly beneficial consequences from educational arrangements that relate to more socially oriented perspectives on inclusion; where practices are less focused on labelling certain kinds of pupils (Snipstad, unpublished).

2.4 **Summary**

From the 'brief' presentation of inclusion above, it becomes apparent that it is a complex concept that has been subjected to a wide range of interpretations resulting in fundamentally different implications for practice. Inclusion can be interpreted as non-categorical by arguing that educational difficulties are curriculum based, where normality and deviance are considered social constructs. It can be categorical, locating the cause of educational difficulties or deviance within the child. Alternatively, it can also be argued to be relational, where educational difficulties are considered to emerge from a gap or a mismatch between educational arrangements and individual factors where disabled are entitled to normalised living conditions.

Further, inclusion can be interpreted through a narrow or broad definition, where the narrow is mainly concerned with placement of disabled and the broad with all aspects of education regarding all learners. Inclusion is also a political matter that can either be related to a neo-liberal perspective where inclusion is considered a tool or a practice or it can be socio-political where inclusion is viewed as a process in line with human rights. When researching inclusion, there are also different levels on which studies of inclusion can be conducted, i.e. from a macro or micro perspective.

Based on the view that the educational system reflects the values and norm systems of the wider society, it is impossible to develop a neutral approach to general/special education. This is of course also the case in this project. Inclusion might not be the most 'effective' way of educating all pupils (Booth, 1996). However, those in favour of a non-categorical approach would argue that effectiveness is not the purpose of inclusion. Hence, inclusion cannot be reduced to a strategy or a method for teaching. Instead it is a process that is concerned with equality and justice for all learners.

The dissertation positons itself close to a social and non-categorical approach to inclusion. While not refuting that there might be some underlying biological reality intrinsic to persons labelled as intellectually disabled, the dissertation is more concerned with the social consequences that follow from being classified as a certain kind of person. This means, as will be elaborated later, that different categories used to describe kinds of humans will trigger certain assumptions, attitudes, practices and so-forth that ultimately will affect the categorised individual. Whether those who are categorised are treated as equal or as deviants will in other words have implications for what kind of person the classified individual turns out to be. Consequently, this project commits to a broad perspective on inclusion, were inclusion is considered to consist of more than mere placement. Equally important to placement is how the educational system facilitates for both social and educational participation in a fellowship for all and creates a space were all learners have an opportunity to voice their opinions regarding their interests in education. In order to gain an insight into the different dimensions of inclusion, the later articles take a micro-perspective on inclusion. This approach is, as mentioned, necessary when the purpose is to provide critical reflections about the processes that take place within schools and between the different actors that are present inside as well as outside the classroom and peer environment.

3 'Making up people'

This dissertation is based on the works of Canadian philosopher Ian Hacking. Inspired by Foucault and Nietzsche amongst others, Hacking is interested in questions about ontology; not an ontology where the being is understood as an objective and universal truth but in ontology as something that is historically and culturally dependent and which emerges into existence at particular times and in particular places (Hacking, 2002, p 1-26). Drawing on Foucault's phrase 'historical ontology' (Foucault, 1991, p 32-50), Hacking is concerned with how things come into being and how it evolves and changes through the course of history. Hacking (2002, p 26) defines his own position as a dynamic nominalist: a nominalist because he is concerned with naming and how names bring new kinds of objects and phenomena into being and dynamic because of how the name interacts with what is being named, causing the name or the category itself to evolve through history and changing the being or the ontology that has come into existence. When Hacking writes of ontology, he does not only refer to 'material' objects but to everything that is possible to speak of, which means any kind of objects, people, behaviour, phenomena, ideas and so on (Hacking, 2002, p 2). When 'reality' is conceived in this way, it also has consequences for the epistemological position; meaning the knowledge developed about the ontology or being. If names influence how we perceive the world and sometimes affect the being itself, then epistemology has to also be considered historically dependent, which emerges and exists in particular times and places. This implies that knowledge is not something that exists naturally, waiting for someone to discover it. Instead, the knowledge about ontology is considered to be constructed, and as beings themselves might change, epistemology is constantly negotiated and changed as we move through history (Hacking, 2002, p 8).

3.1 Kind-making

> I am not concerned with what Vivet [the first case of multiple personality] "really had." I am concerned with what was said about him, how he was treated, and how the symptom language of multiple personality came into being. (Hacking, 1995b, p 174)

The focus in this dissertation is naming or categorisation. As it studies pupils diagnosed with intellectual disability, the project is not really concerned with what these pupils 'really' have but instead studies how they came into being by how they were categorised and consequently approached and treated as a particular kind of person (Hacking, 1995b, p 174).

Before discussing the case of intellectual disability in more detail, it is first important to clarify what is meant by kinds and kind-making. Hacking (1999, p 104) uses the term *kind* in order to draw attention to the principle of classification into categories. In our daily lives kinds are applied in order to say something about what is believed to be typical of the 'thing' (be it an object, phenomenon or idea) that we direct our attention towards. In more scientific contexts, Hacking (1995a, p 352) refers to *kinds* as something that we would like to have general and accurate knowledge about. There are kinds of people and there are kinds of nature, *natural kinds.* Everything in the known universe is classified and thus understood as a particular kind. As kinds can refer to the *typicality* of everything classified, there is a need for a distinction because there appears to be differences between classifying people and other objects in nature.

The 'sun' and the 'heart' are examples of kinds of nature. They are also what Hacking (1999, p 104-106) refers to as *indifferent kinds*. They are termed indifferent because these objects do not act under description.[3] The two categories heart and sun are the names used to describe the objects represented by the name or classification. While the objects exist independently of our consciousness about them, the categories could not exist independent of our beliefs, language and institutions. The heart and the sun is also no direct, objective and value neutral representation of the objects that the categories classify. Take for example the category sun. This classification contains and triggers a complex matrix of knowledge, assumptions, attitudes, feelings, behaviour and so-forth that are very much culturally and historically determined. As a discipline, science has made efforts to develop law-like truths about the behaviour and function of the sun. However, the truths developed are cultural as they depend on societies that recognise modern science. It is also historical as 'facts' about the sun might hold true in a particular period of time. Eventually some truths or facts are abandoned in favour of new ones as science 'progresses', i.e. it was once believed that the sun moved around the earth, but this was later abandoned when Copernicus (1473-1543) predicted mathematically that it was in fact the earth that revolved around the sun. In addition to knowledge developed by science, the category sun has also been implemented by religious beliefs as well as triggering feelings of pleasure/discomfort and is seen as a source for energy along with many other assumptions, attitudes, behaviours and so on related to our understandings and perceptions about it that are socially and culturally dependent. The same

---

[3] Note the distinction made between the name (epistemology: category or classification) and the object (ontology; the object, phenomenon or idea being named). According to Hacking and Nietzsche, through language these two become one and the same thing.

also holds true for the heart, which might be subject to scientific scrutiny or used as a metaphor for life or love (Hacking, 2002, p 8-9).

So far it is not the object but the category that has been discussed. Every 'fact', association, approach and so on related to the heart or the sun affects how we understand the objects that are classified. These categories thus enable us to say something about the objects classified as *kinds.* However, everything that we implement in these two categories makes little difference to the object itself; they are by definition *Indifferent.* Indifferent kinds, Hacking (1999, p 104-106) argues, are not affected by how they are classified. Of course, Hacking continues, our knowledge about indifferent kinds can enable us to intervene in the object. Knowledge about the structures and biology of the heart makes it possible to do things to it, i.e. we can restart it if it stops pumping blood. However, this change does not occur because the heart is aware of how it is classified and changes because of the beliefs we hold about it. A heart could be categorised as the sun and vice-versa without that making any difference to the objects classified.

3.2 Interactive kinds

In many disciplines, such as medicine and psychology, efforts have been made in order to make humans into natural kinds, assuming that by making correct distinctions we can develop general principles that are universal and that exist independent of our beliefs about them (Hacking, 1999, p 104-105; 2007, p 292-294).

Natural science and the study of natural kinds view nature as passive and acted upon by humans. In the study of natural kinds, the *indifferent* is often taken for granted (Hacking, 1999, p 106). Understanding humans in this ways implies an assumption that it is possible to develop knowledge that describes and predicts human nature accurately. These descriptions and predictions can serve many purposes. We may wish to obtain true knowledge in order to protect classes of people, to help them, to keep society safe and so on (Hacking, 2007, p 292-294). Hacking (1995a, p 353) claims however that there are issues with believing that humans can be studied and/or acted upon as natural kinds. This is not because he rejects that humans are natural or that societies are part of nature, but because there are some things that are peculiar to humans in social settings that do not seem to apply to other objects of nature. Hacking (1999, p 102-104) argues that the main problem regarding naturalistic approaches to human kinds is that people are not indifferent to their classifications, as was the case with objects classified as the heart or the sun.

Again, this is not a discussion about whether nature itself is real or constructed, but instead it is a discussion of naming nature and how naming can affect the 'thing' being named. When a classification is applied to indifferent kinds, the category means a lot to us; it enables us to perceive the objects in certain ways. However, the category means very little to objects classified, as they are not self-aware and capable of reflecting upon the category labelling them. This is not the case with categories applied in order to classify kinds of people, including their behaviour, conditions, actions, emotions, experiences and so on. As a kind (in a broad sense), people are not neutral to how they are categorised. Instead, they interact with their classifications. They are what Hacking (1999, p 103-104) refers to as *interactive kinds.*

Like indifferent kinds, categories classifying interactive kinds are filled with constructed knowledge, which attempts to describe what kind, in this case, of person we are dealing with. Knowledge, assumptions, attitudes and approaches are produced by science and other institutions and implemented in categories which in turn provide definitions, trigger reflections and guide practice towards those categorised as a certain kind (Hacking, 1999, p 111-112). In contrast to indifferent kinds that do not act under description, interactive kinds, people, can themselves be affected by how they are categorised. According to Hacking (1999, p 103-104), individuals need not become directly aware of the category they are classified into by name in order to be affected by it. Interactions between individuals and their categories always occur in a larger matrix of institutions and practices surrounding the classification. Within institutions, i.e. schools, the content implemented within categories triggers certain attitudes, assumptions, beliefs and so forth that guide organisation and practices. Even if the pupils are not aware of the category intellectual disability by name, the classified pupils will still interact and become affected by their classifications because of the social consequences that follow from being defined into a particular category. The interaction with the category happens because people are self-conscious and aware of their social surroundings. The way people behave or act is thus not independent of their social surroundings but takes place under certain descriptions (Hacking, 1999, p 103-104).

As people change in relation to how they are categorised, treating them as stable and unchanging natural kinds is difficult; when a category becomes directly or indirectly known to the classified, the classified individuals might change themselves (Brinkmann, 2005, p 773-774; Hacking, 1995a, p 366-370; 1999, p 105). According to Hacking (2007), human kinds are therefore a *moving target.*

Because interactive kinds are always on the move, it makes universal and long lasting description about their ontology difficult. When classified individuals change their being, over time they also force the knowledge that is implemented in their given category to change, which in turn influences the categorised in new ways. A classification might appear true in a particular time and place in history, but as the category influences individuals, causing them to change, these truths might become false or represent an insufficient description of the person that has come into being. If a child that is categorised as intellectually disabled, with the practices, assumptions and attitudes that follow, changes into something that was not covered by the prior understanding of the categorised, a new kind of person has emerged. In turn this can affect the content of the category that science, professionals or the public use to describe the person. In order for a category to remain descriptive of the 'new' kind of person that has come into being, it has to be constantly re-negotiated and implemented with new content. The interactive process where the category and the categorised are part of an ever-shifting and evolving relationship is described as *the looping effect of interactive kinds* (Hacking, 1995a, 366-370).

3.3 **Acting under description: Being an intellectually disabled person**

Above, a distinction has been made between indifferent and interactive kinds. Indifferent kinds refers to objects that are not affected by how they are classified, whilst interactive kinds refers to those objects that might change because of how they interact with their classifications. However, it is not always the case that a kind is solely one or the other (indifferent or interactive). Many, probably most, interactive kinds can be partly indifferent and partly interactive (Hacking, 1999, p 115-124). Regarding people classified as intellectually disabled, they might have some intrinsic pathology that is indifferent as well as having other aspects that are very much interactive and social. Down syndrome serves as a good example. In the case of people with Down syndrome, there is a known pathology, which is a genetic mutation within their cells. The pathology is *indifferent* because it exists independent of how we classify it. At the same time, those that are classified as intellectually disabled are interactive because being classified as such might have profound social consequences that affect and change the classified individuals. When this dissertation discusses the process of making up people or of intellectual disability as a way of being a person, it is not concerned with the indifferent; meaning the known or assumed biological or pathological condition. In the following discussion, the focus is on the social consequences of being understood and consequently treated as an intellectually disabled kind of person.

Only after society identifies, classifies and defines groups of people into different categories is it possible to act intentionally towards kinds of people. No intentional act is conducted towards or by someone independent of existing descriptions (Hacking, 1999, p 103). If we are to act intentionally towards pupils classified as intellectually disabled, the necessary description has to exist. It was only after intellectual disability emerged as a way of being a person that certain attitudes, assumptions and educational practices towards them became possible (Hacking, 1995b, p 234-239). In the past, people that were assumed to deviate from normal cognitive functioning and whom we now refer to as intellectually disabled have throughout history been subjected to other categories, such as idiot, feeble minded, imbecile, retarded and so on, that at particular times and places appeared as inevitable classifications. Each of these classifications contained certain descriptions and practices of treatment, schooling, exclusion or inclusion that affected both the classified individuals' own experiences about themselves as well as their surroundings, e.g. families, teachers, peers etc. As the beliefs about them changed, partly because the categorised individuals developed ways of being that did not fit the classification, new classifications were invented and put into circulation in order to function as a descriptor of the kind of person that had emerged (Hacking, 1999, p 111-112). Each of the above mentioned classifications has placed its mark upon education. Categories defining children who at certain periods were considered to deviate from normal cognitive functioning have throughout history affected the schooling of those classified; where they have been subjected to a variety of educational arrangements such as complete exclusion from education, segregated schooling or as a focus for integration polices (Emanuelsson, 1998; Gustavsson et al., 2005; Tideman, 2005). Today, different traditions of education exist. Some of these are concerned with making disabled people into natural kinds, and thus develop specialised methods for educating them (Hallahan, 1998; Kauffman, 1999), whereas others are more socially oriented and concerned with education for all (Booth, 1996; Hausstätter, 2014; Sebba & Ainscow, 1996).

Inventing a class of people, e.g. the intellectually disabled pupils, will according to Hacking (1995b, p 239) create new ways of being a person. When a person chooses to do something (s)he acts intentionally. It is not possible to act intentionally if the individual is unaware of certain actions. The same also holds true for experience. A person cannot experience a lack of power, being oppressed or confined without any description about power, oppression or confinement being available. In addition, a person cannot feel limited by the lack of available descriptions because if (s)he did, the particular description, even though it might just exist as a

faint and distant image, would to some extent be accessible (Hacking, 1995b, p 235-236). Being classified as a particular kind of person also has the power to change history. When a person is classified into a particular category, the classified individual might also change how (s)he perceives her/his past. When intellectual disability is the category, the present descriptions and the following experiences available might cause the individual classified to re-negotiate her/his personal history, which changes how (s)he understand her/his past in light of perceiving her/himself as a particular kind of person (Hacking, 1995b, p 95-96; 2002, p 1-26). In education, different epochs and traditions have provided new descriptions for the people we now know and classify as intellectually disabled. Depending on how pupils with intellectual disability are understood, approached and treated, it will provide some and exclude other descriptions from which the individual can or cannot act and experience.

As mentioned, there have been attempts to make humans into natural kinds. Regarding pupils categorised as intellectually disabled, some educational traditions believe that by sorting pupils and classifying correctly, effective teaching methods can be developed (Kauffman, 1999; Kauffman et al., 1998). Since people are interactive kinds, individualistic approaches that perceive some pupils as biologically deviant from their peers will provide a different set of descriptions from which it is possible to act than is the case with other approaches (Hacking, 1995b, p 239). In general, kind-making is not problematic as all pupils are assigned to multiple categories at any given moment. Children, peers and pupils are all categories that are implemented with a matrix of meaning that affects both how they are perceived in their surroundings as well as how those classified experience themselves. Intellectual disability is a category where those classified are often met with assumptions that they are in an unfortunate or unwanted state of being (Vehmas, 2004, p 213). This brings us yet again to the normality concept or what Hacking (1995a, p 371-372) refers to as 'second order kinds': 'Second order kinds' refer to the adjectives that are used to describe the characteristics of kinds, such as good, skilful or normal. These words make little sense on their own. They have to be applied to something or someone in order to provide meaning. Put to use in institutions such as schools, 'second order kinds' function as a way of characterising the good, skilful or normal pupil. These adjectives are value laden and by defining the good, skilful and normal pupil we implicitly also define the bad, incapable and deviant pupil (Hacking, 1995a, p 367 & 371-372; Vehmas, 2004, p 213). As people act under descriptions, there is a risk that an educational system that understands and organises education in line with a traditionalist perspective on education that views disability as a pathological condition and disabled pupils as intrinsically

deviant contributes to creating kinds of children that develop different sets of behaviour than the ones that are classified as *normal.* It has been implied above that being and behaving as a deviant pupil is not entirely a matter of biology or pathology. How children are categorised, and consequently understood and approached, plays a significant role regarding what kinds of experiences, behaviours, actions and so forth are conducted. If the conception of normality changes, as is attempted in a non-categorical and relational perspective on inclusion, the available descriptions also change. If pupils are approached and understood as equals, it would consequently give pupils classified as intellectually disabled access to descriptions similar to that available to their peers, thus enabling them to construct themselves in a different way. Ultimately, more socially oriented approaches would make up a different *breed of pupils* than is the case with medical/individualistic perspectives. Since society and schools are normative, constructing oneself as a normal kind and not as a deviant can in turn contribute to developing strategies that are enabling in relation to the demands of society

3.4 **Interactive kinds: Making up a 'new' breed of pupils**

Hacking (1995a, p 366-370) claims that there is no way of knowing in advance what kind of persons emerge from being understood and treated as a particular kind of person because the *'looping effect'* can cause the individual to change in ways that do not fit with prior descriptions. In the case of this dissertation, the informants seem to have changed in radically different ways. One informant has developed imaginary companions and pretended identities apparently as a result of a school's extended use of segregating educational arrangements. Another informant was provided the choice and consequently chose to segregate herself as a strategy to avoid unwanted situations, whilst a third appeared to consider himself a 'normal' pupil, who achieved in school and had normalised goals and ambitions about the future. Despite all three being diagnosed with intellectual disability, they have developed quite different ways of acting and behaving that may or may not fit with existing descriptions of the intellectually disabled.

Vygotskij (1993, p 47-51) considers the construction of identity, meaning how we perceive ourselves and the world we are a part of, as a social activity. Consequently, the approaches that the educational system meets their learners with will play a significant part in their socialisation. Vygotskij (1993, p 47-51 & 83) presents two, in his mind, radically different approaches to teaching disabled students. One he refers to as a *therapeutic pedagogy*. Therapeutic pedagogy relates to a medical perspective or a traditionalist education as it focuses its teaching, working methods, goal-settings and the overall educational arrangements

on the assumed limitations of the child. Vygotskij (1993, p 47-51) refers to the second approach as a *positive pedagogy*. A positive pedagogy refers to educational practices that look beyond what the child might lack in physical or cognitive abilities. Vygotskij (1993, p 47-51) argues in favour of the second perspective, claiming that it is crucial that all children, regardless of intrinsic factors, should be met with high demands and ambitions regarding their social and educational potential.

Though framed slightly different, Vygotskij, like Hacking, argues that the way pupils are perceived contributes to making up people. However, unlike Hacking, Vygotskij provides a more detailed theory regarding the processes of change that take place within the individual. A central element in Vygotskij's pedagogy is *compensation*. Vygotskij (1993, p 34-38) argues that compensation is an inherent adaptive feature of all biological organisms in order to overcome what he refers to as a defect (impairment). Regarding pupils categorised as intellectually disabled, Vygotskij considers the defect to represent only one aspect in an otherwise healthy mind. When the child faces a barrier, (s)he will automatically find roundabout ways to compensate in order to overcome it (Vygotskij, 1993, p 34-38 & 164-170). However, it is not necessarily the defect *per se* that is experienced by the individual, but instead it is the difficult social position acquired by having or being assumed to have a defect. The experience of a diminished social position is referred to as an *inferiority complex* (Vygotskij, 1993, p 38 & 52-54). An inferiority complex defines the psychological self-evaluation process of one's own social position and represents the foundation from which the individual develops compensation strategies. Society, including schools as part of that society, has norm-systems that contribute in the construction of inferiority complexes. Inferiority complexes do not always develop into enabling ways of compensation. There is also the possibility that a child fails to compensate or compensates in ways that are disabling (Vygotskij, 1993, p 100-101).

A more detailed discussion of Vygotskij's defectology follows in the second article in this dissertation. However, it is included here because it provides one possible explanation of how schools through their practices, attitudes and so forth can create a new breed of people (Vygotskij, 1993, p 32-38). If pupils categorised as intellectually disabled are subjected to extensive segregation and met with lower social and educational demands, the beings or the kind of persons that emerge might construct themselves in ways that will not withstand the social demands of society.

3.5 **Summary**

Hacking (2007, p 288-289) presents a five element framework in which interactive kinds exist and evolve: (a) there is the existing category that intellectually disabled pupils are classified into; (b) there are the objects, the individuals in their flesh and blood to which the category intellectual disability is applied; (c) there are institutions, which in this case refer mainly to established institutions such as schools and not the broad definition that include practices and customs; (d) there is the knowledge about the kind of people in question (the intellectually disabled), which includes characteristics of the particular kind; and (e) there are the experts, i.e. researchers, teachers and/or other professionals. It is the experts who generate, legitimate and validate knowledge about the intellectually disabled and put it to use in practice within institutions.

The category intellectual disability is used to classify a physical object (the person). These pupils are part of institutions (schools). Different schools of thought develop and argue over what is relevant knowledge about intellectually disabled pupils within certain institutions. The knowledge has consequences for teachers and other relevant professionals in education. Based on knowledge that is considered valid and legitimate, the experts develop methods for teaching and define more generally how educational arrangements should be organised.

When certain knowledge is applied and put to use, it can, as a result of the looping effect, change the classified individuals. This might lead to current descriptions of the classified individuals to become insufficient. If the individual's classified (b) change, the category or the classification (a) loses its descriptive power. If this happens, institutions (c) have to acquire or develop new knowledge (d), which in turn causes the practice put to use by (e) experts to change. New content implemented in the classification contributes to a new understanding of those classified, which results in new practices that in turn will change the categorised again. In order to visualise this process, the following model (Figure 1) has been developed based on Hacking's (1995a, p 366-370) looping effect. The model attempts to illuminate how the looping effect unfolds between the surroundings and the pupils categorised as intellectually disabled:

Figure 1: The looping effect of intellectual disability
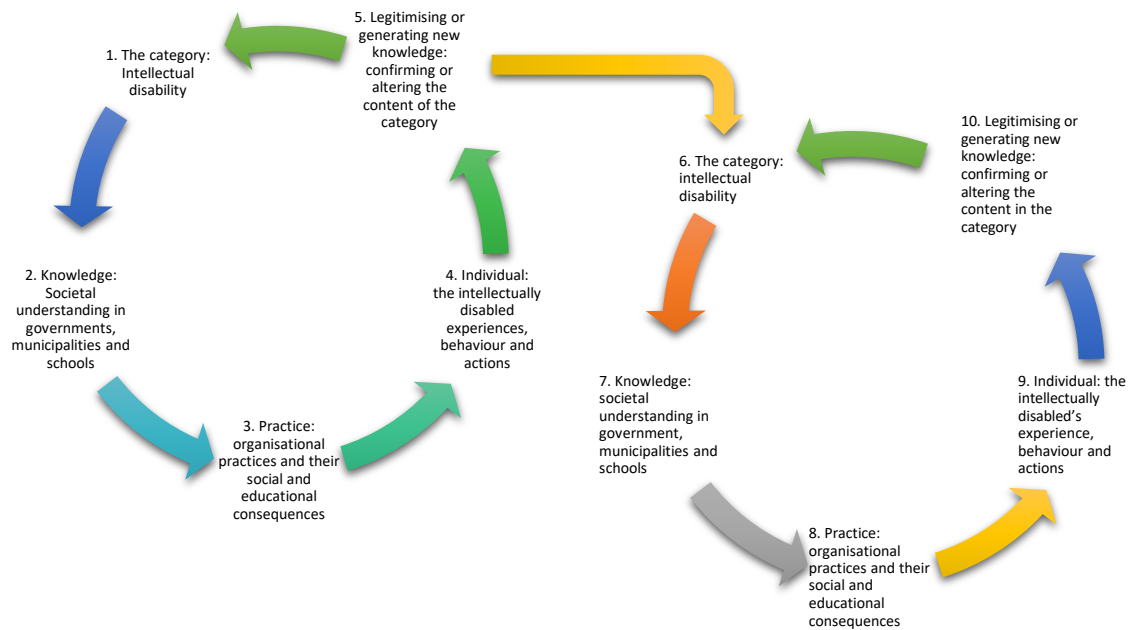
The model above shows: (1) that the category, intellectual disability, classifies a kind of person; (2) that the category intellectual disability contains a matrix of knowledge, assumptions, stereotypes and characteristics about the kind of person classified, which influences institutions engaged in education, including professionals; (3) how the societal understanding of intellectually disabled pupils has consequences for the educational and social structures, i.e. organisational practices and the attitudes intellectually disabled pupils are subjected to in school; (4) how the intellectually disabled are understood and approached has consequences for the available descriptions according to which the individual experiences, behaves and acts; and (5) that being understood as a particular kind of person will, because people are interactive kinds, cause new kinds of beings to emerge. The 'new' kind of person or breed of children will in turn either alter or confirm existing content implemented in the category. If the classified changes in ways that demand new content to be implemented in the category, this will consequently create new understandings, followed by new practices, which will affect the classified in new ways that yet again confirm or change the content of the category.

Understanding inclusion in light of the perspectives presented by Hacking favours a socially oriented understanding of the relationship between schools and its pupils. By departing from Haug's (2014, p 18) operationalisation and studying inclusion from a micro-perspective,

suggests that such research can reveal more than whether inclusion takes place or not or how it is experienced. It can also provide information on how certain practices might influence pupils in an enabling or disabling way in relation to the demands of society. Hacking's theories of humans as interactive kinds and the way in which they interact with their classification through a looping effect is the basis on which the data in this dissertation are analysed and on which the themes in the three articles are theorised and discussed both in the articles as well as the dissertation as a whole.

4 Methodological framework

Based on a micro-perspective on inclusion, the purpose of this project is to gain insight into the processes that take place within educational institutions. This includes the interactions, negotiations, power relations and so forth that exist within schools and between their actors as well as the social, educational and physical structures that, in this case, pupils with intellectual disability are part of and experience. In order to study and discuss these processes, a qualitative research design was considered most appropriate. The data where mainly obtained through interviews and observations. According to Pratt (2009, p 856) qualitative research is great if the purpose is to address 'how' questions rather than 'how many. And this dissertation is specifically concerned with 'how' questions. In other words, how pupils classified as intellectually disabled have come to be particular kinds of persons in relation to the social and educational structures they are subjected to.

In line with Hacking (2002, p 1-26), this dissertation is based on the assumption that it is not possible to study or understand humans' objectively. What is believed and taught influences how people perceive reality, which in turn influences the kind of knowledge being developed. Based on the theoretical underpinnings of this project, the following findings do not imply any objective representation of the reality that takes place within school and how it affects the experience of the informants. Instead, the project, in accordance with Heath, Brooks, Cleaver, and Ireland (2009, p 80), views qualitative research and the data collected from it as highly interpretive. No empirical research can free itself from culture and the discourses, rituals, habits or other influences that social settings subject both researchers and the participants to. Thus the data collected from qualitative inquiry are always 'constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their counterparts say and do' (Van Maanen, 2011, p 228).

Along with the theoretical underpinnings of this project, a narrative approach is applied in order to gain understanding of what it means to be a pupil diagnosed with intellectual disability in school. Based on a qualitative design, the researcher has constructed three narratives about the three informants participating in this project. The purpose of the narratives is to gain insight into how the informants are affected by and in turn affect the knowledge and practices that they are subjected to in school. The empirical data consist of experiences shared by the informants through interviews, observations of the their social environment as well as field conversations with other actors involved in the contexts that the participants were engaged in at school.

4.1 **Experience-centred narrative research**

Methodologically, this project is based on an experienced centred narrative research approach (Squire, p 2013). According to Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p 2), humans live storytelling lives, where stories are used to construct and reconstruct past and present experiences that shape and alter our identities. In narrative research, a distinction is made between the so-called first and second wave. The first wave of narrative research often relates to an event-centred approach that views narratives as text, while the second understands narrative research as *narratives-in-context* (Georgakopoulou, 2006, p 123). The first wave of narrative research is mainly concerned with interviews where participants are encouraged to tell stories about past events, something which this approach has traditionally treated as *true* recollections of what actually happened (Patterson, 2013, p 35). Methodologically, this dissertation follows the second wave of narrative research. In the second wave, there is an increased focus on how discourses, practices and contexts influence the construction of identity. In other words, a second wave narrative approach is one way to frame both local and wider discourses in stories about identity constructions. Within this narrative framework, identity refers to the accumulation of stories that people tell. These stories are further considered to be created in interaction with the personal, cultural and political world that the individual is a part of (Patterson, 2013, p 34-35).

The second wave in narrative research has a broad approach to the construction and re-construction of stories where both the individual and their context are included. With its emphasis on the context as a central aspect of the creation of stories, the experience-based narrative approach acknowledges the power of social construction in the creation of identity (Squire, 2013, p 66-67). The experience-centred approach also recognises that the stories people tell are not mere recollections of past events but are rather a reconstruction of past, present, future or hypothetical events that in turn are constructed in the author's written reporting of the stories presented (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p 380-381; Patterson, 2013, p 35-38). As people will tend to present themselves in a favourable manner, refusal to tell is also regarded as kinds of experience important to the stories told (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p 380). By choosing an experience-centred approach over the traditional event-centred approach, withdrawal of information along with every other aspect of human life that does not necessarily relate to an occurred event is considered relevant as well. Theorists in the second wave of narrative research have also criticised narrative approaches that rely strongly on a structural and linear timeframe in order to define what does

and does not qualify as a narrative. Mishler (2006, p 36-38) claims that not all stories have a well-defined beginning, middle and end that fit with the conception of a chronologically clock-wise account of an event. Instead, stories are often fragmented; they can begin in the middle or at the end, or they might not even have a clear structure at all. Also, it is not always the case that the informants speaks freely and uninterrupted. Qualitative methods such as interviews are often dialogical, consisting of conversations between the storyteller and the interviewer. The interviews conducted in this dissertation mainly consisted of a dialogue, where the informant often spoke for short sections at a time, which was accompanied by follow-up-questions by the interviewer. In addition, as will be elaborated on later, the interviews where partly designed based on themes that emerged either through past interviews or during observed events, situations or contexts.

Agreeing with Hacking (1995b, 3-7; 1999, p 14-16), identity, or the self, is considered to be conditioned within a historical, social and cultural reality. As humans constantly interact with social environments, the self does not represent something static but something interactive and ever shifting. This is in line with the experienced-based approach to narratives, which claims that an objective report of past events is impossible because both the context and the subject might change over time. In interviews, when informants talk about a particular event or situation their present experiences might be different from the experiences that the informant had when the event or situation actually occurred. This is because times, spaces and individuals change (Squire, 2013, p 50-52).

Narrative research also tends to distinguish between 'big' and 'small' stories. Big stories relate to life changing events while small stories are the stories (and experiences) we tell in passing that shed light on how every-day life is played out within the contexts that the story appears and is constructed by the individual. As 'big' story relates to events that have had major impacts on people's lives, they have traditionally been considered more appropriate for studying identity. Among the second wave theorists there seems to be agreement that both big and small stories are central to identity constructions (Phoenix, 2013, p 72). Because the every-day takes place in a variety of contexts, it actualises the importance of gaining knowledge about the structures that people are subjected to in order to understand why people present themselves and the stories they tell in particular ways.

Since this project studies the informants as they are situated in practice, in context and in discourse, an experienced-centred approach is more suitable than the event-centred because it is less structured and thus allows for implementing other sources of data (Squire, 2013, p 53-

54). To gain knowledge of the contexts that the informants were part of, it was considered necessary to implement other sources of data collection along with interviews. In order to acquire first-hand insight of different practices, events, relationships and other aspects considered significant to the stories told by the informants, observations, field conversations, pictures and personal notes were also considered necessary. Gubrium and Holstein (2008) argue in favour of including observations in narrative research by presenting an analytical framework to study experience referred to as 'narrative-ethnography'. Narrative-ethnography enables a 'close scrutiny of social situations, their actors, and actions in relation to narratives' and involves 'direct, intensive observation of the field of study – in this case, the multifaceted field of narrative research' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008, p 250).

Narrative-ethnography is in keeping with an experienced-centred approach and Hacking's (1999) theories of how interactive kinds are affected by their social environment as it views experience and identity as emerging from an interactional process between individuals and their contexts.

4.2 **Ways of theorising**

The purpose of this dissertation in relation to the empirical material is not to test a theoretical concept on a field of inquiry in order to see if it holds or not. Nor is the purpose to develop new theory based on the empirical material at hand. Instead, the project follows the logic of abduction. Central to abduction is re-contextualisation, where the purpose is to use new or alternative ideas on a particular area to explain parts of reality. What is peculiar with abduction as opposed to deductive or inductive reasoning is that the conclusion does not follow logically from an observed event. In abduction, the function of theory is to fill the 'gap' that occurs between the event and the conclusion (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen & Karlsson, 2003, p 179-190). Article one provides an illustrating example of how abduction can be applied in research. In this article it became apparent during the fieldwork that the informant had created a fictional universe consisting of imaginary companions and pretended identities. The informant was a pupil that spent most of his days in school within a segregated setting and he, partly because he was so segregated, participated less in the fellowship with peers. The conclusion in this case was that the informant had created this imaginary universe in part because of the educational structures imposed on him. It thus becomes apparent that the conclusion does not follow logically from the observation. However, in line with abduction, theory was applied to fill this 'gap', making the reasoning as follows: it was observed that the informant had created a fictional universe. According to Hacking (1999, p

103-104) humans are interactive kinds that are affected by their classification and the knowledge, attitudes, assumptions and practices implemented in the category they are defined into. In addition, research on imaginary companions and pretended identities relates these constructions to social factors (Taylor, 1999). As this pupil seemed to be understood and consequently treated differently from his peers, the conclusion drawn in this article is that this resulted in him constructing alternative ways of being a person.

There are different ways to reason in line with abduction, but common to all is that it involves a great deal of creativity. This makes it possible to discover relations that are not given or immediately apparent (Danermark et al., 2003, p 187-188).

4.3 **The research process**

The description available in the context that people live their lives influences not only their present way of being but can also alter or change their personal history, which causes people to re-create their narratives about themselves (Hacking, 1995b, p 8). In the context of education, schools play a central role in the construction and re-construction of personal and social stories (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p 2). In addition, the researcher who collects and in turn interprets the data that are produced also plays an important part in the construction and re-construction of these stories. As emphasised here, stories do not develop in a vacuum but instead are an activity that are conducted within a social setting that involves multiple actors. When approaching stories as narratives-in-context, many sources of data collection are accepted and might even be necessary in order to create a narrative that covers the complexity of experience situated within a social environment (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p 5; Creswell, 2013, p 70-76; Gubrium & Holstein, 2008, p 261-262).

4.3.1 The researcher's position

How the researcher behaves in the field, where (s)he chooses to direct attention, what kind of data are considered relevant, how the data are analysed and ultimately what theories are applied to the data are affected by the presuppositions of the researcher, i.e. her or his background, attitudes, beliefs and assumptions (Kvale og Brinkmann, 2009, p 246-249). Before entering the research process itself, this section will provide a brief presentation of the researcher's position and prior knowledge about (intellectual) disability and education.

At the time of writing, the researcher (me) is located at the institute for pedagogy at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences. This institute is associated with a critical approach to (special) education, where critical realism and post-structuralism are among the dominating

theoretical perspectives. Prior to the Ph.D., I completed a master's degree in disability studies. This master's programme was positioned within a Nordic approach, where relational perspectives on disability were advocated along with a critical view on medical/individualistic perspectives. Both the institute where I am currently located and the master's programme conducted prior to the Ph.D. have undoubtedly affected the positon and direction of this dissertation. In addition to my formal educational background, my understanding of disability and education is, in the same way as that of teachers and other professionals in the field of education, influenced by the social environment that I am and have been a part of. Interactions with friends, family, fellow researchers, supervisors, students, strangers, media and past working experiences to mention but a few have all influenced how I as a researcher understand the field of inquiry.

In addition, I have no personal experience of the social or medical discomfort that many disabled people face in society. This consequently makes me an outsider when trying to understand and interpret social consequences of disablement.

4.3.2 Recruitment

The recruitment strategy in this dissertation is inspired by Söderström and Tøssebro (2011, p 8-9) and their report about the living conditions of people with intellectual disability. In their study they contacted municipalities from which they established contact with a person that passed on their invitation letters to people matching their inclusion criteria. The response letters were addressed directly back to Söderström and Tøssebro, which prevented them from influencing the recruitment. In addition, anonymity was maintained in regards to both the researchers and the municipalities. By using this strategy the municipalities and the researchers had no insight into who had declined, and the municipalities had no way of knowing who had accepted to partake.

Departing from the recruitment strategy above, the first step was to contact organisations and services that were working with and/or knew of children/youths that matched the project's inclusion criteria. This included habilitation services, interest groups and PPT (educational and psychological counselling services). The organisations and services that responded and agreed to assist in the recruitment received the invitation letters which they passed on to the families eligible for participation. The response letters were addressed back to the researcher (me) at the University, thus securing the same level of anonymity in the recruitment process as argued by Söderström & Tøssebro (2011).

By signing the response letter, the participants and their families also agreed that the researcher could contact the participant's school. The next step consisted of meetings with both the families and the school. In the arranged meeting with the families, they were presented with additional information about the project, what the research was concerned with and more detailed information about what participation would imply for the child/youth. Regarding meetings conducted at the informants' school, they were also presented with more detailed information about the project. The main purpose with meeting the school was to gain access to the field along with clarifying the researcher's role and responsibility at school. In two of the school meetings only the principal was present, in another just the participant's teacher and the assistant and in the last meeting it was the leader of a special class along with one other teacher that was working there.

The fieldwork consisted of studying four informants individually over the course of one month each. However, the data from one participant was excluded from the project. The decision to exclude the fourth case was made based on both practical and ethical considerations. The practical consideration related to the fact that this informant refused to partake in the planned interviews that (s)he earlier had agreed to. As this project is concerned with how pupils classified as intellectually disabled experiences school, data that did not include any personal experiences were considered difficult to fit within the project's framework. However, as will be elaborated under the section about ethics, the practical issues regarding this participant were not the main concern. The main reason to exclude this informant related to uncertainty regarding whether or not (s)he 'really' wanted to participate despite giving consent. The final findings of this project are based on the reaming three informants presented in the table below.

Table 2: The cases

Informant	Pseudonym	School/age	Data material	Article
Informant 1	Will	Last year in primary school. Age: 12-13	3. Interviews (90 pages) 14. sessions of observation (63 pages	Framing inclusion: intellectual disability, interactive kinds and imaginary companions
Informant 2	Dina	Last year in primary school. Age: 12-13	3. Interviews (142 pages) 14. sessions of observation (90 pages	Democracy or fellowship and participation with peers: what constitutes one's choice to self-segregate
Informant 3	Bruno	Second year in lower secondary school. Age: 14-15	3. interviews (88 pages) 12. sessions of observation (62 pages)	Inclusive education and the construction of the 'normal' pupil

4.3.3   Data collection

The results presented in this dissertation are derived from transcribed interviews, observations and field conversations. In addition to the three main data collection methods, pictures were taken of the physical spaces at school and notes were taken of personal reflections and experiences that emerged during the stay at each school. Though the latter were not a direct part of the final findings, they served an important indirect role. The pictures provided images of concrete contexts from which the informants in the interviews were encouraged to speak of events and/or situations as well as to tell stories about what had occurred or been experienced in particular places at school. The personal field notes where written down shortly after particular events, assumptions or feelings occurred. These personal notes provided opportunities to reflect about experiences that the researcher had during certain points in the fieldwork when analysing the transcribed material.

According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p 37) interviews are a method where knowledge is produced in the relations and conversations that take place between the interviewer asking the

questions and the interviewee who shares her/his experiences. In order to gain insight into how the participants experienced their situation in school, the interview had to have a loose structure so that informants would feel encouraged to speak of matters that they perceived as important. However, as the project was concerned with themes related to inclusion, some restrictions regarding the interview questions were prepared beforehand. Still, it was considered important that the interview guide was open enough in order for it to include themes and topics that occurred during former interviews and observations. In consideration of all this, a semi-structured interview design was chosen. According to Lune and Berg (2017, p 71-72), the researcher needs to formulate some topics in advance that they wish to address when conducting a semi-structured interview. However, as this interview-form is loosely structured, it also provides the possibility to follow particular themes that appeared either during the interviews or from observations.

Regarding observation, Fangen (2010, p 12) argues that the main purpose of observation is to describe what people say and do in settings that are not structured by the researcher. Observations can either be conducted from afar, where the researcher attempts to avoid being involved in the field that (s)he observes, or they can include different degrees of involvement from the researcher (Creswell, 2013, p 166-168; Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p 98-100). However, Okely (2012, p 79-81) argues that there is no such thing as non-participant observational research, where one can assume that the data collected occur objectively and indifferent from the observer. In observation, the mere presence of an outsider will affect the data that are developed. In addition, the researcher's experiences of observed situations are affected by their personal and professional beliefs, values, attitudes and so forth such as those mentioned above. In line with Okely, the researcher (me) does not consider the data derived from observations to tell an objective and neutral story of what was 'really' going on, but as constructions created by the researcher and the actors involved in the observed settings.

In this dissertation, interviews and participant observation were combined. There are, according to Fangen (2010, p 172), some advantages to this combination. One advantage is that it is possible to analyse the relation between what the informants say and what they do. Another advantage is the opportunity to ask the informant to elaborate on observed events, contexts and situations that in turn can provide access to how these were experienced by the individual.

4.3.4 Executing the fieldwork

Before the fieldwork, a semi-structured interview guide was prepared and two pilot interviews were conducted. The participants in the pilot study were children and diagnosed with intellectual disability. Valuable information about the interview setting and interview guide were obtained from the pilots. One important piece of information gained from the pilots regarded issues with asking questions that required a high degree of abstract reflection. The pilot interviews were conducted outside of school and with the researcher having little prior knowledge about the educational context that the children were part of. Being unfamiliar with the participant's school as well as asking the informant to recollect situations and people within their school proved difficult. This underlined the importance of combing interviews with observations in this project. Another important consideration obtained from the pilot interviews was the aspect of time. If the interviews were too long, the participating children became less concentrated as the interview progressed. In addition, the pilot interviews provided an opportunity for the researcher to get a feeling of the interview setting, meaning concrete experiences of how to deal with and behave in uncomfortable situations.

Regarding the fieldwork, each informant was followed over the course of one month. Observation took place 3 to 4 days each week with each session lasting between 4 hours and the whole day. Each informant had three interviews during this period, with them taking place on the second, third and fourth week of the fieldwork.

Observations were conducted in various contexts; both in formal settings such as classes as well as in more informal ones such as in lunches and during break-time. Partaking in a variety of contexts together with the informants provided information about the particularity of the different social settings that the informant was engaged in and the interactions, negotiations and so forth that took place within these (Højholt & Kousholt, 2014, p 323-324 & 327-328).

As all the informants were diagnosed with intellectual disability, in addition to them being quite young, it was considered necessary to account for possible issues regarding whether the informants understood the questions asked in the interviews. Kittelsaa (2010, p 182-184) argues that when interviewing young people with intellectual disability it is important to ask questions in an informal manner and relate them to every-day situations as well as to ask similar questions from different angles. In both planning and executing the interviews, multiple considerations were taken. The researcher attempted to use informal language in the interviews and to ask concrete questions that required little abstract reflection. As mentioned, some questions were prepared prior to the fieldwork whilst others emerged as a result of

former interviews or observations. Important data were obtained by formulating questions based both on what the informant had brought up during former interviews and/or asking her/him to elaborate on observed events.

Conducting multiple interviews with the same informant was considered to be important to create a space where the informant could be asked to elaborate on themes that were not satisfactory covered in past interviews (Polkinghorne, 2005, p 142-143). Only the informants were present during the interviews. All of the interviews, except one that took place at the participant's home, were conducted at the informants' schools. Kittelsaa (2010, p 179-182) argues that when interviewing children/youth diagnosed with intellectual disability the school might be appropriate when studying matters concerning education, as the object of discussion is closely located in relation to the interview setting.

4.4 **Analysis**

Narratives or the stories people tell are not limited to their inner life. Gubrium and Holstein (2008, p 252) emphasise the importance of narrative environments, which refer to the social context on which the stories of experiences are dependent. The researchers argue further that an approach concentrated around the internal structures of narratives might be important in its own right but insufficient if the ambition is to say something about the structures in which the narrator is socially situated. The purpose of the interviews in this dissertation was to gain insight into how the informants created their narratives about the environments that they were a part of. In order to do so, the analysis had to go beyond what the narrators say in order to recognise how the narratives draw on a wider culture (Phoenix, 2013, p 74). Combining interviews, observation and field conversations enabled an analysis where data obtained from interviews could be used to understand how individuals were positioned in a wider social setting. As this dissertation follows an experienced based approach to narrative research, the narratives produced in interactions with the informants are not necessarily expected to have a well-defined beginning, middle or an end. As mentioned by Mishler (2006, p 36-38), narratives might begin in the middle or at the end, or they might not have a clear structure at all. Further, the narratives are also considered to be co-constructed as the researcher prompts the participants to elaborate and share their experiences regarding events, situations or contexts that emerged during observations (Creswell, 2013, p 192). By taking this approach, the analytical process focused on how experiences and the stories told were related to the informants' social surroundings.

Gubrium and Holstein (2008, p 262) claim that narrative ethnography is applicable to a multitude of analytical frameworks. The analytical approach to this particular data material was thematic. According to Creswell (2013, p 183-193) a thematic method for analysing data is applicable to many qualitative methodological frameworks, amongst them a narrative approach. Creswell (2013, p 182-188) further provides a five-stage framework for analysing the data that is in part followed in this study. The stages are: 1. organising the data, 2. reading and memoing, 3. describing, classifying and interpreting the data into codes and themes, 4. interpreting the data beyond codes and themes and 5. representing and visualising the data. According to Creswell (2013, p 182) there is no 'off-the-shelf' finished solution when analysing qualitative data. Instead methods have to be custom built, revised and re-constructed during[4] data-collection as well as in the process of analysing. In addition, the analytical process is not always linear, where one analytical step follows another. Often, Creswell continues, two or more stages in the analysis can take place simultaneously, and often the researchers have to move back and forth between phases which cause the analysis to progress through a circular or spiral shaped motion. This was also the case when analysing the data in this dissertation. It was often necessary during the analysis to take one or more steps back or forward as new codes and themes were produced. It was sometimes also difficult to clearly distinguish one step from another, i.e. when reading through the material for the first time (stage two) some codes and themes emerged and were written down simultaneously. According to Creswell (2013, p 182-187) coding is described as stage three. The five-step analytical framework applied to this particular study functioned as a tool for organising and working with the material more than as a concrete recipe for qualitative data analysis.

Phoenix (2013, p 75-76) argues that a central element in narrative research data analysis is the identification of key themes. Themes can be operationalised based on how they cluster around recurrent content, situations or contexts in the stories. Further, key themes can be stories or experiences of events, habitual ways of dealing with social surroundings or particular philosophies or views that the participants hold. The themes in the following articles mainly emerged from the analysed data material and were related to both inclusion and the theoretical position presented in the works of Ian Hacking. The data from each informant were analysed separately.

---

[4] Revised and re-constructed during data collection refers to the Theoretical Notes (TN) that will be elaborated on in more detail in stage 1 of the analysis.

4.4.1   *Stage 1: Organising the data*

As presented in table two above, each of the cases included in this dissertation consisted of a large amount of qualitative data that, as mentioned, consisted of observations, field conversations, pictures and interviews. Observational data were gathered over 4 weeks of observation in each of the schools that the informants attended. After each session of observation the field notes were written down and operationalised into three categories; Observational notes (ON), Theoretical notes (TN), and Personal notes (PN). The idea behind this operationalisation was to add some initial pre-theoretical reflections on occurred events and situations as well as reflections on the contexts observed during each day without compromising the 'purity' of the observations. ON represented notes that focused on re-describing observed events, contexts or situations as accurately as possible without adding any assumptions, reflections or attitudes about what had occurred or been said in the field. The TN represented notes that functioned as preliminary theoretical reflections about the observations and field conversations. In other words, they were ideas for possible ways to theorise what the researcher had seen or heard from observing the field. Lastly, there was PN. The PN was basically a written log that was kept in all four cases studied. These notes consisted of both personal reflections such as the kinds of feelings and emotions that the researcher experienced during fieldwork along with written suggestions and considerations about the upcoming days in the field. In addition to the ON, TN and PN, there were also some notes taken from conversations with the informants' principals and parents. How these notes were used will be elaborated on at the end of this section.

The example below is extracted from the theme 'self-segregation' in Dina's data material. The example illustrates how the different kinds of field notes, presented above, were structured when describing a similar situation.

Observational notes (ON):

> (Dina is in the ordinary classroom. The class teacher reads from a book and the pupils sit and listen). Dina did not want to sit and listen. She walks over to her special education teacher (SET) and says that she thinks the Christmas book was boring. SET suggests that they could go into her room [her segregated workspace] and read one of the books they took out from the library last week. Dina says that she wishes to do so. Inside her room Dina says once more that the book they read in the [ordinary] classroom was boring.

Theoretical notes (TN):

On multiple occasions Dina wanted to withdraw into her own room. This occurred both when she claimed that the book the class read was boring and when she complained about noise in the arts and crafts class. Dina thus contributed to her own segregation. However, at the same time she claimed to enjoy being present in the ordinary classroom. What possible consequences can this ambivalence have for Dina. When Dina's teachers observe that she wishes to segregate, is it possible that her teachers over time develop an assumption that Dina prefers segregation that consequently causes the school to organise more of her education in a segregated environment? If Dina does not participate in the fellowship with her peers, it may also provide fewer opportunities for her to exercise her social skills and thus prevent her from acquiring the necessary social competences. Can this in turn create a barrier that hinders Dina from mastering the social interplay with her peers, which over time increases her preference to remove herself from the ordinary fellowship?

Personal notes (PN):

When I (the researcher) interpret the data, how do I judge what is right or wrong for a pupil to do or experience? Can segregation in Dina's case be the right thing? Is it possible to have a subjective experience of inclusion? Is it not possible for the informant to experience a genuine fellowship even if it is not occurring with her peers but with her teachers? If so, could not segregation be experienced as a subjectively good thing? Dina says so herself when speaking of how she enjoys spending time with her SET in her own room in favour of being alongside peers when there is a lot of noise and disturbance there.

All the informants were as mentioned interviewed three times, respectively the second, third and fourth week. The interview guide was loosely structured and questions were ordered underneath different themes related to dimensions of inclusion and the project's theoretical framework. In order to exemplify how the three interview guides for each informant were structured we can turn to Bruno, the informant in the third article, for an example. Questions in the first interview guide with Bruno were organised under the following themes: 'self-presentations', 'assistance', 'physical placement', 'relationship with classmates and adults', 'self-determination', 'wellbeing' and 'interests'.

In all cases there had already been one week of observation prior to the first interviews. The guides that were prepared for the first interviews consisted of both pre-prepared questions that were formulated in advance of the fieldwork and questions that related to the first week of observation. 'Is there any activities at school where you feel that you need more help than others?' is an example of a general and pre-prepared question in Bruno's first interview guide, whilst 'Sometimes you have subjects outside of the classroom; why do you think that is?' is an example of a question formulated based on a concrete observation, such as the following:

> The English class begins with Bruno being part of the ordinary classroom. There seemed to be some initial uncertainty about whether a teacher was coming to take Bruno and a couple of other pupils out of the classroom for some adapted teaching… Eventually the teacher comes and asks Bruno and another pupil if they would like to join him in a room next to the ordinary classroom.

After the first interviews were conducted, another week of observations followed before the second interviews. After the second interview, another week of observation took place before the last interview was conducted on one of the last days in the field. During the second and third interview, less focus was gradually placed on general pre-prepared questions. Instead, increased focus was placed on observed events, situations and contexts. In the second and third interview, it also became possible to ask informants to elaborate on themes from prior interviews. Being able to build on prior interviews and observation was useful in order to obtain more in-depth information on the informants' experiences, as the example derived from Bruno's data material below shows. The example consists of data that would end up being an important part of the finished article.

ON notes from before the first interview:

> In the school's cafeteria Bruno tells me that he wishes to work at an airport as a person that pushes aeroplanes on and off the runway, as well as fueling them and loading luggage on board them.

Interview one

> **You said that you wanted to work at an airport, isn't that right? (me)** yes (Bruno). **As?** Ground crew… **What do you think is needed, or what do you have to do at school in order to get that job?** Have good grades at school.

Interview 2:

Can you tell me what made you decide to work at an airport? Because it sounded exiting, it sounded exiting. **Did anyone show you or tell you about the job, or did you perhaps read about it or see it on television?** Someone printed out something and showed me a person that worked at an airport, and I thought that it looked exiting. **Have you ever spoken to anyone that has worked at an airport?** No, but a friend of mine, a friend of my relative, he works at an airport.

In addition to the observation, field conversation and interviews, pictures were taken of the informants' schools. The pictures were not part of the data material that was analysed, but it played a more indirect role as a conversation theme during interviews. As the example from one of the interviews with Will shows, the conversation revolving around these pictures provided important pieces of data:

(Will looks at a picture of the ordinary classroom) I am seated, that is good for me because I can change it up a little. I can sit there or I can sit there. I can sit in this way during music lessons (points at the picture). During music lessons I sit, then I will sit next to the wall over there. **You can sit in different places?** Yes, in the past I sat there, like that. This used to be my desk (points at the picture). **Was that your desk in the past?** Yep, and I used to have my backpack there and things like that… Back then, I used to be in the classroom all the time. **What did you think about that?** It was good. **Good? How did you feel when you had to move (from the classroom into a segregated workspace)?** It was a bit sad.

In addition to taking pictures, Will had also made a drawing, or what the literature refers to as a 'mental map (Trell & Van Hoven, 2010, p 95-96) of his school. The other informants were also asked to do the same, but they declined.

Picture 1: Will's drawing of his school
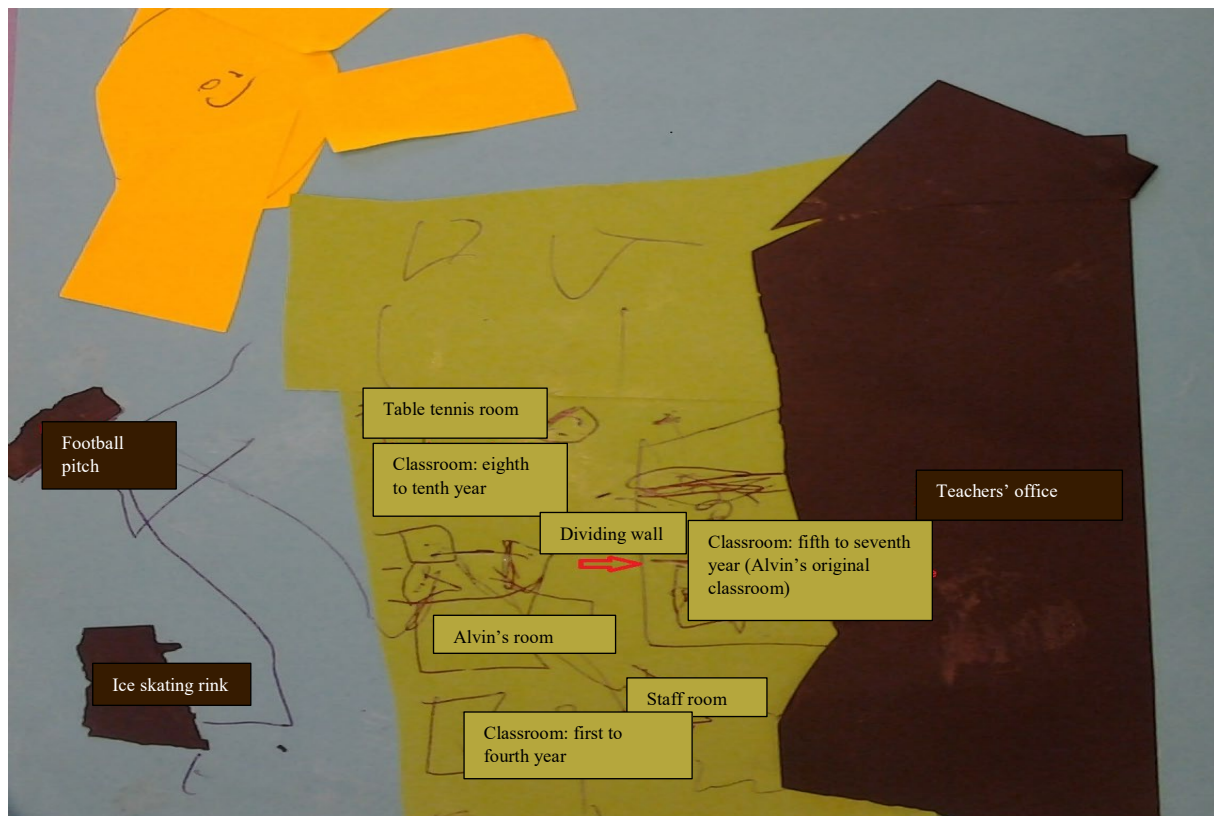
This drawing made little sense on its own. However, during conversations Will explained what the different elements in the drawing symbolised (see the text boxes). In addition, this drawing provided a great opportunity to prompt Will to elaborate on situations and experiences that occurred or that he connected to the different spaces at school, as was the case in this extract from the first interview with Will:

> Here is the classroom for the fifth to seventh year, I have to walk like this (points on the drawing where he has to go in order to enter the fifth to seventh grade classroom)… And then I sit here and walk in like this… (points to the ordinary classroom). I am seated here, on a chair, on a bench, I mean on a chair. I do not have a desk (he claims to not have his own desk in the ordinary classroom). **You don't have your own desk in the classroom?** I just sit here (his segregated workspace). This, here is my desk (the desk located in his segregated workspace).

Meetings conducted with the informants' schools and families also produced some relevant information such as how the schools perceived the informants as well as some perspectives on how parents viewed their daughter's or sons schooling. This information added to the frame or context from within which the informants' experienced, behaved and acted.

After all the data were gathered and transcribed, the material was transferred into Nvivo and prepared for the next stage of analysis.

4.4.2 *Stage 2: Reading and memoing*

After the material was transcribed and ordered in relation to what kind of data material they were derived from, the next stage, as presented by Cresswell (2013, p 183-184), consisted of reading through the whole data set and writing memos along the way. The memos where written in Nvivo and labelled Analytical notes (AN). Separate AN were written for the different data sets (named projects in Nvivo). Where PN functioned as a log and a place to reflect during the fieldwork, the AN served a similar function, but only in the process of analysing. The AN functioned as a way to keep track of where in the process different codes were developed as well as where and why some disappeared along the way. It was also a space that enabled reflections regarding if, how and in what way themes and codes did or did not relate to each other. The AN was however not limited to this stage of the analysis, but they were actively used during all the remaining stages of the analysis.

4.4.3 *Stage 3: Describing, classifying and interpreting data into codes and themes*

As mentioned, Mishler (2006, p 36-38) argues that in second wave narrative research it is accepted that not all stories have a well-defined beginning middle and end. In order to produce the narratives of the informants as they were situated in their social environment, the data needed to be organised into different themes. During the fieldwork it became apparent that the three cases included in this dissertation were very different. All three informants were subjected to quite different organisational practices and all appeared to be very different kinds of people. Inclusion was a general theme that related to all cases and all data material. However, as argued by Haug (2010, p 207), inclusion becomes harder to define as one moves closer to practice. As this dissertation approaches inclusion from a micro perspective that studies individual experiences from within local practices, it was considered necessary to develop themes and codes that are based on what appeared relevant in each of the different cases. Another consideration in relation to coding was to classify the data material in such a way that it was possible to identify how and where it seemed that the experiences that the informants expressed related to the observed practices, attitudes, situations or contexts that they were subjected to.

This stage of the analysis began with yet another review of the complete dataset. The object this time was to describe, classify and interpret the data into codes and themes. Some codes had already been developed in stage one and two; for example, in case one (Will) 'physical

placement', 'imaginary companions', 'pretended identities', 'social interaction', 'institutionalisation' and 'self-determination' were developed, and in case 2 (Dina) 'childishness', 'expectations', 'purpose with education', 'insecurity', 'independence' and 'self-segregation' were developed. In Bruno's case, some of the themes that initially stood out were themes related to 'expectations' (both in regards to himself and from his surroundings), 'ambitions' (towards himself and from his surroundings) and 'attitudes' (towards and from others).

To create themes and codes and to classify pieces of data into them is both arbitrary and constructed. Consequently, multiple codes could possibly be created and applied to the same excerpts of data. As the analysis progressed new codes were continuously developed and clustered underneath themes. During this process it quickly became clear that the same pieces of data were applicable to multiple codes; for example, 'stigma' and 'social status' in Will's data material. As the coding progressed it became apparent that these two codes consisted of very similar pieces of data. If two or more codes consisted of much of the same data, different measures depending on the codes were taken. One such procedure in the mentioned example was to merge the codes. On occasions, often as a result of merging codes, an extensive amount of data ended up being implemented in the code that remained. When this happened, codes were transformed into a theme, where the data that was originally part of what had now become a theme where classified in to two or more 'sub-codes'. Regarding 'stigma' and 'social status', 'stigma' became a theme and new codes were developed or moved underneath the main theme. Data that had been coded into stigma was distributed into new codes under this emerged theme. These new codes were: 'otherness', 'passing', 'rejection', 'prejudices' and 'social status'. This is one example of a process that occurred on multiple occasions during the coding stage.

Another procedure from merging two or more codes that included similar data was to create a new code that encompassed all the data of the merged codes. An example illustrating this are the codes 'interests' and 'leisure time' in Bruno's data material. As these two codes consisted of much of the same data they ended up as one 'new' code labelled 'interests and leisure time'.

While some codes merged and others developed along the way, some were also completely removed during the coding process. This was either because they consisted of very little data or because the data in the code were considered to be a better fit elsewhere. An example of this is the initial code 'childishness' that was created when analysing Dina's data material. As

the coding progressed, 'childishness' was eventually considered too narrow. In the AN from this case it was suggested that 'otherness' was perhaps more suited as this appeared slightly broader. However, when coding using the 'otherness' code, opposite issues arose as the material classified within this code referred to many different aspects concerning Dina's social position in school. In order to create codes that better illustrated the variations and nuances that existed within this data material, the decision was then made to dissolve the otherness codes and implement the data into new or existing codes such as 'self-segregation', 'interests', 'interactions with adults', 'interactions with pupils' and 'motivation, passivity, insecurity and moods'.

The individual data from each case were provided their own project in Nvivo. Within each project, all sources of data, except from PN and pictures, were coded using the same coding scheme. By doing so, single codes could contain both ON, TN and interview data. By using Nvivo in this coding process, it was at all times possible to keep track of where different pieces of data within each code were extracted from. An advantage of coding in this way was that it provided the possibility to analyse how pieces of data obtained from different methods related to each other. This can be seen from the code labelled 'self-segregation' in Dina's data material:

Interview:

> **I heard you say that you hated noise when you attended the arts and crafts class last Tuesday (me)**… It's just that my head gets tired of it (Dina). **Yes, what do you want to do when you're head gets tired?** Then, I just want to stay at home.

Turning to an extract from the observational data placed under the same code:

> The [arts and crafts] class appears chaotic. Pupils are running around screaming. Dina eventually becomes more and more quiet and passive… Dina appeared tired from being together with the other pupils in the classroom where there was a lot of noise. Dina tells her teacher that she would prefer to go into her [segregated] workroom to work for the rest of the lesson. The teacher accepts Dina's request.

This example shows the core purpose of the analysis. When these two different sources of data are clustered together it is possible to analyse observed events, i.e. how Dina behaved and what she did in a context, setting or situation and how she claimed to experience the same or similar context, setting or situation in the interviews.

4.4.4   Stage 4: Interpreting the data beyond codes and themes

According to Creswell (2013, p 187), stage four of the analytical process consists of going beyond specific codes and themes. At this stage, themes were organised into larger units of abstraction in order for the data to make sense in a wider context. As mentioned, this project entered the fieldwork and analysis with some general themes related to inclusion. This affected what the researcher looked for in the field as well as in the data material. In addition, the project was theoretically founded on Ian Hacking's theories. Thus, a core focus was to identify when, where or if there was a relation between what was observed in the informants' social environment and how the participant presented themselves, how they claimed to experience and how they reflected on their behaviour and actions.

As mentioned, the dissertation applies abduction as a framework for theorising the data. In order to interpret the meaning derived and produced in the data material, this part of the analysis turned to what is referred to in Danermark et al., (2003, p 184) as re-contextualisation. Re-contextualisation is described as a process where a phenomenon, setting, situation, experience, behaviour or the like are viewed, interpreted and understood within the framework of a new context. As this project is based on inclusion and humans as moving targets, the re-contextualisation process consisted of interpreting the data collected from participants as members of particular educational institutions in light of more general description consisting of inclusion/exclusion and how the interactive process between individuals and their surrounding has constructed the participants as kinds of people.

The re-contextualisation process had already begun at stage three when codes were created and the data were abstracted away from its original order and into different codes and positioned under certain themes. In this stage, the codes and themes, including their content, from each project (each case) were transferred from Nvivio into Word-files. The data from each informant had its own word file. These were extensive documents with many codes and themes. All the coded data were then read once more but this time in the new context that it had been placed into (codes and themes). During this process the focus was placed on interpreting approaches, practices, attitudes and so forth that had been observed in the informants' surroundings in relation to the informants' own experiences. In order to visualise this, pieces of data were re-arranged within each code, where observational data and interview data that seemed to be connected were located in close proximity to each other.

At this stage, the TN were no longer part of the main data from which the later constructed narratives are based. Instead, the TN went from being treated as primary data to serving a

more indirect and subtle role. From here on out, TN were primarily used as a tool that assisted in remembering how different events unfolded and were understood at the point in which they occurred.

4.4.5 *Stage 5: Representing and visualising the data*

In stage five of the process, the interpretations of the data material should start to make sense to others. Creswell (2013, p 187-188) claims that in this stage the results derived from the themes, codes and data should become intelligible to others. It is usually at this stage when researchers present their interpretations to others for feedback. Feedback, Creswell (2013, p 187-188) argues, is an important part of the validation process in qualitative research. By presenting preliminary results to the researchers supervising this study, to students through lectures and to audiences at conferences it has been tested whether the data material is interpreted in ways that appear reasonable and trustworthy.

Based on the gathered data material, this dissertation consists, as mentioned earlier, of three produced narratives that aim to tell a story about the individual participants. As the purpose of the dissertation is to discuss inclusion from a micro-perspective in light of the works of Ian Hacking, it was important to concentrate on themes that appeared to illustrate the relationship between the individual and their surroundings. In light of this, the narrative in article one about Will was mainly based on the following themes: 'imaginary companions', 'pretended identities', 'power', 'physical placement', 'interactions with other pupils' and 'interactions with adults'. By choosing these themes, other themes, such as 'ambitions and aspirations about the future', 'motivation', 'teaching and learning methods' and 'social and educational interests', were not prioritised to the same degree. In case two concerning Dina, the final results mainly focused on the themes 'interactions with teachers', 'interactions with other pupils', 'self-segregation' and 'motivation, feelings and behaviour', which thus placed less emphasis on other themes such as 'teaching methods', 'educational competences', 'ambitions for the future' and 'imaginary companions and stories'. In case three, the narratives that were produced largely depended on themes such as 'educational competence', 'educational organisation and arrangements', 'ambitions and expectations' and 'perspectives about the future', with less focus on themes such as 'relationships with peers', 'experienced control and power' and 'wellbeing'. Stating that some of the themes were less prioritised than others does not imply that they were completely excluded from the final narratives. How themes were ordered as more or less prioritised simply refers to the amount of data used from each theme

in the final narratives. In other words, some of the less prioritised themes also contained pieces of data that were directly applied in the final results.

From the start, the focus in this dissertation has been on inclusion. More specifically, the focus has been on Haug's (2010, p 207) operationalisation of inclusion: fellowship, participation, democracy and benefit. However, as one moves closer to practice and the processes that take place in schools and between actors, it is not so easy as to simply study these four dimensions of inclusion as they unfold during fieldwork. There were not always any clear and linear relation between dimensions of inclusion and what occurred in the practices and between actors at each of the three schools. Instead, each school lived its own life, with its own issues, values, morals, barriers and so forth, with varying degrees of emphasis on or apparent knowledge of debates about inclusion. As inclusion is difficult to define when studying practices, it was considered important to construct themes that illustrated examples where the informants were influenced and affected by their interactions with the social environment at school. From the narratives that were produced based on these themes it was possible to abstract or re-contextualise local practices and experiences to more general discussions about inclusion.

The data presented in the three articles in this dissertation was translated from Norwegian into English.

4.5 Ethical challenges and considerations

This study has been reported to the Norwegian Ethical committee for social science (see attachment 1).

As mentioned, both parents and participants received an invitation letter and gave signed consent to participate in the study (see attachment 2), which was followed by an arranged meeting between the researcher and the families. In the cases included in this project, two meetings were conducted with both parents and participants present, whilst one meeting was conducted with only one parent present. As the participant himself was not present in the latter meeting, the family of this informant was contacted a couple of days into the fieldwork after the informant had gotten a chance to meet and speak with the researcher in order to ensure that he actually wished to participate. All of the informants were also reminded before each interview that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw their consent at any time. To ensure that consent is maintained, David et al. (2007, p 127-130) recommend a watchful eye and a sensitive and careful approach. Sometimes more subtle hints of discomfort

can occur such as frustration or uneasiness in observational or interview settings. According to Cuskelly (2005, p 102-103), many informants may express passing moments of discomfort or uneasiness that might not qualify as a reason to withdraw. Therefore, in addition to regularly asking the informants themselves, additional steps were taken to make sure that consent was maintained. As a measure to ensure that the researcher was informed of issues regarding consent and participation, regular contact with the informants' teachers/assistants and their families were maintained during the fieldwork.

A similar approach was used when establishing contact with the schools. A letter with information was sent out to the head of the school. This letter included a request to conduct fieldwork at the particular school (see attachment 3). When contact was established a meeting was arranged between the researcher and the school. In this meeting, the school received additional information about the project and the researcher was presented with some guidelines that he was required to follow during fieldwork.

The teachers and staff at the different schools were all informed about the project, either by participating in the initial meetings with the school or in meetings during the fieldwork. One or more of the members of staff that worked closely with the informants also functioned as a contact person with which the researcher had regular contact. In the beginning of the fieldwork, the researcher also presented himself in front of each informant's class and provided some information about the project. The researcher was, however, not completely open about what he was looking for. This decision was made in consideration of the informants. As a researcher entering a school with the purpose of observing one individual pupil, there is a risk of conveying social information about the informants to others which can cause or increase stigma towards a pupil that because of their diagnosis might already be in a vulnerable position (Goffman, 1963, p 58-64). It is likely that other pupils eventually figured out who was being observed, but still there is a need to be cautious regarding how to approach and behave in the field as well as how much or how little information the researcher should share with others. This also applied to the everyday presence in the field, particularly in contexts where other pupils were present. The degree of participation in observation therefore depended on how comfortable the informant appeared to be about the researcher's presence. Involvement in classroom activities did not occur without direct invitation or clear signals that the informants' were comfortable with the researcher taking part in the activity.

It was also decided not to obtain written consent from other pupils at the informants' school. A couple of considerations led to this decision. One reason was practical, as it would have

been almost impossible to conduct this study if it required that all pupils and their parents in the variety of contexts that the informants attended should give their written consent. Another reason was in consideration of the informants themselves and relates to the degree of information the researchers should share with outsiders. Sending out invitation letters to other pupils at the informants' school would entail that a third party receives information about the participants. This may include information that neither the informants nor their parents want other pupils and parents to become aware of. It has to be emphasised that these decisions do not oppose the guidelines from the ethical committee, which stated in its response letter (attachment 1) that the obligation to inform third parties can be set aside in this project if consent is considered to be disproportionately difficult to obtain.

Conducting fieldwork on children diagnosed with intellectual disability constitutes, according to Kittelsaa (2010, p 162), a 'double' challenge as these participants are often marginalised both as children and as intellectually disabled. When conducting empirical research that involves studying people, the researcher always has to balance different ethical aspects. One dilemma that researchers are likely to meet is whether the main concern should lie with the informants and how much pressures it is justifiable to subject them to or if the potential benefits that the research might provide for the field at large should be the main concern (Farrell, 2005, p 4-5; Langdridge, 2006, p 346-347). In this project, efforts were made in order to secure that participants were not exploited or pressured in ways that were considered as damaging. At the same time, all fieldwork involves some degree of discomfort for the participants. During the fieldwork, some choices were made and questions were asked that might have been experienced as uncomfortable to the informants, i.e. questions about friends/lack of friends and/or being treated as different. However, avoiding these questions may have resulted in insufficient data about the experiences of being categorised as an intellectually disabled pupil in school that perhaps could have benefited a wider population.

Just as the participants are affected by their interaction with social environments, so is the case with researchers entering a field of inquiry (David, Tonkin, Powell, & Anderson, 2007, p 127). As mentioned in the previous chapter, different conceptions of what it means to be disabled exist in research, in schools and in everyday life. These conceptions do not only affect those that are classified as disabled, they also affect the researcher. The researcher's position in regards to children diagnosed as intellectually disabled will affect the research itself. A worst case scenario is that the researcher's preconceptions can result in misinterpretations of the informant's experiences and may further contribute to bolster

discrediting, discriminative or stigmatising attitudes towards not only the particular informant but the classified group as a whole. This project takes a critical approach to the diagnostic system. Consequently, this can result in overlooking some aspects related to impairment that affect who the informants are. In an effort to avoid over-emphasising social factors, the researcher entered the school with an acceptance of impairment as a possible influencing factor. Separating the biological from the social is difficult. In this project, extensive efforts were made in order to understand the context from which the informants' stories were created. This was considered to provide greater opportunities for understanding how their experiences where socially situated and thereby for identifying disabling structures that might have explanatory powers regarding why some act and behave in a deviant manner.

There are also ethical concerns regarding the application of the category intellectual disability. According to Cuskelly (2005, p 104), not all children accept the disability category as part of their identity. As pupils defined as intellectually disabled might refuse this category, the pressing question becomes whether or not it is appropriate for the researcher to refer to them as such. However, this project is not concerned with what the informants 'really' had as much as it is interested in how they were affected by their classification. By taking this approach, the claim is never made that they *are* intellectually disabled, but instead they are considered to be kinds of people that are affected by the social consequences that follow from being categorised as such. Similar concerns relate to certain terminology applied in order to describe the actions and behaviour of the informants, such as labelling withdrawal from the classroom as 'self-segregation', spending time outside the classroom as 'exclusion' or classifying certain perspectives about the future as 'normalised'. There is however no easy way to get around issues such as these other than being conscious about how terms that are placed on people, in this case pupils, are value laden. In both the articles', and in the dissertation as a whole, attempts is made to avoid making moralistic conclusions about individual choices that considers some better or more correct than others.

A concern regarding empirical studies on children with intellectual disability is the unequal power relation that exists between the researcher and the participants. According to Cuskelly (2005, p 106), studies conducted on children with disability often involve an even greater power imbalance between the researchers and the participant than is the case with children in general. In relation to this, Kittelsaa (2010, p 162) argues that people with intellectual disability often live lives that are defined and controlled by others. When attempting to gain insight into the experiences of informants who are in an unequal power relationship with the

researcher, it requires that the informants are provided the space from which it is possible for them to take the role as the competent one. However, it cannot be taken for granted that the informant takes or even wants this role. In addition, during the fieldwork it was also considered unethical to put pressure on the informants or expect them to express themselves critically or negatively about other actors in their surroundings against their will.

In addition, the subject/object distinction provides another ethical dilemma worth mentioning. Because of the dissertation's theoretical underpinnings and focus, the data are discussed in ways that objectify the informants. In other words, the experience shared by the informants is not considered exclusively their own. Instead, personal experiences are thought to develop and evolve through interaction with the social world that the informants are a part of. It is however possible to make a distinction here. Even if the informants were not treated as subjects in the discussion, approaching them as subjects when engaging in conversations and interactions with them in the field was considered important. Skjervheim (2002, p 20-35) claims that there is a difference between meeting the other as an object or case and meeting them as subjects in conversations. If the other is considered a case, we notice what the other says but do not engage in the topic, and the topic then becomes irrelevant. Instead, we consider it a fact that the other utters a certain statement about a topic. In other words, the other's opinions and experiences are not taken seriously. Alternatively, we can approach the other as a subject. This involves, according to Skjervheim (2002, p 20-35), making sure that statements are treated as a statement rather than concentrating on the fact that the other utters a certain statement. In that way we can allow ourselves to engage in the conversations. By treating others as subjects in our interactions with them, we can allow ourselves to reflect upon and discuss the opinions, experiences or other topics that they bring up in conversations. Creating interview guides with a loose structure, allowed the interviewer and informant some freedom to discuss topics that the interviewed perceived as important, which thus enabled the researcher to engage in the content of the conversation rather than simply register that he or she said something.

4.5.1 The excluded case

As mentioned, in total there were four pieces of fieldwork conducted, but only the data from three of them are included in this dissertation. Regarding the fourth case, many factors contributed to the decision to exclude the data from this fieldwork, but the main and decisive concern related to ethics. Similar to the other informants, this informant accepted participation both in advance and at multiple times during the fieldwork. At no point did this informant's

teachers raise any concerns on her behalf regarding participation. However, as this piece of fieldwork progressed, the informant did not appear to become any more comfortable with the researcher's presence. A concrete example of the uneasiness this informant might have experienced became apparent when (s)he refused to take part in interviews after initially agreeing. Despite situations such as this one, the decision was made to complete the observations with this informant. However, after completion, doubt came to mind regarding whether or not it was the right decision to continue with this pupil or if it should have been aborted at an earlier stage. After reflecting back and forth, the conclusion was made to exclude the data gathered about this pupil from the project. This decision was made despite having obtained data that could possibly have made important contributions to the field of education and/or disability studies.

4.6 **Trustworthiness**

As the results derived from narrative research are not necessarily generalisable to a wider context, as is often argued to be the case with larger scaled quantitative research, other criteria has to be applied in order to determine the trustworthiness of narrative research (Loh, p 2013). Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p 7) argue that along with other qualitative methods, narrative research relies on criteria other than validity, reliability and generalisability, and one should not attempt to make qualitative methods fit within a language developed for other research designs. Narrative research is according to Squire (2013, p 50-51) difficult to replicate because words never mean the same thing twice and stories are preformed differently in different contexts. Instead, a rigorously conducted narrative research can invite others to enter into a similar context and with the perspectives that the research has provided to try to see the world in similar ways. Therefore, when judging the trustworthiness of narrative research, apparency, verisimilitude and transferability are important (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p 7-8).

Regarding apparency and verisimilitude, which mean if things appear to have happened in the way that the results claim they should and if the authors' arguments seems believable, multiple steps were taken in the data collection, analyses and presentation of the results. Loh (2013, p 10-11) and Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p 8-9) claim that narrative research should present a thick description about the case being studied. By constructing the narratives based on both interviews and observations, it enabled a rich description, not only about the informants but also about the social environments where their lives played out and experiences were created. In addition, combining interviews with observation made it possible

to observe the relation between what was said and what actually occurred. Conducting three interviews also functioned as a way to validate the informants' answer, i.e. enabling the analysis to reveal when, where or if informants contradicted themselves. Spending time with the informants also created a common frame of reference between the researcher and the informant that aided in assessing whether the informants actually answered the questions that they were asked.

Transferability relates to the relevance that the results have beyond the particular case where they were produced. In questions about transferability, theory plays an important role in this project. According to Loh (2013, p 7-9), narrative research does not seek to verify facts. Instead, the purpose is to understand the experiences of informants regardless of whether events, situations or contexts are accurately described by the participant. In other words, narrative research is an opportunity to learn about how other people perceive their reality. The aim of this project is not to determine whether the participants' experiences are factual representations of truth or not. Instead, the study seeks to understand how the informants experience and, by applying theoretical concepts, understand how these experiences came about. Approached in this way, the data in this project serve as mere examples of how processes in schools contribute in making up pupils. By describing and discussing these processes, illustrated with concrete examples of how these changes might occur, the results are transferable as they provide certain perspectives that others can apply when studying or evaluating phenomena in similar contexts.

5 Findings

This dissertation is based on three articles. The first article has the following research question:

> How can imaginary companions and pretended identities be interpreted, and to what extent should we accept this as a satisfactory kind of social participation and fellowship?

The second article has the following research question:

> What causes a child to prefer being taught outside the fellowship with peers, and to what extent should the child's preferences and wishes be supported by the school when they conflict with other aspects of inclusion?

The third article has the following research question:

> How does educational practice that focuses on fellowship, participation and benefit relate to the construction of a pupil who achieves in school and who has normalised expectations for the future?

From a broad approach to inclusion, the three articles discuss both social and educational aspects of education that in turn are based on Haug's (2014, p 18) four horizontal dimensions of inclusion. Further, the articles in this dissertation depart from a micro-perspective on inclusion where the focus is on the processes that take place within schools, between the informants and the social environment that they are part of. The articles discuss different issues and themes that relate to different dimensions of inclusion. In sum, all the themes of the three articles cover all four dimensions of inclusion (Haug, 2010, p 207; 2014, p 18).

Based on the mentioned perspectives on inclusion, the purpose of the articles is to discuss how intellectual disability as a category affects the surroundings attitudes, practices, assumptions, understandings and so on, which in turn provides certain descriptions from which the classified pupils experience, behave and act.

5.1 The articles

The first article is about Will, a boy that spends a major part of his day segregated from his peers. In his segregated environment he has constructed a universe consisting of imaginary companions that he frequently interacted with and referred to and pretended identities (roles) that he often took on. The article discusses how organisational practices, teachers' attitudes and a lack of peer interactions might have contributed to Will's interaction with fantasy. This

article concludes by questioning if this imaginary universe should be considered a genuine form of participation and fellowship as well as the power that educational institutions have regarding the process of 'making up' people.

The second article is based on the narrative of Dina, a girl that spends her school day in a variety of contexts. Parts of her school day are spent participating in the fellowship with her peers, partly in the fellowship with other pupils at school and partly receiving education in a segregated setting. What is peculiar with Dina is that she was given the right to have an influence on matters regarding her education, which is similar to the democracy aspect of inclusion. Dina used her power to influence in order to segregate herself from the fellowship with peers whenever it seemed that feelings of discomfort, boredom or frustration appeared. This article discusses whether the right to influence can oppose other aspects of inclusion, such as participation and fellowship. In addition to Hacking, whose theory is applied in order to discuss how this pupil's way of being has come to be, this article also includes Lev Vygotskij's defectology. In light of defectology, the article argues that when Dina's school allowed her the opportunity to segregate in situations that her peers could not, self-segregation might have become a compensation strategy that she used whenever unwanted feelings arose.

The last article draws a narrative about Bruno, who is a boy that despite his diagnosis achieved in school with both seemingly realistic goals for the future and a clear perception of what it would require of him to achieve them. The case of Bruno is discussed in relation to normality and deviance. Normality applied as a description of particular kinds of people relates to what Hacking (1995a, p 371-372) terms second order kinds. Bruno's school appeared to meet him with normalised expectations and ambitions in regard to his educational and social potential. In relation to this, the article looks at how these practices and beliefs about him have contributed to construct a pupil that experienced, behaved and acted in a normalised way. Since this article places greater focus on present and future educational outcomes, it covers the final and fourth dimension of inclusion, namely benefit.

Framing inclusion: intellectual disability, interactive kinds and imaginary companions

Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

Framing inclusion: intellectual disability, interactive kinds and imaginary companions*

Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad

Faculty of Health and Social Science, Inland University of Applied Sciences, Elverum, Norway

ABSTRACT

A central aspect of inclusion is to grant all children opportunities to participate and gain from a fellowship in school. However, some categorised groups of children are more prone to segregation and exclusion than others. Drawing on philosopher Ian Hacking's theories of the interactive relationship between how categories influence the categorised, the structures children are subjected to in schools affect how a child constructs her or his identity. The empirical data of this article are based upon a child (Will) labelled as intellectually disabled who spends most of his time in school segregated from his peers. In this segregated context, he has constructed a universe of imaginary companions and pretended identities (roles) that he frequently interacts with and enters. In relation to the attitudes, approaches and organisational practices that educational institutions subject groups of children to, the discussion questions whether the ascribed roles and function of Will's imaginary universe is a result of and/or a response to the institutional structures in which he finds himself. If this is the case, the educational system, from policy to practice, has to ask itself what kinds of people do they wish to construct.

Introduction

According to Haug (2010) inclusion can be operationalised into four dimensions: participation, fellowship, benefit and democracy. This article will look closer into social participation, which is defined by Koster et al. (2009) as the social dimension of inclusion, and fellowship. Haug (2010) argues that in an inclusive discourse all children should be provided the right to be a member of a school class and to be a natural part of the social, cultural and professional life at school together with everybody else (fellowship). All pupils should also be allowed to contribute to the good of this fellowship and at the same time be given the opportunities to benefit from it (participation). Inclusion and special education should have a social perspective that does not focus on the individual but on the institutional structures in which all children belong (Sebba and Ainscow 1996; Vislie 2003; Haug 2010). Despite inclusion being an objective of education, segregation is still common both in Norway (Wendelborg and Tøssebro 2008) and in other western

countries (Pfahl and Powell 2011). Children categorised as disabled are more prone to segregation than other pupils (Wendelborg and Tøssebro 2011).

As the empirical data of this article will show, the experience of fellowship and participation are not necessarily restricted to an inclusive context. As a result of organisational practices, the informant in this article spends a major part of his day segregated from his peers. Despite being subjected to exclusion both physically and socially from other pupils, he does seem to engage in a kind of participation and fellowship within the segregated context he belongs to. However, this form of participation and fellowship does not follow the normative underpinnings of inclusion, as he does not interact with his peers in a classroom but with a fictional universe consisting of imaginary companions and pretended identities that he has constructed for himself. Imaginary companions and pretended identities are not uncommon among children and are often related to the children's social needs, emotion understanding and making sense of and explaining events and the social environment they are subjected to (Seiffge-Krenke 1997; Taylor 1999; Hoff 2005). Considering that there are multiple social factors underlining the construction of a child's fictional universe, it is important to discuss the school's role in the construction of imaginary companions and pretended identities.

According to Ian Hacking (1995, 1999), humans construct their identity; that is to say the way by which they understand themselves and their surroundings in relation to how they are understood and approached in the contexts and structures to which they belong. In this respect, the questions that will be discussed in this article are as follows: How can imaginary companions and pretended identities be interpreted, and to what extent should we accept this as a satisfactory form of social participation within a fellowship?

Intellectual disability as an interactive kind

> I am not concerned with what Vivet (the first described case of multiple personality) had. I am concerned with what was said about him, how he was treated, and how the discourse and the symptom language of multiple personality came into being. (Hacking 1995, 174)

In agreeing with Hacking, this article is not so much concerned with what intellectually disabled persons really have and instead focuses on how they are constructed in the social environment of which they are part.

Even though there is an existence of things regardless of human interference, it is through language and categories that we are able to say something about reality. Without categories, there would be no way to speak of some things in relation to others (Foucault 2002). However, the relationship between the category and the categorised is not necessarily a static one. When categories are used to describe humans they are what Hacking (1999) refers to as interactive kinds. Children with intellectual disability are an example of one such kind. They are interactive because as self-aware, conscious beings they are able to reflect upon and act under description of the categories that their surroundings use to understand them. This means that intellectual disability as a category can become known to the child directly by name or indirectly because of how the society as a whole through the category develops certain kinds of attitudes, ascribes specific roles or characteristics and/or grants or deprives groups of people opportunities and so forth. Intellectual disability and the consequences that follow from being categorised as such have implications for how both teachers and the schools as a whole,

consciously or unconsciously, describes, approaches and understands the child. The knowledge of the intellectually disabled child is not a mere description of nature. Imbedded in the category is a vast network of power relations, stereotypical assumptions, constructed knowledge and so forth, all of which make up the assumption of what constitutes the kind of children we are dealing with.

As the category, directly or indirectly, becomes known to the person, the category, in turn, has the power to change her or him, influencing on her or his identity. According to Hacking (1995) there is no way to determine *a priori* what kind of person emerges from being understood and consequently treated as a kind. Regardless of how someone is categorised, it will affect both how (s)he understands and describes her- or himself and how (s)he understands and views the social world that (s)he belongs to. According to Hacking (1999) the interactive relationship does not end there. When people change through the 'knowledge' situated within the category it can, in turn, lead to a change within the category itself. If a child that is categorised as intellectually disabled, with all that follows, changes into something that did not exist prior to the understanding of the categorised a new kind of person has emerged. In turn, this can affect the content of the category that the teachers and others use to describe the child. This could be the case if the categorised, as a result of the structures imposed on her or him, constructs an imaginary universe. This 'new' kind of person might in turn become an integrated part of how the categorised is understood and described by her or his surroundings. Categories used to describe humans have to be constantly re-negotiated because humans are 'moving targets' and cannot be easily pinned down by universal and lasting descriptions. The interactive process, where the category and the categorised are part of an ever-shifting and evolving relationship, is described by Hacking as 'The looping effect of interactive kinds' (Hacking 1999, 34).

As intellectual disability and the child that it categorises are in an interactive relationship, the informant's creation of a fictional universe may be due to a construct emerged from the organisational practices he is subjected to in his school. Because of the looping effect of interactive kinds, it might, therefore, be problematic to write of the way that this informant has come to be as someone who interacts with fantasy as a symptom of his diagnosis without also regarding how his school contributes to 'making up' this child's identity.

Imaginary companions and pretended identities

The informant in this article is in no way unique, as imaginary companions and pretended identities are common among the general child population. (Pearson et al. 1999; Gleason 2004; Taylor et al. 2004; Hoff 2005; Giménes-Dasí, Pons, and Bender 2016). As imaginary companions and pretended identities seem to emerge independently of diagnosis, the literature reviewed below does not focus primarily on children categorised as intellectually disabled.

In children up to the age of seven imaginary companions are reported to appear most frequently. Within this age group, it is reported that as many as 65% have or have had one or more imaginary companion (Taylor et al. 2004). Research also claims that some keep their imaginary companions throughout later childhood (Pearson et al. 1999; Hoff 2005) and as far as the transition in to adulthood (Seiffge-Krenke 1997). Taylor et al. (2004) claim that the imaginary companions created by older children are often invisible,

whilst for younger children it is common for a special toy or a prop to be used in relation to their imaginary character. It is also reported that imaginary companions are found somewhat more frequently among girls than boys (Taylor 1999; Carlson and Taylor 2005). Regarding the kinds of imaginary companions created by girls and boys, girls more often create imaginary companions conceived as being less competent than themselves whilst boys create companions that are more competent. These differences, Taylor (1999) argues, relate to stereotypical gender roles.

Pretended identities are referred to in the literature as a person engaging in a particular role-playing activity on a regular basis and who wants to be called by the characters' names and/or dresses in a particular way when entering a role (Taylor et al. 2013). Carlson and Taylor (2005) claim that, as opposed to the case with imaginary companions, boys are more likely to enter so-called pretended identities than girls. In the case of the informant in this article, the imaginary companions and pretended identities often seem to coexist and emerge at the same time but serve different functions within the same activity, situation or context.

On the question of what prerequisites the construction of imaginary companions there has been some debate, which can roughly be divided in two, the deficit and the gifted hypothesis. The deficit hypothesis suggests that imaginary companions serve as a coping mechanism to deal with earlier trauma such as a lack of affection in childhood, loss of close friends or family or related to some kind of pathology (Seiffge-Krenke 1997; Adamo 2004). However, because imaginary companions appear so frequently amongst children in general, and often the child is aware that they are fictional (Taylor, Cartwright, and Carlson 1993), recent research has moved away from the deficit hypothesis and towards a gifted hypothesis. The gifted hypothesis views imaginary companions and pretended identities as a sign of creativity, higher emotion understanding and a more developed theory of mind (Taylor et al. 2004; Giménes-Dasí, Pons, and Bender 2016). Regarding theory of mind and emotion understanding, Giménes-Dasí, Pons, and Bender (2016) found that older children, girls and children with imaginary companions showed greater emotion understanding than younger children, boys and children without imaginary companions. In children past the age of seven, Taylor (1999) claims that not much is known regarding the functions and roles given to imaginary companions by those who create them. However, Taylor claims that in some cases the creation of imaginary companions can be related to companionship and/or attributed with characteristics that the individual would like to possess her- himself. Hoff (2005) in her study of children aged 10 argues that children with imaginary friends are reported to have lower self-image, fewer friends and lower psychological well-being than children without. Seiffge-Krenke (1997) argues that in adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 there is a correlation between imaginary companions and adolescents who are socially competent and creative.

Taylor (1999) lists other reasons for why children turn to imaginary companions. In addition to the need for companionship mentioned above, Taylor also relates the construction of imaginary companions to the following: experience of loneliness, imposed restrictions or limitations in children's own life, to avoid blame, to overcome fear and anxiety, as a mean to communicate with others, as a response to trauma and as a way of thinking or speaking about events that are not experienced first-hand. In addition, Taylor (1999) argues that imaginary companions for some function as a way to construct meaning and understanding of situations or events taking place in the child's life

A narrative of the informant's (Will) imaginary universe is presented below in the contexts it appeared and in the shapes and functions ascribed by him, many of which relate to the interpretations made by the authors mentioned above. Imaginary companions and pretended identities are further discussed in relation to inclusion and Hacking's theories concerning identity constructions.

Method

The data in this article were collected from participant observations and semi-structured interviews with a 12-year old boy attending a Norwegian primary school. The fieldwork lasted for a month, and during this period the informant was followed three to four days each week, sometimes for the whole day and other days for about four hours. The observation took place both in formal settings such as classes and more informal settings such as at lunchtime and at break time. The researcher (me) also attended the activity when it was considered appropriate and necessary to establish a relationship with the informant in an effort to remove insecurity and to create a space in which he felt safe to share his experiences (Fangen 2010).

During the fieldwork three semi- structured interviews were also conducted with the informant; one interview taking place on the second, third and fourth week. Some questions were prepared beforehand based on themes related to inclusion, such as social participation, fellowship, self-determination, physical placement and so forth. An important aspect was to let the informant speak somewhat freely about matters concerning him. Also, an advantage of combining participant observation with interviews is that it enables the researcher to engage in conversations referring to activities, situations or context that had been observed prior to the interview (Fangen 2010). In retrospect, these aspects were vital considering that this enabled a discussion about imaginary companions and pretended identities. Before the third interview pictures of the informants' school were taken and used as a supplement in the conversations. This approach enabled reflections on what had taken place in the different physical spaces within the school (Iris et al. 2006). Since three interviews with the same informant were conducted, it created an opportunity to ask the informant to elaborate on themes that were not satisfactorily covered in the prior interviews (Polkinghorne 2005). Each interview lasted between forty minutes and one hour. In addition to the methods mentioned above, a conversation with the informant's mother was conducted prior to the fieldwork.

The data were analysed and themes were constructed in order to group relevant interview and observational data together (Phoenix 2013). The following results are presented as a narrative and are based primarily on the themes, imaginary companions, pretended identities and fantasy stories, with the inclusion of some data from other related themes.

Results

Will spoke about, to and with several imaginary companions that he pretended were present in 'his classroom' (his words), a small room that was physically separate and across the hall from his peers in the 'mainstream' classroom. He mentioned some of his imaginary companions only once or twice, whereas others were regularly present and ascribed multiple roles and functions.

The fictional companions which appeared and the identities Will entered into were not merely present at different times or in different situations or contexts. Often they co-existed, constructing Will's imaginary universe.

Constructing meaning in a segregated environment

Major parts of Will's school day consisted of segregation. Apart from a joint gathering the first fifteen minutes of each day, during physical education, break time and occasionally during other subjects, Will spent most of his time in school alone with one of his two designated teachers, either outside or inside within the confinement of a small room, a working space he refers to as 'our classroom'. The majority of interactions that Will engaged in, from when he arrived at school around eight until he left at the end of the day, were with one of his two teachers. When together with other children, his teachers stayed close and intervened at the first sign of a conflict or argument. One example where this happened took place during a game of 'Danish long ball' in a physical education class that Will had together with his peers. Here, Will received criticism from some of the other pupils, which apparently caused Will to become frustrated. This resulted in him throwing the bat at the ground. In this situation, the teacher only removed Will from the activity and not the other children involved in the conflict. The conflict emerged because Will had hit the ball in a particular way, which one of the pupils Will had an argument with also was observed doing. Will stated that he disliked being the only one removed from the activity and the only one who got told off.

> When we first started the game … (one of the boys Will was in conflict with) started with the trick (hitting in a particular way) so then I also had to try … What did the other children say to you? That I should not take chances. I should not do the trick because then the others will figure it out … The (boy) does it all the time … The teacher took you aside, what did you think of that? Good, because I thought, but then he should, he should also say something to (the boy), he should also have been told off … Did you think it was a bit unfair that you were the only one who got told off? No, but he does it with me all the time, it was him (the boy) also, it was him.

On another occasion, a similar situation occurred. Here Will and another pupil were walking back from break time when they started pushing one another. Both Will and the other pupil were smiling while this was taking place, but still, the teacher quickly separated them.

At school, Will seemed to have no influence over his physical placement. Both Will and his teacher told me that earlier Will did not have break time with his peers. Instead of break time, he had something his teacher and Will referred to as 'break' that consisted of staying inside Will's room with one of his two teachers watching videos on YouTube. His teacher told me that because Will had lately shown good behaviour, he was now granted the privilege of spending time outside with other children during break time. In lunchtime, Will was, except from two occasions, segregated from his peers. Instead of eating together with other children Will stayed in 'his classroom' where he would listen to music and watch videos on his computer together with one of his teachers. Will told me that he earlier was a part of the classroom alongside others. He stated that he likes his new 'classroom' but at the same time misses being part of the peer environment of the mainstream classroom. He looked at a picture of where the other children receive their teaching and stated that he thinks it is a bit sad that he

has been moved away from the rest of the class. I continued by asking him what he thought was good about belonging to the class and he answered 'that the class was here and that I was with them'. on another occasion he stated that, 'I like to be together with the others'. Will also pointed his finger at a mobile dividing wall, which enabled the mainstream classroom to be separated into one bigger and one smaller room. I asked Will in conversation about the wall;

> Would you like it if some of the other children were here in your working room?' (his classroom)? 'Ehm, they could, maybe they could divide (looks at the picture of the mainstream classroom), so that I could have been over there, and then we could have had a big classroom here (points at the picture). A big classroom here with the other pupils? So that our working space could be over there. With the others? Yes

One of Will's teachers told me that, 'Will often wants to spend time with others, but often it can be challenging'. The teacher also told me that one of the reasons he was segregated was in consideration of other children, because they (the school) did not want to run the risk of Will acting out and hitting other children with the consequence that parents will contact the school to complain.

In Will's 'classroom' there was a table with two chairs on each side. Will's teacher and I sat on one side facing Will, who sat on the other side. Beside Will there was a chair that apparently, except from carrying Will's backpack, seemed empty. On the wall behind where Will's teacher and I were sat was a picture of two children, a girl and a boy. Next to the table were two plans, one of which contained Will's subjects and activities during the current day. The empty chair, the girl in the picture and the second plan all belonged to Ann, an imaginary person constructed by Will. In his 'classrom' Will also had a 'friend' named Andy, whom he used to take drives to Sweden and with whom he had a YouTube-channel. In addition, he mentioned 'Astrid', who he claimed was his girlfriend.

However vivid and lifelike his imaginary universe appeared to be, Will stated clearly during interviews that they were only fictional characters and did not exist when he was in the presence of other children. An example of this was when he spoke of Ann: 'Ann, who is really not here … but they are … but we pretend, we do that'. The absence of his imaginary universe when together with other children was observed on multiple occasions. During break time he often played football together with his peers, and on these occasions there was no sign of his imaginary companions. In contrast, he did refer to his fictional universe when he spoke of activities taking place outside of school. For instance, he said that he also enjoys playing football at home and that he often goes to a pitch nearby to play. When asked if there were other children present during this activity he answered 'no, it is just me and the first team'. The first team was considered to be a reference to his fictional universe, as his mother reported that Will had no friends outside of school. In fact, only once during fieldwork did Will report engaging in an after-school activity with other children; a birthday party hosted by one of his peers.

'Ann'

Even though Will seemingly had little influence regarding his physical placement in school, he did seem to have some influence over the activities taking place within different subjects, e.g. maths as well as Norwegian and English language classes and informal activities such as those that took place during lunchtime and break time. Often his

lessons were combined with board games of some sort. These board games functioned both as a method for learning and as a reward for doing good work. On several occasions during these board games Will refused to end them when his teacher told him to, and often it ended up with a compromise resulting in the teacher agreeing to let the game go on for one more round. Also, there was one Norwegian language class were Will decided to leave the room and went to sit on a bench in the hallway. In this case, his teacher told him that this was okay as long as they could finish what they were doing out there. At the football pitch, both when he was alone with his teacher and me and when there were other children present, he often wanted and was allowed to be in charge of picking teams. However, on some occasions it looked like the teacher felt the need to make a statement of who had the 'actual' power in the teacher-Will relationship. When Will refused to end board games after his teacher had let the game go on for one more round or when he decided to do something that crossed the apparent invisible line of what the teacher thought was okay, the teacher uttered statements such as 'who is in charge here' or 'now you are trying to decide'. Also in one situation when Will ran off, the teacher said afterwards that he had to listen to the grown-ups and should not try to take charge all the time. When his teacher told off Will or when he was confronted in interviews on questions regarding determination, power, his apparent wish to take charge or when given an assignment he seemingly did not wanted to do, Ann often appeared. Ann appeared as an imaginary companion, and whenever Will interacted with her he usually did so by entering the pretended identity of her assistant teacher.

'I am not a teacher, I act as if I am a teacher, but I am not a teacher in a way … I am a teacher, but when I am with the other children I am not a teacher'. The subjects Will had in 'his classroom' shared some similarities, both within the same subject from one session to another and between different classes. Usually one of his teachers brought a couple of sheets of paper with different exercises on. Will seemed to struggle with the more theoretical subjects such as maths and Norwegian and English language. In these classes, Will often entered the role of an assistant teacher and handed the sheet over to Ann, who he imagined was sitting on the empty chair beside him. On one occasion, the task given to Will consisted of reading sentences. Here, Will handed the assignment over to Ann. Will, as her teacher, followed the lines and sentences with his finger, nodding and saying 'yes' and 'mhm', not reading himself but pretending as if Ann was reading the words Will was pointing at. Will's teacher sometimes tried to play along, apparently in an effort to get Will to do the assignment himself. On one occasion the teacher said, 'Is Ann supposed to fill out the sheet?', whereas Will's response was, 'I am in charge of Ann!'

Will told me that if Ann is working well she was allowed to have a break time together with the other children, but if she did not listen to her teachers she had to stay inside. As mentioned earlier, break time with the other children was, in fact, a privilege Will had gained from his teachers as a result of good behaviour. Will explained further that he was the one that raised the concern on Ann's behalf: 'Well, I said that, ehm, we have to begin spending time, a little time outside with Ann I think … and then we started going out'.

Even though he claimed that he liked being together with his peers, he also said that he enjoyed spending time in 'his classroom' as well and stated that he thinks it was 'good' to be there. When asked if he sometimes finds it a bit boring spending so much time in his classroom he answered that he does not think so, because they are working well with Ann: 'no, we are working well with, we are working well with her and stuff'. However, on

another occasion Will said that if they (Will and Ann) were given the choice they would like to spend more of their day in school together with the other children.

In lunches, Will said that he (as Will) did not necessarily want to spend more time in the classroom. However, he continued, it is Ann who wishes to do so every day. On several occasions during lunch, he asked his teacher if he could eat with the other children. Also on a couple of other occasions, on his own initiative, he walked into the classroom where his peers were located with his lunch and sat down, regardless of whether the teacher had agreed upon it or not. Will explained that even if they wanted to eat in the classroom more often, it is not something he is actually allowed to do. However, if they are to eat together with the others, Will said, he has told Ann that she has to ask nicely and not joke around too much: 'I say, that if you joke around we have to stay here'.

Regarding power and determination, Will said that he thinks that maybe Ann could have some more self-determination in school, but added that 'If I decide, she had to, then I would have told her 'do not decide as much Ann''. When asked if he would like some more decisive power at school and if so who would he like to be in charge of, he answered 'Ann'.

Will was asked to make an 'id-card' of Ann with the purpose of revealing who she was in relation to Will. Will told me that Ann is about thirteen or fourteen years old, approximately the same age as him. However, when impersonating Ann's teacher, he told me that he pretends he is an adult, about eighteen years old. Will said that Ann has her birthday in May, the same as Will. Will explained that she, among other things, is into bike-riding, cats, English and football. During other interviews, visits at Will's house and observations it became apparent that Will himself also enjoyed bike-riding, had two cats at home, and when asked about his favourite subject he answered English and in every break-time he played football. The information provided by Will about Ann seems to suggest that even though Will spoke of her as another person, she at the same time seemed to be a manifestation of himself.

Discussion

The school subjects Will to organisational practices that differ from those of other pupils by regularly removing him from the fellowship of his peers. Following Hacking's (1999) theories on interactive kinds, it can be argued that the school has come to understand Will in a certain way, based both on the knowledge and understanding evolved through the history of the categories that he is defined into and the school's own experience of what kind of person Will is. Through the school's understanding of Will, they contribute to constructing his identity and within it the sense of fellowship and participation that Will finds within his fictional universe with which he identifies himself. The imaginary companions and the pretended identities will in turn or might already have served as new kinds of knowledge implemented by his school and teachers into the categories used to describe him. As the fictional universe created by Will seems meaningful to him, the pressing question in the extension of this is whether his construction of imaginary companions and pretended identities should be considered a genuine form of fellowship and participation or not, and if not, why not.

The school: what kind of person is he understood to be?

Inclusion was introduced twenty some years ago as a broader perspective on the relationship between educational institutions and its pupils, focusing on how they are able to adapt to the

variety of children irrespective of disability or background (Sebba and Ainscow 1996; Ainscow 1998). Haug (2017) claims that a central aspect of inclusion is to be a natural part of a class and the social life that takes place there. From a social perspective, children who are subjected to segregation or exclusion are not to be understood as deviant. Instead, the deviance is constructed by the educational institutions in the way they fail to remove the barriers that hinder full participation for all in, amongst other things, the classroom.

One of Will teachers explained that he had been segregated in consideration for other children. Also, he was provided the opportunity to have his break-times togehther with others because he had lately been showing good behaviour. Hence, it seems that the teachers argue that the lack of classroom participation and peer interaction is a problem located within Will and not so much related to the structures he is subjected to. It might be the case that Will initially had displayed behaviour that opposed what the school could accept. However, it also seemed that he was removed even when he was not the cause of the argument or in situations where there was no conflict to begin with. How Will is understood and consequently treated seems, therefore, to have emerged partly because of an understanding that Will is the kind of person that deviates from the rest of his peers.

The consequences of constructing will as a deviant kind of person

How we categorise kinds of people and through this construct certain truths, knowledge, assumptions and so forth, will consequently affect the way in which we approach the person and how we grant or deprive the individual as a defined kind opportunities (Hacking 1999). Based on Will's lack of interaction with his peers, he seemed to be viewed as the sole problem due to the way in which the teachers spoke about and approached him.

It appears that the experiences and truths school and maybe other provisions involved in his life hold about him has led to implementation of organisational practices that they consider to be suitable. As a consequence he is assigned to an educational context that has brought him out of the classroom with his peers and into the small working space that Will refers to as 'his classroom'. In this segregated context, his influence seems to be restricted to activities such as playing an additional round of a board game. However, he seems to have less power over structures imposed upon him that have a more profound impact on his education such as physical placement. As a further consequence of this, there are few occasions where he is able to attend a fellowship and participate with his peers. As a result of spending a great portion of his time alone with one of his teachers, the majority of his interactions are with them. Because the institutional structures in schools position the teacher in a power-over relationship in relation to their pupils, most of Will's interactions constitutes of him being the disempowered part.

Categories effect on the categorised person: the construction of imaginary companions and pretended identities

The discourse and the way in which the school addresses children as being deviant, disabled and so forth, have profound impact on how the categorised will come to understand him or her-self and the social environment that he or she is part of (Hacking 1995). Hoff

(2005) claims that imaginary companions could arise from lower psychological well-being, lower self-image and fewer friends. Taylor (1999) further suggests that imaginary characters may provide companionship where there are no real individuals to interact with and/ or as a means to understand or create meaning in a situation or context. The emergence and function mentioned by Hoff and Taylor could, at least to some extent, be prescribed to social factors. Will, as he is subjected to exclusion from the social life in school and claims to miss the presence of peers, might accordingly have developed ways of coping and ways of understanding himself as a result. Regarding identity, Will seems to a degree to have accepted that he is different. This appears on several occasion in the results presented above. When he speaks of how he wants to be closer to his peers, he does not however entirely suggest that he should be a part of the ordinary classroom. Instead, he proposed dividing the classroom into two so that he can be located at one side whilst the rest of the pupils are on the other. Also, Ann seems to function as a way of legitimising his physical placement, creating an illusion of influence over the context he is ascribed, e.g. when he explains that it is not him but Ann who is not allowed in class, and that it is she who would like to spend more time in the classroom. Ann was also given the role of a pupil in relation to Will who impersonated a teacher. She then seems to serve as someone who gives Will a sense of power. In real life, Will was seldom, as mentioned, in a power-over relation with other people, mostly teachers, that he interacts with, and Ann thus might be a way of coping with this apparent lack of influence.

In his segregated room where he received most of his teaching, he had created his own fellowship. He pretended that Ann was sitting next to him, she had her own plan for the day and there was a picture on the wall that he claims is of her. As he spent most of his time in his room separated from his peers, the constructed fellowship seemed to serve as a substitute for the 'real thing'. This suggests that they are constructs related to the emotional need that is influenced by the social environment of which he is a part.

Instead of interacting with real peers he does so by imagining that other children are present. As he spoke of activities outside of school, imaginary companions seemed to serve the same function. Since he reports that he was mostly alone, the imaginary companions may serve as a coping mechanism or a substitution for a lack of peer relations.

At break time, when other children were present, engaging in imaginative play did not seem to be needed. However, when he spoke of playing football at home, engaging with fantasy appeared to function as a way of constructing meaning in an activity, allowing a football match to be played that would otherwise have been difficult considering the lack of 'real' participants.

How Will has come to be someone who perceives himself different, constructing imaginary companions and entering pretended identities, seems to be related to how he is understood, approached and treated by his surroundings. As Will claimed that imaginary companions were not present when he was together with his peers, it suggests that if he had been a part of a fellowship with others in activities, the imaginary companions would not to the same extent be needed. This corresponds with Taylor (1999) who claimed that often imaginary companions can serve as someone the child can interact with to avoid feelings of loneliness.

Regarding power in adult-child relationships, it is often the adults who hold the power (Qvortrup 1994). As Will's interactions for major parts of the day was with one of his teachers, the influence he is granted seems to be confined within a framework determined by

his teachers. Amongst peers, however, the power constructs that emerge are according to Ytterhus (2002) not as static, but more fluid and often context dependent. If Will were presented with greater opportunities to interact with peers and without his teacher intervening at the first sign of conflict, he might be able to attain more power in real life instead of only in the realm of fiction.

Conclusion: What constitute genuine participation and fellowship?

The boiling point of this discussion is whether segregation could create meaningful fellowship and participation. Based on the segregated individual's own experience this might be perceived as possible. However, on an institutional level framed in an inclusive discourse such a conclusion would be controversial because interactive kinds construct themselves and their understanding of the world in relation to the structures they are subjected to. As a consequence they will construct meaning within the context they are placed based on the surrounding's understanding of them. Regarding the central notion that fellowship and participation should, for all children, take place within the peer environment of the classroom, an argument in favour of this is that inclusion, just as segregation and exclusion, influence and affect how the pupil perceives her- or himself in relation to the given context.

It is not suggested that all children who are subjected to segregation construct imaginary companions and pretended identities as a result. According to Hacking (1999) it is impossible beforehand to predict what kind of person emerges based on influencing structures. Differentiation of certain children based on how they are categorised will however most likely create a child that in one way or another understands her-himself as different from her or his peers. When perceiving one-self as different within a segregated context, it can, in turn, create ways to not only cope but also create an existence within the space of the segregated that is perceived as being meaningful to the child. On the other hand, if Will were a natural part of a class the structures he would be subjected to would be different, which in turn could contribute to the construction of other identities.

Inclusion, as it is presented in this article, is related to strong normative standards to what is considered a satisfactory form of fellowship and participation. Much of the literature on imaginary companion and pretended identities relates these constructions to the fulfilment of social needs. When segregation is organisational and intentional, the chances are that these practices play a role in evoking feelings of loneliness, disempowerment and so forth in the child. If imaginary companions and pretended identities are created as a response to the institutional structures the child is subjected to, they do not meet the criteria of inclusion as presented by Haug and others. In this respect, the fictional universe created by Will cannot be considered as a satisfactory form of participation and fellowship if inclusion is the desired process and goal of the educational system. Returning to the question asked in the introduction, the school must question what kind of children they are constructing and if they are granting the child the necessary opportunities and tools to access and function within an inclusive fellowship both socially and physically.
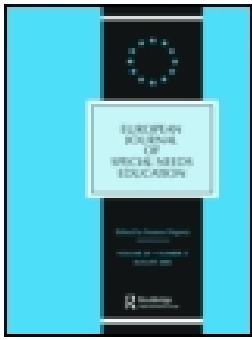
Disclosure statement

Notes on contributor

Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad is a Ph.d student at the doctoral programme for Children and youths participation and competence development in faculty for Health and Social Sciences at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences. His dissertation is about Children categorised as intellectual disabled and their experience of inclusion.

References

Adamo, Simonetta. 2004. "An Adolescent and His Imaginary Companions: From Quasi-Delusional to Creative Imagination." *Journal of Child Psychotherapy* 30 (3): 275–295. doi:10.1080/00754170412331319559.

Ainscow, Mel. 1998. "Exploring Links Between Special Needs and School Improvement." *Support for Learning* 13 (2): 70.

Carlson, Stephanie. M., and Marjorie Taylor. 2005. "Imaginary Companions and Impersonated Characters: Sex Difference in Children's Fantasy Play." *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 51 (1): 93–118. doi:doi.org/10.1353/mpq.2005.0003.

Fangen, Katrine. 2010. *Deltagende Observasjon* [Participatory Observation]. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Foucault, Michel. 2002. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Routledge.

Giménes-Dasí, Martha, Fransico Pons, and Patrick K. Bender. 2016. "Imaginary Companions, Theory of Mind and Emotion Understanding in Young Children." *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal* 24 (2): 186–197. doi:10.1080/1350293X.2014.919778.

Gleason, Tracy R. 2004. "Imaginary Companions and Peer Acceptance." *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 28 (3): 204–209. doi:10.1080/01650250344000415.

Hacking, Ian. 1995. *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Hacking, Ian. 1999. *The Social Construction of What?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Haug, Peder. 2010. "Approaches to Empirical Research on Inclusive Education." *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research* 12 (3): 199–209. doi:10.1080/15017410903385052.

Haug, Peder. 2017. "Kva Spesialundervisning Handlar om, og kva Funksjons den har. [What Special Needs Education is About, and What Function Does it Serve]." In *Spesialundervisning. Innhald og Funksjon* [Special Needs Education. Contents and Functions], edited by Peder Haug, 386–411. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.

Hoff, Eva V. 2005. "Imaginary Companions, Creativity and Self Image in Middle Childhood." *Creativity Research Journal* 17 (2–3): 167–180. doi:10.1080/10400419.2005.9651477.

Iris, Epstein, Stevens Bonnie, McKeever Patricia, and Baruchel Sylvain. 2006. "Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI): Using Photos to Elicit Children's Perspectives." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 5 (3): 1–11. doi:10.1177/160940690600500301.

Koster, Marloes, Han Nakken, Sip Jan Pijl, and Els Van Houten. 2009. "Being Part of the Peer Group: A Literature Study Focusing on the Social Dimension of Inclusion in Education." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 13 (2): 117–140. doi:10.1080/13603110701284680.

Pearson, D., H. Rouse, H. Doswell, C. Ainsworth, O. Dawson, K. Simms, L. Edvards, and J. Faulconbridge. 1999. "Prevalence of Imaginary Companions in a Normal Child Population." *Child: Care, Health and Development* 27 (1): 13–22.

Pfahl, Lisa, and Justin J. W. Powell. 2011. "Legitimating School Segregation. The Special Education Profession and the Discourse of Learning Disability in Germany." *Disability & Society* 26 (4): 449–462. doi:10.1080/09687599.2011.567796.

Phoenix, Ann. 2013. "Analyzing Narrative Context." In *Doing Narrative Research*, edited by Andrews Molly, Corinne Squire, and Maria Tamboukou, 72–87. London: Sage Publication Ltd.

Polkinghorne, Donald. E. 2005. *Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research*. Vol. 52.

Qvortrup, Jens. 1994. "Childhood Matters: An Introduction." In *Childhood Matters: Social Theory, Practice and Politics*, edited by J. Qvortrup, M. Bardy, G. Sqritta, and H. Winterberger, 1–23. Aldershot: Avebury.

Sebba, Judy, and Mel Ainscow. 1996. "International Developments in Inclusive Schooling: Mapping the Issues." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 26 (1): 5–18. doi:10.1080/0305764960260101.

Seiffge-Krenke, Inge. 1997. "Imaginary Companions in Adolescence: Sign of a Deficient or Positive Development?" *Journal of Adolescence* 20 (2): 137–154. doi:10.1006/jado.1996.0072.

Taylor, Marjorie. 1999. *Imaginary Companions and the Children Who Create Them*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, Marjorie, Stephanie M. Carlson, Bayta L. Maring, L. Gerow, and C. M. Charley. 2004. "The Characteristics and Correlates of Fantasy in School-Age Children: Imaginary Companions, Impersonation, and Social Understanding." *Developmental Psychology* 40 (6): 1173–1187. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.40.6.1173.

Taylor, Marjorie, Bridget S. Cartwright, and Stephanie M. Carlson. 1993. "A Developmental Investigation of Childrens's Imaginary Companions." *Developmental Psychology* 29 (2): 276–285. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.29.2.276.

Taylor, Marjorie, Alison B. Sachet, Bayta L. Maring, and Anne M. Mannering. 2013. "The Assesment of Elaborated Role-Play in Young Children: Invisible Friends, Personified Objects, and Pretended Identities." *Social Development* 22 (1): 75–93. doi:10.1111/sode.12011.

Vislie, Lise. 2003. "From Integration to Inclusion: Focusing Global Trends and Changes in the Western European Societies." *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 18 (1): 17–35. doi:10.1080/0885625082000042294.

Wendelborg, Christian, and Jan Tøssebro. 2008. "School Placement and Classroom Participation among Children with Disability in Primary School in Norway: A Longitudinal Study." *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 23 (4): 305–309.

Wendelborg, Christian, and Jan Tøssebro. 2011. "Educational Arrangements and Social Participation with Peers Amongst Children with Disabilities in Regular Schools." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 15 (5): 497–512. doi:10.1080/13603110903131739.

Ytterhus, Borgunn. 2002. *Sosialt Samvær Mellom Barn: Inklusjon og Eksklusjon i Barnehagen i Barnehagen* [Social Togehterness Amongst Children: Inclusion and Exclusion in Kindergarden]. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.

Democracy or fellowship and participation with peers: what constitutes one's choice to self-segregate?

Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

ARTICLE

Check for updates

Democracy or fellowship and participation with peers: what constitutes one's choice to self-segregate?

Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad

Faculty of Health and Social Science, Inland University of Applied Sciences, Elverum, Norway

ABSTRACT

Democracy in an inclusive discourse in education relates to all children's rights to comment upon and influence matters concerning their interest in education. The article's empirical data are based on a girl categorised with intellectual disability who through her surroundings is granted the right to influence her physical placement in school, which results in her often choosing to segregate herself from the fellowship with peers. This creates a dilemma for the school, which is faced with the question of overruling her decision in favour of other aspects of inclusion such as fellowship and participation or to continue supporting her decision to segregate. Based on theoretical contributions by Ian Hacking and Lev Vygotskij, this article discusses how schools and teachers approach children that are categorised as intellectually disabled and how the category influences the construction of their identity. Further, constructions of identity govern how the child views themselves and their surroundings. How they understand themselves in relation to the context and situations they are part of will ultimately affect what needs, wishes and compensation strategies the child develops. Studying the structures at play might contribute to further understanding about what causes a child to decide in a manner that conflicts with dimensions of inclusion.

Introduction

Inclusion is about the process of creating a learning environment for all, a milieu where all children have equal opportunity to take full and active part in schools (Farrell 2000, 153–154). In this respect, it is crucial that the educational system continuously ask itself where, why and with what consequences it educates *all* children (Barton 1997, 234).

Haug (2010) operationalises inclusion into four dimensions: fellowship, participation, democracy and benefit. Three of these are relevant in this article. Haug describes these in the following way:

> All children should be a member of a school class and be a natural part of the social, cultural and professional life at school together with everybody else (fellowship). Pupils should be allowed to contribute to the good of the fellowship according to their qualifications and to be given the opportunities to benefit from the same fellowship (participation). All pupils shall have the opportunity to comment upon and to influence matters concerning their own education (democracy) (ibid, 2010).

CONTACT Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad ✉ oyvind.snipstad@inn.no

In addition, Haug (2010) points to at least two approaches to analyse inclusion. One is a macro-approach where the ambition is to analyse the structures that characterise the whole educational system. The second approach is a micro-perspective looking at processes within the everyday life in school and how it affect individuals.

The aim of this article is to approach inclusion from a micro-level perspective by discussing how participation and fellowship challenge the notion of democracy. Based on empirical data, this article addresses the issues that emerge when a child within the framework of democracy is given the opportunity to decide parts of the school day. The challenge, however, is that focusing on democracy as part of inclusion can be in opposition to other aspects of inclusion. In dealing with this challenge, the article's research questions are as follows: What causes a child to prefer being taught outside the fellowship with peers, and to what extent should the child's preferences and wishes be supported by the school when they conflict with other aspects of inclusion?

Democracy and inclusion

Nilholm (2006) and Barton (1997) claim that for inclusion to be successful pupils have to be granted the right to influence and participate in decisions regarding their own education. Consequently, Nilholm (2006, 440–443) argues that different models of democracy are important at different levels in education. In a micro-level approach to inclusion, participatory democracy becomes important. Participatory democracy invites individuals to partake in and influence more directly upon the decision-making processes. This stands in contrast to other democratic models, such as a representative democracy, where the power of the people is managed by an elite (parties) (Nilholm 2006, 440).

Nilholm (2006) further argues that inclusion requires major changes in the educational system, and it is hard to see how this can happen without paying attention to the people involved. As the disabled have a long history of oppression and discrimination, Barton (1997, 24) claims that any discussion regarding inclusion has to be concerned with the individual's right to choose and influence in order for disabling barriers to be removed.

There is however issues concerning the extent to which pupils' opinions and expressed needs should govern practice in schools and in the classroom. There are also dilemmas concerning the extent to which people are able to express free will and not simply construct opinions representing commonly held beliefs (Connolley and Hausstätter 2009, 231) or opinions that the person/child thinks are the correct or popular decisions (Harris 2003, 4). Other concerns are that the child does not express any needs, that (s)he states needs that oppose what the school can accept or that she or he wishes to decide in ways that contradict other aspects of inclusion such as participation and fellowship (Haug 2010, 204). If a child wishes to be taught outside of the classroom this might serve as an example of the latter. Haug (2010) touches upon some of these issue by claiming that inclusion is not necessarily about giving the child what (s)he wants as the child sees it. However, he does not clarify how schools should balance the right to decide versus the need to intervene in children's decision-making regarding their education. As inclusion consists of more than merely a question of placement, simply locating the child within the ordinary classroom with peers might not be inclusive either.

Intellectual disability and choosing

To be able to influence matters concerning education requires the ability to choose. According to Wehmeyer and Garner (2003, 255), many people assume that the diagnosis of intellectual disability precludes a person's ability to make conscious choices regarding his or her life. To be self-determined relates to the control people have concerning minor and major decisions regarding their life (Smith, Morgan, and Davidson 2005, 226) and is considered to be a product of the ongoing interaction between individuals and the multiple environments they are subjected to (Abery and Stancliffe 1997, 114). Choice is usually a concept describing intrinsic cognitive processes, but since all choices are made within a setting or context it is also social. However, many people with intellectual disability find themselves in situations or contexts where opportunities to make choices regarding their life are restricted (Harris 2003, 4). The limitations that these people often face is claimed to be due to multiple factors such as being unaware of available options, lacking former experience in decision making or the assumption that they are in need of protection because they are viewed as vulnerable or incapable of making independent choices (Harris 2003; 4; Jenkinson 1993; 370–371; Ward 2005; 111; Smyth and Bell 2006; 232–233; Morris 2004; 431–432). As people with intellectual disability often have little former experience of decision-making, partly because they are viewed as vulnerable, they may fear making wrong or unpopular decisions (Harris 2003; 4; Folkestad 2003; 172–173; Morris 2004; 431–432).

The informant in this article made a reoccurring choice to self-segregate. Solis (2006, 153) argued that self-segregation might be experienced as an empowering tool to attain relief from a society that discriminates and oppresses the disabled. Schmader and Sedikides (2018, 243) argue further that leaving one setting in favour for another might contribute to success in other domains. However, Solis (2006) claims that segregation might not only create relief but also docility, passivity and conformity, thus questioning if in fact segregation as a compensation strategy enables the disabled.

The construction of an (in)capable identity

> Vulnerability is always about the odds of experiencing bad things: We don't talk about someone as vulnerable to being healthy or well off (Scully 2014, 205).

Often people diagnosed as intellectually disabled are considered to represent a vulnerable group that is mentally incapable of living independently or making beneficial decisions and is in need of protection from the world in which they are considered unable to function normally (Jenkinson 1993; 431–432; Scully 2014; 205; Oliver 1989; 8–9). Individually oriented approaches where the focus is on the assumed limitations still seems to be the tune regarding the intellectually disabled in today's society (American Psychiatric Association 2013; 33–36; World Health Organisation 2016; F70-F79). If the general understanding of intellectual disability is directed towards the assumed limitations of the child, these assumptions will affect the attitudes and understanding of the institutions that they are part of, such as schools, which in turn will affect the child's construction of their personal identity.

In order to speak of anything in relation to another we have to categorise the world around us. However, these categories do not serve as a mere description of reality. Instead, the categories' journey through space and time have inflicted it with all kinds of knowledge and assumptions to such an extent that it can often be difficult to distinguish between what is real and what is constructed (Hacking 1999, 100–102 &125–128). How intellectually disabled children is understood by their surroundings in relation to the categories labelling them will in turn influence the attitudes and practices that the school and teachers approach them with. How the categorised children is approached will consequently influence how they understand themselves and the social contexts they are part of (Hacking 1999, 25–28). Hacking (1995) further claims that it is difficult to determine beforehand what kind of person will emerge as a result of being treated as a kind. The individual could either change in a way that confirms the prior attitudes and understanding of them, or emerge as a new kind of person. If the latter happens, the category itself has to develop to continue its function as a descriptor of the kind of person it is supposed to define. Hacking (1995) describes this process as the looping effect of interactive kinds and highlights the significance of social environments in the construction of personal identity. The chances are that if children diagnosed with intellectual disability are understood and approached as vulnerable or deviant in relation to peers, this will contribute in constructing children that consciously or unconsciously perceives themselves as different from others. The kind of children that have emerged will in turn affect the content of the labelling category that the surroundings, i.e. schools, teachers and pupils, use to describe them.

The categorised child and teaching approaches

As construction of identity is considered a social activity, the approaches that the educational system meet their learners with will consequently play a significant part in their socialisation. Vygotskij (1993, 47–51) highlights two radically different approaches to teaching disabled children. On one side there is what he refers to as defective or therapeutic pedagogy, and on the other there is a positive or creative pedagogy.

Therapeutic or defective pedagogy refers to approaches that focus on the assumed 'limitations' of the child (Vygotskij 1993, 47–51 & 83). This kind of pedagogy consists of teaching where the assignments, the working and teaching methods, goal-setting and the overall organisational practices are all directed towards what the child is considered to lack in relation to the norm (Vygotskij 1993, 80–84). Vygotskij (1993, 34–38 & 70–74) claims that therapeutic pedagogy are at best unnecessary and at worst harmful to the child. Focusing on assumed limitations will not contribute to anything other than to increase the gap between the disabled and the 'normal'. Despite Vygotskij arguing against this pedagogical approach almost a 100 years ago, to this day it continues to affect how schools and teachers educate intellectually disabled children (Haustätter 2018, 48).

A central element of Vygotskij's pedagogy is compensation. Vygotskij (1993, 34–38) argues that compensation is an inherent adaptive feature of all biological organisms to overcome what he refers to as a defect (impairment). Regarding people with a cognitive impairment, the defect represents only one aspect of an otherwise healthy mind. When in this case the intellectually disabled child faces a barrier, they will automatically find roundabout ways to compensate to overcome it (Vygotskij 1993, 34–38 & 164–170).

However,, 34–38) argues it is not necessarily the defect per se that is experienced by the individual, but the difficult social position acquired by having or being assumed to have a defect, i.e. as highlighted in the therapeutic tradition. The experience of a diminished social position is referred to as an inferiority complex (Vygotskij 1993, 35 & 52–54). An inferiority complex defines the psychological self-evaluation process of one's own social position and represents the foundation from which the individual develops compensation strategies. Society, including schools as part of that society, has norm-systems that contribute in the construction of inferiority complexes.

Inferiority complexes do not always develop into enabling ways of compensation. According to Vygotskij (1993, 58–64), there is also the chance that a child fails to compensate or compensates in ways that are disabling or 'unhealthy'. If intellectually disabled children are understood, treated and approached differently in relation to other children, it will create a new breed of people (Vygotskij 1993 34–38). Because children are interactive kinds that construct themselves in relation to how they are categorised, a pedagogy that meets some children with both lower educational and social demands will affect the construction of their personal identity (Hacking 1999 160–161). Since society is not constructed in a way that considers the new kind of people that have emerged as a result of therapeutic pedagogics, these children's ways of being, behaving and perceiving in society might not withstand the social demands in the world created for the non-disabled (Vygotskij 1993 34–38).

To enable the intellectually disabled child to function as a member of the wider society, Vygotskij (1993 47–51) argues that it is crucial that special education meets these children with a positive education that is able to look beyond what the child might lack in physical or cognitive abilities. Therefore, all children have to be challenged so that they develop strategies to overcome problems like everyone else, or they may turn to ways of compensating that are normatively unhealthy and develop their identity in ways that cause them to view themselves as inferior to the majority of pupils. Unhealthy compensation strategies can leave the potential for development unrealised. As the (intellectually) disabled are often viewed as less competent and able to choose what is in their best interests, and thus are in need of being protected from the world, inferiority complexes might cause withdrawal and passivity as compensation strategies when experiencing barriers such as unpleasant and/or difficult social situations (Morris 2004; 431–432; Vygotskij 1993; 100–101).

Methods

The data in this article were collected through a combination of participant observation and semi-structured interviews with a girl diagnosed with intellectual disability who was in her last year in an ordinary Norwegian primary school. The fieldwork lasted for a month, and observations took place 3 to 4 days each week over the course of this period, with each session lasting approximately four hours. Observations were conducted both in formal settings such as classes and in more informal settings such as at lunch- and break-time. Partaking in a variety of contexts together with the informant enabled me (the researcher) to obtain knowledge of the particularity of the different social settings that the informant was engaged in and the interactions, negotiations and so forth that took place within these (Højholt and Kousholt 2014, 323–324 & 328). During fieldwork, I also regularly engaged in conversation with teachers and other staff who served a role in relation to the informant.

Three interviews were conducted, with one interview taking place on the second, third and fourth week respectively. Some questions related to aspects of inclusion were prepared prior to the fieldwork while others emerged during observed situations and contexts. The latter were important because it enabled a discussion regarding the informant's perspectives on observed events (Fangen 2010, 172), such as passivity, withdrawal and insecurity relating to her decision to segregate herself. As multiple interviews were conducted with the same informant it also created an opportunity to ask the informant to elaborate on themes that were not satisfactorily covered in past interviews (Polkinghorne 2005, 142–143). Conducting three interviews instead of only one also functioned as a way of validating the informant's answers. Due to their impairment and the power structures they are subjected to, interviews with people with intellectual disability are often associated with an elevated risk of naysaying and acquiescence, which means answering negatively or affirmatively regardless of the interview questions (Folkestad 2003; 173; Matikka and Vesala 1997; 76). Multiple interviews enabled the interviewer to touch upon the same issues more than once and to ask similar questions from different angles. By doing so, it revealed where, when and if the informant contradicted herself. Before the third interview, pictures of her school were also taken and used as a supplement in the conversations. This approach enabled reflections on what had taken place in the different physical spaces within the school (Iris et al. 2006, 1 & 8). Each interview lasted between 40 minutes and 1 hour.

In the analysis, the focus was on revealing themes that occurred both in the observational and interview data. In the result section below observational and interview data have been presented together as a narrative. The themes were related both to how the informant's surroundings spoke to and approached the informant and how the informant experienced her school situation in relation to fellowship, participation and democracy.

Results

The informant (Dina) was a 12-year old girl in Year 7 in a Norwegian primary school. Her school had two Year 7 classes. When the two classes were educated together they were located in a big, open floor plan room consisting of one classroom and a kitchen. It was also here that the Year 7 children were located during lunch and morning sessions. One additional classroom for when the two classes were educated separately along with to two smaller rooms were attached to the main classroom. At school Dina received teaching both within and outside the mainstream classroom, and one of the two smaller rooms functioned as Dina's workspace when she received teaching alone with her special education teacher (SET) or an assistant.

Dina had activities on her plan that resembled math and language subjects, but they differed from the ones her peers did. The SET stated that Dina often gets bored if the task she was given was too hard. When Year 7 had theoretical subjects, Dina often did alternative activities that were usually more practical. Dina's teacher told me that Dina had been complaining over her lack of determination in school, and as a response she was granted one hour each week when she could decide the activity. This hour was called 'kosetime'

The SET said that the ambition was for Dina to spend more time in class with her peers and that they had tried to adapt Dina's assignment so that she could work in the physical

presence of others. According to the SET it was more common in the past for Dina to work in the classroom alongside classmates, but now she usually works in her own room separate from the rest. The SET stated two reasons for this decline. Firstly, there was a lack of communication between teachers responsible for Dina and the teacher(s) responsible for the rest of Year 7. This was perceived as problematic by the SET because sometimes when work had been prepared for Dina to do in the classroom, the rest of the class had deviated from the original plan and did something else somewhere else. Secondly, Dina often preferred working within the segregated space of her own room, and often, teachers claimed, she could be very persistent about leaving the classroom.

Self-segregation

A member of staff saw Dina as a great example of successful integration; 'one can say that the integration really has worked'. She argued that the reason for this was that Dina had been included in the classroom from her very first day at school, and this had contributed to the establishment of genuine peer-relationships.

Peer relationships

The peer-relationships were observed on multiple occasions as other pupils in her class regularly engaged in interactions with Dina and invited her to participate in activities during break-time: 'You can bring your chair over here and sit if you like' a pupil said during lunch-time when Dina was sitting alone at another table. However, on occasions Dina wished to segregate herself and withdraw from class or insisted on staying inside during breaks despite her peers, usually the same group of girls, trying hard to convince her to join them. Sometimes the peers succeeded in convincing her, whereas at other times they did not. An example of the latter was when Dina was allowed by her teachers to stay in during lunch-break. Here, one of the girls in the class tried to convince her to join them, 'I will do anything if you come outside with us', and 'you can decide what game to play if you join us outside'. Dina decided to stay inside, regardless of her classmate's persuasion.

Based on these interactions, Dina seemed not to value the relationship with her peers. However, when asked about it she told a different story:

> **Do you like spending time with your friends? (me)**. Yes (Dina). **What do you like about it?** That we are outside together … It is nice to have friends no matter what. **What is good about having friends?** That they are always there for you … **That they are always there for you?** Yes … they always support me when something is wrong (appears moved)

Passivity and preference

Dina seemed ambivalent when discussing participation in the ordinary classroom. On the one hand, during a conversation about subjects she stated that she liked having natural science, which was now substituted in favour of 'Kosetime' that usually took place in her segregated work space, because 'then I was together with the class and things like that.' On the other hand, when asked where she would like to work if given the choice she answered 'then I could be here (in her room).' She continued by stating that in the classroom there is a lot of noise and disturbances, which she does

not like: **'How do like working in the classroom?** There are too many disturbances.' Dina told me that she usually works alone on her own assignments together with her SET when she is in the classroom. Seldom did the teacher(s) in charge of the whole class approach her, and Dina seemed to experience a distance or unfamiliarity towards them:

> The (ordinary class teacher) is not so good at understanding how I am doing … I think (s)he should be better at understanding people … (S)he should practice a bit in understanding me and how I am doing.

Dina sometimes preferred spending time in her own room due to her expressed good relationship with the SET. An example of this relationship emerged when she was asked about 'Kosetime':

> **What do you think about kosetime?** That too is nice. **What do you like about it?** That I am more together with SET than I usually am. **You think that is nice?** Yes. **Why do you like SET so much?** She also loves me, and I love her even more every single day (laughs).

In some subjects that Dina had alongside her peers, such as physical activity and arts and crafts, she often became passive and did not participate in the activity or interact with her peers. During one arts and crafts class she said to her teacher, 'I hate arts and crafts' and 'I hate noise', which had the result of her being allowed by the SET to leave the class and withdraw to her own room. The SET said that, 'Dina dislikes arts and crafts' especially when there is a lot of noise and disturbances as was the case this particular day. Dina seemed to regard her passivity as an issue. She said that another boy has the same problem; the problem being that they often did not want to participate in activities:

> **What do you think about him (the boy)?** He behaves a bit like me. **A bit?** Sometimes he does not want to. **Are there things he does not want to do?** Yes. **You said he was a bit like you?** I think me and (the boy) have the same problem … don't you remember at the shopping center mall yesterday?

She referred to the situation when she and the boy were to go shopping for a cookery class. Here, the boy did not participate in any shopping. Instead he remained passive and seemingly frustrated outside the shop.

Insecurity

On several occasions Dina expressed insecurity in relation to activities amongst peers. One example was during a performance that the year 7 pupils were going to have in front of their parents:

> I am afraid of doing something wrong. **Scared of doing something wrong?** … I hate doing things wrong. **Why?** Because I get a bad feeling in my stomach. **You get a bad feeling in your stomach?** That I don't want to do something wrong, so I'll jump out the performance and then go back to the Year 7 classroom … **But when you get this bad feeling, what are you afraid is going to happen when you make a mistake?** I am afraid that they will see that I am doing wrong things to others.

A similar example occurred during a conversation about a dance performance they had earlier:

I was afraid to do something wrong. **You were afraid of doing something wrong?** Yes … It is like this with girls, they are often afraid of doing something wrong. **Often afraid of doing something wrong during dancing?** Yes. **But did you participate in the show?** No, I did not because … **Because you did not dare to participate?** No … My problem was that I was afraid of doing the steps wrong.

Organisational practices enabling Dina to decide

In situations where Dina seemed bored, frustrated, tired or insecure she often wanted to return to her segregated working space that seemed to serve as a 'safe' place for her. Her teachers, both the SET and the ordinary teacher, often allowed her to segregate during subjects despite the SET stating that they wanted her to spend more time in class. On two occasions, Dina had entered into an agreement with a teacher that allowed her to stay in during break-time. On one of these two occasions she was allowed to stay in her room even when the teacher said that some of her peers had been very persuasive in trying to convince her to go out. Dina was also allowed to segregate herself during sessions at the beginning of the day. In these sessions, the class listened to a teacher read from a book. Dina stated that she found this book boring, whereas her SET suggested that they could go to the library and find their own book that they could read from. Hence, Dina and her SET went into the segregated working space and read from their own book on the following mornings and on other occasions during group reading.

Discussion

Inclusion relates to equality for all learners over a variety of dimensions in education such as fellowship, participation and democracy (Haug 2010). To be able to realise all of the above dimensions seems however to require that the pupils right to voice their opinions, comment upon and influence their own education does not conflict with other aspects of inclusion. In Dina's case, this seems to be exactly the situation and highlights a potential paradox within inclusion. Dina's school and teachers provide Dina with the opportunity to influence matters concerning here education, but as Dina often chooses to segregate herself, it apparently opposes other aspects of inclusion, namely participation and fellowship.

'Kind-making'

There seems to be not one but multiple approaches to the understanding of Dina. On the one hand, there seems to be attempts to include her in the class, while on the other an assumption that she is different or special. The SET underlines the importance of Dina spending time in the classroom and states that she tries to adapt Dina's assignments to enable her to work alongside her peers. Other members of staff also seem to share the opinion that it is important for Dina to be integrated in the classroom because of her well established relationship with some of her peers. The peers whom regularly engage in interaction with Dina thus seem to serve as an example of why participation and fellowship in her case is important.

Despite the school's stated efforts to include Dina, the organisational practices she is subjected to suggest that she is understood as a deviant kind in relation to her peers. In the case with Dina, the focus seems to be directed more towards practical and aesthetic activities than is the case of other pupils. Many of her planned activities also take place outside of the peer environment, either alone, with younger pupils or together with other children defined with special needs. The ordinary teacher(s) responsible for the whole class and the SET seems to also, consciously or unconsciously, define their own area of responsibility where Dina is often left in the hands of the SET and rarely approached by the ordinary teachers. In addition, Dina is provided with decisive power regarding physical placement that is not granted to other children, which allows her to decide when she wants to leave the fellowship of the classroom and withdraw back into her own working space. The SET is however concerned that the lack of communication between her and the ordinary teacher creates a barrier for Dina's participation, but at the same time she claims that Dina is often very persuasive about leaving the classroom. This suggests that the school might seek to protect Dina *in situ*ations or contexts were she expresses states of low motivation, passivity, boredom, insecurity, frustration, tiredness and so forth. These feelings and emotions are hardly restricted to Dina but are something that all pupils are likely to experience from time to time. However, Dina seems to be the only pupil in Year 7 who is allowed to withdraw when discomfort occurred. In the case of the other pupils, the school seems to expect them to find roundabout ways to overcome or deal with any unpleasant and/or 'bad' feelings that they might have.

The general assumption about those categorised as intellectually disabled is often related to vulnerability and incapability to carry out independent choices that are healthy or in their best interests (Scully 2014; Wehmeyer and Garner 2003; Smyth and Bell 2006). Concerning Dina's physical placement, the school seems to view Dina as a vulnerable kind, but at the same time it does not prevent her from making independent choices. However, from an inclusive perspective her decisions regarding physical placement might be unfortunate if the desired process is participation and fellowship. This raises the following question: Has the combination of perceiving Dina as vulnerable and different combined with allowing her to choose where she wants to be educated constructed a kind of person who has developed withdrawal and segregation as compensation strategies when facing discomfort?

Categorisation and compensating

The construction of personal identity does not develop in a vacuum but in an interactive relationship between the category and the categorised. Identity governs the way in which individuals perceive both themselves and their surroundings (Hacking 1999, 103–104). Based on how Dina perceives her surroundings she will develop values and preferences affecting her decisions. As personal identity and the preferences that follow are not restricted to the inner life of the child, the choices based on these preferences have to be considered a social activity (Harris 2003, 7).

Just as Dina's school seems to be pulled between different aspects of inclusion, Dina also appears ambivalent regarding participation in a fellowship. Dina claims that her relationship with her peers is important, but at the same time she seems to value the opportunity to withdraw to her own room that appeared to serve as her 'safe place' when unwanted feelings arise. When the school allows her to segregate, it may contribute to creating an artificial

picture of social participation. In a social environment, harmony is not always the case. Fellowships in school consist of multiple actors who both influence existing structures and impose new ones, which continuously alter the different social contexts of which pupils are a part. New situations will frequently emerge and require that the partaking children develop and refine their compensation strategies to function within a fluid and ever shifting environment. As social contexts can give rise to negative feelings, the members have to adapt and find ways to compensate to deal with them. Dina's segregated workspace however seems more uncomplicated in that there is usually only one additional actor, the SET or an assistant, which might be perceived as being easier to cope with for Dina. The fact that Dina is said to be very persuasive about being taught outside of class, even when other children try to convince her to join in with them, might be due to a lack of alternative compensation strategies that in turn disable her from mastering some of the social contexts and situation where she is currently uncomfortable. Where Dina is allowed to withdraw, other pupils are provided no other options than to manage the fellowship with their peers.

As mentioned, inferiority complexes relate to the self-evaluation of one's own social position (Vygotskij 1993, 34–38). Dina's school seems to understand her, at least partly, as a different or deviant kind and seems to consider it necessary to provide her with options that are unavailable to her peers. The social effect of being considered as different from her peers seems to have affected how Dina has constructed her identity. By being understood and approached as different in relation to peers appears to have created ways of overcoming or compensating for experienced barriers by withdrawing from participation in the normative valued fellowships that are emphasised in inclusion. As Dina's roundabout way of compensating seems to further disable her from taking full and active part in a fellowship with others, it might be regarded as being in line with what is referred to above as 'unhealthy' compensation.

The interactive relationship between the category and the categorised

The SET claims that in the past Dina spent more time in the classroom amongst her peers, but lately she has become very persistent about leaving the class in favour of her own room. The SET provides Dina with several options that seem to enable the opportunity for her to segregate, i.e. when Dina feels that group reading is boring or when the SET claims that Dina complains about a lack of determination with the following creation of 'kosetime'. It thus seems that the expectations and demands regarding Dina's physical placement are adapted accordingly to Dina's preferences. As Dina is categorised as intellectually disabled, general assumptions about this diagnosis will influence how Dina is understood, described and approached by the school. How Dina is understood by her surroundings will in turn influence how she constructs herself. The child that emerges because of being treated as a kind will in turn have an influence upon the category itself (Hacking 1999). Regarding expectations and demands, it might therefore be the case that Dina is initially approached as being different and or subjected to lower expectations than her peers that allow her to withdraw when others could not. When she is provided with this option, it may have developed into a compensation strategy for when she is faced with unpleasant situations. As the school and teachers observe that Dina does not manage the peer environment well, additional measures seem to have been applied to protect her or meet the needs that have emerged.

Conclusion

To influence upon one's own education is a central aspect of democracy, and democracy is in turn considered to be an important dimension of inclusion. The informant in this article is in fact granted the opportunity to influence matters regarding her situation in school. However, the choices made by the child seem to conflict with other aspects of inclusion. Haug (2010) did however point out that democracy in an inclusive discourse is not necessarily about giving the child what (s)he wants. Based on that argument it might occasionally be necessary to overrule the pupils' preferences to provide participation.

In this article, choices are argued to be a social activity that are influenced by the pupils' environment. As Dina is allowed to segregate herself when facing discomfort, whereas others cannot, suggests that she is met with different expectations than her peers. Vygotskij argues that all children regardless of impairment should receive teaching with high expectations and ambitions regarding their educational and social potential. If they are not, the outcome might lead to ways of compensation that are unhealthy if the aim is full integration in class. As Dina's school considers it necessary to allow her to segregate when unpleasant feelings arise, it seems to have developed into a compensation strategy that she uses whenever she experiences boredom, insecurity, frustration and so forth. These feelings are not unique to Dina but something every pupil will experience from time to time. As segregation is not an option for all children, it is possible to conclude that the school has an individually oriented approach towards Dina that relates to what Vygotskij refers to as defective pedagogy. In this respect, the school should question whether it is really helping Dina by enabling her to remove herself when discomfort occurs or if it is constructing a barrier that hinders her present and future participation; not only in school but in the wider society as well.

Acknowledgments

Disclosure statement

ORCID

Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad 🆔 http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0852-4357

References

Abery, B., and R. Stancliffe. 1997. "The Ecology of Self-Determination." In *Self-Determination across the Life-Span*: Independence and choice for people with disabilities, edited by D. Sands and M. L. Wehmeyer, 111–145. Baltimore: Brooks Publishing Company.
American Psychiatric Association. 2013. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. 5 ed. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.

Barton, L. 1997. "Inclusive Education: Romantic, Subversive or Realistic?" *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 1 (3): 231–242. doi:10.1080/1360311970010301.

Connolley, S., and R. S. Hausstätter. 2009. "Tocqueville on Democracy and Inclusive Education: A More Ardent and Enduring Love of Equality than of Liberty." *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 24 (3): 231–243. doi:10.1080/08856250903016714.

Fangen, K. 2010. *Deltagende observasjon*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Farrell, P. 2000. "The Impact of Research on Developments in Inclusive Education." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 4 (2): 153–162. doi:10.1080/136031100284867.

Folkestad, H. 2003. "Institusjonalisert hverdagsliv: En studie av samhandling mellom personale og beboere i bofellesskap for personer med utviklingshemming." [Doctoral thesis]: Universtitet i Bergen

Hacking, I. 1995. "The Looping Effects of Human Kinds." In *Casual Cognition: A Multidisciplinary Debate*, edited by D. Sperber, D. Premack, and A. J. Pemack, 351–394. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hacking, I. 1999. *The Social Construction of What?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Harris, J. 2003. "Time to Make up Your Mind: Why Choosing Is Difficult." *British Journal of Learning Disabilities* 31 (1): 3–8. doi:10.1046/j.1468-3156.2003.00181.x.

Haug, P. 2010. "Approaches to Empirical Research on Inclusive Education." *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research* 12 (3): 199–209. doi:10.1080/15017410903385052.

Haustätter, R. 2018. "Spesialundervisning for Elever med Utviklingshemming - et Nødvendig Område." *Spesialpedagogikk* 83 (1): 44–54.

Højholt, C., and D. Kousholt. 2014. "Participant Observations of Children's Communities - Exploring Subjective Aspects of Social Practice." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 11 (3): 316–334. doi:10.1080/14780887.2014.908989.

Iris, E., S. Bonnie, M. Patricia, and B. Sylvain. 2006. "Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI): Using Photos to Elicit Children's Perspectives." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 5 (3): 1–11. doi:10.1177/160940690600500301.

Jenkinson, J. C. 1993. "Who Shall Decide? the Relevance of Theory and Research to Decision-Making by People with an Intellectual Disability." *Disability, Handicap & Society* 8 (4): 361–375. doi:10.1080/02674649366780351.

Matikka, L., and Hannu. T Vesala. 1997. "Acquiescence in Quality-of-Life Interviews with Adults Who Have Mental Retardation." *Mental Retardation* 35(2): 75–82. doi:10.1352/0047-6765(1997)035<0075:.AIQIWA>2.0.CO;2.

Morris, J. 2004. "Independent Living and Community Care: A Disempowering Framework." *Disability & Society* 19 (5): 427–442. doi:10.1080/0968759042000235280.

Nilholm, C. 2006. "Special Education, Inclusion and Democracy." *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 21 (4): 431–445. doi:10.1080/08856250600957905.

Oliver, M. 1989. "Disability and Dependency: A Creation of Industrial Societies." In *Disability and Dependency*, edited by L. Barton, 6–22. London: Falmer Press.

Polkinghorne, D. E. 2005. "Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52 (2): 137–145. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.137.

Schmader, T., and C. Sedikides. 2018. "State Authenticity as Fit to Environment: The Implications of Social Identity for Fit, Authenticity, and Self-Segregation." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 22 (3): 228–259. doi:10.1177/1088868317734080.

Scully, J. L. 2014. "Disability and Vulnerability: On Bodies, Dependence, and Power." In *Vulnerability: New Essays in Ethics and Feminist Philosophy*, edited by C. Mackenzie, W. Rogers, and S. Dodds, 204–221. New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, R. B., M. Morgan, and J. Davidson. 2005. "Does the Daily Choice Making of Adults with Intellectual Disability Meet the Normalisation Principle?" *Journal of Intellectual & Developmental Disability* 30 (4): 226–235. doi:10.1080/13668250500349359.

Smyth, C. M., and D. Bell. 2006. "From Biscuits to Boyfriends: The Ramifications of Choice for People with Learning Disabilities." *British Journal of Learning Disabilities* 34 (4): 227–236. doi:10.1111/j.1468-3156.2006.00402.x.

Solis, S. 2006. "I'm "Coming Out" as Disabled, but I'm "Staying In" to Rest: Reflecting on Elected and Imposed Segregation." *Equity & Excellence in Education* 39 (2): 146–153. doi:10.1080/10665680500534007.

Vygotskij, L. S. 1993. "The Collected Works of L. S. Vygotsky: 2: The Fundamentals of Defectology: (Abnormal Psychology and Learning Disabilities)." In *Osnovy defektologii*, edited by R. W. Rieber and A. S. Carton. New York: Plenum Press.

Ward, M. J. 2005. "An Historical Perspective of Self-Determination in Special Education: Accomplishments and Challenges." *Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities* 30 (3): 108–112. doi:10.2511/rpsd.30.3.108.

Wehmeyer, M. L., and N. W. Garner. 2003. "The Impact of Personal Characteristics of People with Intellectual and Developmental Disability on Self-Determination and Autonomous Functioning." *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities* 16 (4): 255–265. doi:10.1046/j.1468-3148.2003.00161.x.

World Health Organisation. 2016. *International Statistical Classification of Disease and Related Health Problems 10th Revision (ICD-10) - WHO Version for 2016*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Inclusive education and the construction of the 'normal' pupil

Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad

Faculty of Health and Social Science, Inland University of Applied Sciences,
P.O box 400
2418 Elverum, Norway

E-mail: oyvind.snipstad@inn.no Phone: +47 41593351

Notes on contributors
Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy Snipstad is a Ph.D. student on the doctoral programme Children and Youths Participation and Competence Development in the Faculty for Health and Social Sciences at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences.

Inclusive education and the construction of the 'normal' pupil

Inclusion entered the discourse of education in order to challenge the conceptions of the normal and the deviant pupil. An inclusive discourse implies that schools should not focus their attention on certain defined groups of pupils but instead on how educational institutions themselves are able to meet the needs of all learners. Drawing on philosopher Ian Hacking, this article focuses on the category 'intellectual disability' and how those categorised as such construct themselves, their behaviour and actions in relation to the descriptions available to them in their surroundings. Based on empirical data gathered from a boy (Bruno) diagnosed as intellectually disabled, this article will discuss how an inclusively oriented education has affected him in ways that are enabling in relation to normative demands of education and society at large.

Points of interest

- This article studies how the category 'intellectual disability' affects pupils that are classified as such.

- The study discusses how traditional and inclusive education provides different description by which individuals understand themselves and their surroundings.

- The paper discusses a case where it appears that there is a relation between an inclusively oriented education and the informant who seems to have constructed himself in an enabling way with regards to the social demands of society.

- The paper focuses on the socially constructed dimension of disability

Introduction

As categorised kinds of humans, intellectually disabled persons are traditionally understood as individuals in an 'unfortunate' state of functioning due to some presumed pathology (Vehmas 2004, 209). According to Hausstätter (2018, 48) this traditional

view of those categorised as intellectually disabled has dominated the area of special education for more than a century. This view is clearly seen in diagnostic and classification manuals where there is a dependency on relating to the normal versus un-normal and hence there being something deviant about being human. For instance, the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, 33) defines the degree of intellectual disability in relation to how much a person is assumed to deviate from the 'normal' in areas such as social and academic competences, intelligence and other socio-cultural standards considered vital for normal functioning.

Vehmas (2004, 212-213) criticises this definition of intellectual disability because the diagnosis does not rely on any objective standard but depends on cultural norms, and hence it is determined and produced by accidental or arbitrary factors. Vehmas' critique is part of a larger debate about categorisation and education (Kauffman 1999; Hallahan 1998; Gallagher 1998, 2001). As part of this debate Gallagher (2001, 643) claims that disability exists not because there is some objective truth that pre-determines humans' behaviour and development but because humans view themselves and others in relation to a particular context. When a large portion of the population believes that the category 'intellectual disability' represents some objective truth, it is likely that a strong consensus emerges that the diagnosis is real and independent of evaluative judgements. According to Gallagher (1998, 495), a traditional approach to education relies largely on presumed natural and objective empiricist science that aims to accurately predict and describe pupils' teaching and learning processes through law-like generalisation. This is similar to how the American Psychiatric association's (2013, 33) definitions provide a tool that supposedly predicts and describes the deficits of intellectually disabled persons. However, as stated by Gallagher (2001) and Vehmas (2004), the label intellectual disability is far from neutral

as it contains knowledge, assumptions, attitudes and so forth that are just as much socially, culturally and historically defined as is signifying some intrinsic underlying pathology. However, it is important to be aware that society's conceptions of intellectually disabled pupils affect the way these children understand themselves and their surroundings (Hacking 1999, 111-112).

By using this argument in regard to education, the goal of the educational system should then be to create social situations where the aim is to make the person more able, or less disabled, and a more capable member of society. In an effort to respond to this challenge, inclusive education was introduced three decades ago. The main focus of inclusion is not the pupil but the school – a school that should adapt to the variety of all learners by creating an environment where all pupils are approached and understood as equals (Farrell 2000, 153-154; Sebba and Ainscow 1996, 9; Vislie 2003, 21).

It is argued however that there is uncertainty between and within schools on how they are to create inclusive environments and how to teach inclusively (Haug 2017, 206). This raises the question whether inclusive education is possible, and if so, how do such practices affect intellectually disabled pupils when they are subjected to organisational practices where they are not understood as deviants. In this respect, the following research question will be discussed: How does educational practice that focuses on fellowship, participation and benefit relate to the construction of a pupil that achieves in school and with normalised expectations for the future?

The normal and the deviant pupil

For decades western societies have strived towards making humans natural kinds with the purpose of obtaining true and objective knowledge about what makes us *truly* human. By making correct distinctions there is an assumption that we cannot only

describe humans objectively but that we can also predict how individuals will act (Hacking 1995a, 352 and 362). To assume that it is possible to make predictions about human kinds relies on an assumption that humans have a core; a belief that we are reducible to an essence that can be discovered through scientific scrutiny. If we apply this to the category intellectual disability we assume that there is some universal and objective truth to be acquired that explains their actions and future development. There are several issues that emerge from understanding human kinds, i.e. kinds of people, behaviour, development and so forth, in this way. The issues relates to both how society understands those categorised as a particular kind and how it affects the ones that are categorised.

It is only when society identifies, classifies and defines groups of people into different categories that we are able to act intentionally towards kinds of people. According to Hacking (1999, 103, 1995b, 235-236), every intentional act is conducted under description. Before any intentional acts towards intellectually disabled pupils are possible, the necessary description has to be available. Only after intellectual disability emerged as a label did it become possible to define some children as this particular kind of pupil. When intellectually disabled children are embedded as a kind into the complex matrix of institutions that exist in society it is possible to develop knowledge, practices, assumptions and attitudes about them (Hacking 1999, 111-112).

In general, 'kind making' is not necessarily problematic; in fact, all of us are assigned to multiple categories at any given moment in time that generate assumptions of the kinds of persons we are. The issue seems to occur when applying what Hacking (1995a, 371-372) refers to as second order kind. Second order kinds refer to the adjective that are used to define the characteristics of kinds of persons. Nothing is ever described only as the good, the weird, the normal and so on. It is always the good, the

weird or the normal *something*, e.g. the good teacher, the weird neighbour or the normal child. Normalcy, Hacking (1995a, 371-371) continues, is one of the most powerful second order kinds. By defining something as normal we implicitly also define deviance. To identify the deviant is considered to be one of the main functions of normalcy; where normalcy is often considered as a good thing, while deviancy is the bad or unwanted state (Hacking 1995a, 367; Vehmas 2004, 213).

The notion that the intellectually disabled is a deviant kind of person affects society and its institutions. One does not have to look far in order to see how this perception of the deviant person has had and still has consequences for educational practices. Historically, intellectually disabled children have been enrolled in special schools, and today segregating and exclusionary practices are still a common way of dealing with pupils that are considered to deviate from the norm (Pfahl and Powell 2011, 450; Wendelborg and Tøssebro 2008, 316-318; Emanuelsson 1998, 99-100; Kiuppis 2014, 753-754).

According to Hacking (1995a, 364-366) it is difficult to approach human kinds in the same way that we approach natural kinds. Natural kinds, that is objects or phenomena that do not act under description, are indifferent to how they are categorised. This is not the case regarding human kinds. Human kinds, such as intellectually disabled pupils, distinguish themselves from natural kinds because humans are conscious and aware of their social environment which can cause them to exert effects on themselves. Human kinds are affected by their classification because they interact with it and sometimes also affect the classification itself (Hacking 1999, 103; Brinkmann 2005, 773). This means that if educational institutions provides pupils categorised as intellectually disabled with social and pedagogical arrangements that deviate from what the assumed *normals* receive they are at risk of 'making up' certain

kinds of pupils. To categorise a pupil as intellectually disabled will open up new descriptions that the categorised will construct her or his action and behaviour in relation to. As intellectual disability has been historically dominated with individual/medical understandings, the category creates certain ways of being a person. If intellectually disabled pupils are approached as biologically deviant they are more likely to make different choices and develop different sets of behaviour than are the classified *normals,* who act under different descriptions (Hacking 1995b, 239; Snipstad 2018, 12). However, it is not determined a priori that the interactive relationship between educational institutions and those defined as intellectually disabled has a disabling outcome. Educational institutions that approach all pupils with high social and educational expectations will provide descriptions that might create more enabling ways of being for the intellectually disabled pupil. An inclusive framework that emphasises equality through participation, democracy, fellowship and benefit can therefore contribute in creating pupils that are better equipped to meet the social demands of society.

Micro-approach to inclusion

Inclusion is not about helping a particular category of students to fit within the mainstream but instead is a process where the school builds its capacity to facilitate all learners (Sebba and Ainscow 1996, 7-9). Farrell (2000, 154) claims that for children to be fully included they should be provided with opportunities to play a full and active part in the life that goes on in mainstream schools. Also, all children should be considered as valued members of the school community and be considered as equal participants within the same community. In addition, inclusion should be viewed as a process and not a state (Hausstätter 2014, 425)**.** Through the process of inclusion, it is argued that there is no such thing as an inclusive school. Inclusion has to be an ongoing

process where schools continuously seek to respond to diversity by listening to unfamiliar voices, being open, empowering all members and celebrating difference. In other words, inclusive education is part of a human rights approach that reflects values that are an integral part of society (Barton 1997, 233-234) and are thus a highly normative concept.

Haug (2010, 207) has operationalised inclusion into four horizontal dimensions: fellowship, participation, democracy and benefit. These dimensions concern all levels of education provided by *government* through values, ideology and policy; *municipalities* through organisation and conditions for educational practices; *schools* and the *classroom* through practical actions; and finally the *pupil* through behaviour and experience. These are the four vertical levels in Haug's (2014, 18) operationalisation. Further, Haug (2010, 200) argues that there is at least two possible approaches to research inclusion, a macro- and micro-approach. Macro- and micro-approaches are applicable on different vertical levels when studying the four horizontal dimensions of inclusion. Macro-level research focuses primarily on the first two vertical axes, the governmental and the municipality level, and aims to understand the structural characteristics of the whole school system. The purpose of a micro-approach, on the other hand, is to obtain insight about the processes that take place inside schools and how they affect individuals subjected to certain educational practices. By taking a micro-approach to inclusion this paper will discuss how participation in a fellowship, as well as receiving an education that focuses on everyone's equal right to a beneficial education, can construct pupils that achieve and seemingly have realistic ambitions about the future.

Method

This article is based on one pupil diagnosed with intellectual disability who is in his

second year at a Norwegian lower secondary school. The purpose of the study was to obtain knowledge about how he experienced his situation in school. In order to do so, three semi-structured interviews with the informant where conducted. However, as this article is based theoretically on Hacking's (1995a, 1995b, 1999) work, experiences are not considered as being restricted to the inner life of the informant. In order to understand how the informant's experiences were socially situated and ultimately how his surroundings affect how he experiences his education, participant observation was also conducted. According to Højholt and Kousholt (2014, 323-324) there is a relationship between the personal and the social, and by following informants in their daily life it is possible to see how they experience institutional practices.

The fieldwork lasted for a month. Interviews with the informant took place on the second, third and fourth week. Regarding observation, in addition to simply observing, unstructured conversations took place with multiple actors such as the informant himself, his teachers and other staff involved in his education. Two meetings with the informant's parents were also conducted, which supplemented the information provided by the informant and his school. Observations took place 3 to 4 days each week, with each session lasted approximately four hours. The observations were conducted in both formal settings such as classes and more informal activities that occurred during break time and lunches. Partaking in a variety of contexts enabled me to obtain knowledge of the particularities of different social settings as well as the conversations, negotiations, participation and engagements in activities that the informant were involved in. By being present with the informant and regularly engaging in conversations with him, experience data were thus not exclusively restricted to the interview setting. During observation, the informant provided relevant information about the multiple environments that he was part of. According to Morris (2003, 345-

346), spending time with informants when they engage in activities opens up more opportunities for learning about their experiences.

The main purpose of the interviews was to engage in conversations about aspects of his school day that related to inclusion. Some questions and themes regarding inclusion were prepared beforehand and some emerged during observed events. The latter were considered particularly important as they enabled a discussion with the informant about occurred events and thus provided him the space to share his experience regarding his educational arrangements (Fangen 2010, 172). Conducting three interviews instead of one had several advantages. Multiple interviews created an opportunity to revisit themes that were not satisfactorily covered in past interviews (Polkinghorne 2005, 142-143). In addition, they also functioned as a way of validating the informant's answers. Due to their impairment and the power relations that the intellectually disabled are often subjected to, interviews with this categorised group are often associated with an elevated risk of naysaying and acquiescence. Naysaying and acquiescence means answering negatively or affirmatively regardless of the interview question (Folkestad 2003, 173; Matikka and Vesala 1997, 76). On a number of occasions this seemed to also to be the case with this particular informant. However, by conducting multiple interviews it enabled me to ask similar questions from different angles whenever a suspicion of naysaying or acquiescence was present. This revealed if, when and where the informant contradicted himself. Spending time with the informant over a longer period of time seemed to also make him more comfortable with my presence and more confident about sharing his experiences with me. For each of the conducted interviews the informant provided gradually more in-depth information of how he experienced his situation, what his interests were and the ambitions he had at school as well as for the future.

Methodologically this study is based on an experience-based narrative approach. The advantages of positioning the empirical data within this framework are that it permits the study of identity situated within different contexts (Phoenix 2013, 72-75). Combining semi-structured interviews with participant observation and field conversations enabled an analysis of themes that occurred both in the observation and interviews and from that the development of a narrative about how the informant experienced himself within the contexts that he was part of. The data was translated from Norwegian into English.

Results

The informant (Bruno) was classified as intellectually disabled and thus diagnosed in accordance with the Norwegian standards that are based on the ICD-10 manual (Grøsvik 2008).

Bruno was in Year 9 in lower secondary school, where he had been for the last 2 years. Bruno said that in his former school he was rarely part of the classroom and instead was part of a small segregated group:

> **When you went your old school (me)** Yes **Were you always together with your peers?** No, I was mostly outside. **Mostly outside?** Yes. **Can you tell me a bit about what your day was like, how a school day looked like when you went to your old school?** Sometimes I was in the classroom, and often I was, very, more often than I was in the classroom I spent time in other rooms.

Segregation was the exception in Bruno's current school. Here he did not receive any special education, and he was mainly part of the ordinary classroom alongside his peers. He did however have some adapted education that occasionally took place outside of the classroom alone or in smaller groups.

It did not seem to be a coincidence that Bruno spent major parts of the day in the classroom alongside peers at his current school. One of Bruno's teachers said that for the last 5 or 6 years the school had changed its approach towards pupils who struggled educationally. In the past, the teacher said, organisational practices consisted of more extended use of smaller groups where pupils of different ages and classes that struggled educationally received teaching together. The current practice however was claimed to be founded on the ambition to keep all pupils in their respective classrooms as much as possible. According to the teacher, there had been a change of practice because there is evidence that conjoined classes are beneficial to pupils' educational achievement. In addition, Bruno's assistant claimed that Bruno's parents were an important reason for why he did not receive any special education because they want him to spend as much time as possible together with his peers in an ordinary classroom. Bruno's class teacher claimed that not all teachers agreed with the current practice. Some were worried that when all pupils, regardless of educational level, were part of the same classroom it created confusion about which pupils the teachers or assistants were responsible for.

The school also seemed to have a clear ambition of what Bruno was to achieve in school. One stated goal was to enable him to finish school with grades in all subjects Even if Bruno's school, apparently in cooperation with his parents, seems to have organised his education in a way that is successful in regard to his educational achievements, Bruno's parents were not entirely positive about his future. Bruno's father said that they have been making an effort to remove Bruno's diagnosis. Being labelled as intellectually disabled, his father continued, would prevent him from reaching his desired goal to work at an airport as an adult because he would be unable to receive the necessary clearance.

Realising the ambitions

Bruno received some adapted teaching instead of special education where he would sometimes be offered or provided with alternative working and teaching methods. The alternatives presented sometimes consisted of tasks that required less work, tasks that were easier than those his peers received, being offered the choice not to do tests or spending portions of a lesson outside the classroom. When Bruno followed the ordinary education there occasionally was an assistant there to help him.

In a Christian and other religious and ethical education class (CREE) the lesson consisted of collaborative work. The pupils were divided into pairs, and Bruno was paired with a boy that sat beside him. This boy also received some adapted education. In the beginning of this lesson the class teacher presented the assignment in front of everyone before walking over to Bruno and the other pupils and saying 'you two can do *this* (assignment), it is a bit easier'. Bruno was also provided with alternatives or adjustments during tests in different subjects in regard to what task he had to do and how he was to do it. Prior to a test in CREE the teacher in charge of his class approached Bruno and said that if he liked (s)he could cross out some of the questions so that he could have fewer question to answer. On another occasion, one of the class teachers spoke of the national test that pupils conduct in different subjects. The teacher explained that Bruno gets to choose if he wants to do these or not. However, (s)he continued by saying that Bruno's parents were very adamant that Bruno should do the same tests as everyone else.

Bruno also received some teaching outside of the classroom with peers, mainly in the subjects English, Norwegian and maths. The time Bruno spent outside of the classroom rarely lasted the whole lesson. Often Bruno began and ended the lesson in the classroom alongside his peers as was the case during an English language class. This

particular lesson began with Bruno sitting inside his classroom. The class teacher paired the pupils into groups of two. Bruno was paired with a girl that was sitting beside him. Each pair was given the task to read to each other from a book. During this class, another teacher entered the room and took some pupils out individually, and after a while he approached Bruno and asked if he could join him outside. The teacher and Bruno walked out the classroom into a room next door. Here, the teacher gave Bruno a binder that consisted of assignments Bruno was supposed to work on. The teacher explained the task that Bruno was supposed to do before saying, 'You can work with this in the classroom, there is no point sitting here and doing this'. Bruno returned to the classroom and worked with the assignments in the folder for the rest of the session. Back in the classroom the rest of the pupils sat and worked independently. The class teacher headed over to Bruno, looked at the work he was given, then nodded and walked away quietly. Even if Bruno did a different assignment to that of his peers, it was difficult to tell as he sat there quietly alongside them and worked.

At this time of the year the subjects food and health, natural science and social studies consisted of collaborative work. Bruno seemingly participated on equal terms as everyone else in these subjects. It also seemed that both his teachers and other pupils considered him a natural and competent member in the groups that he attended. In general, Bruno were often quiet and seldom did he engage in conversations unless approached by others. In the group work however, Bruno were often included into the conversation about a particular topic. On occasions Bruno also engaged in active collaboration with other children; this was the case during a field trip to a nearby forest in the subject natural science. On this field trip each group was assigned a task to discover different ecosystems in different kinds of forests both underneath and on the ground as well as in trees. During this day Bruno collaborated with another boy. One of

the tasks they were given consisted of measuring up and digging a hole to see what kinds of insects lived underground. Here the boy Bruno was collaborating with asked him, 'How big is the hole that we are supposed to measure up?' Bruno, who seemed to have remembered the measurement, replied 'one meter on each side'.

Pupils in the food and health class also seemed to consider Bruno as a competent member of the group. There a girl who was unsure about how long the food should be left in the oven asked Bruno for advice on whether she should take it out or leave it in. A teacher of the food and health subject said that the Year 9 pupils had little to no prior experience of preparing food in the school's kitchen as this was the first time most of them had ever been there. However, she said that Bruno and some of the other pupils that had received adapted teaching were more experienced because last year they used to have a class every other Friday were they made food. Therefore, the teacher claimed, Bruno and the others who were with him last year are 'experts'. The competence that the teachers claimed Bruno and the others who had received adapted teaching had acquired was said to be taken into consideration when the groups were being composed, and one or more of them were assigned to each group.

A teacher said that Bruno not only struggled in some subjects but that he had trouble writing with a pen and paper. In many subject this did not become apparent as each pupil had their own IPad that was used in many subjects both in combination with teaching and as a tool for reading and writing.

Bruno's ambitions for the future

Bruno seemed to have a clear plan for the future as well as an understanding of what it would take for him to reach his goals:

Do you think it is important to do well in school? I do think it is important to do good in school. **You said that you wish to work at an airport, isn't that right?** Yes. **As?** Ground crew. **What do you think is needed or what do you think that you have to do at school to get that job?** Have good grades in school. **Good grades at school, how are your grades at school?** The highest I have got is a Four (grade C). **Four? In what subject?** In arts and crafts and music and once in natural science and social studies. **Are there any subjects you find difficult?** I think math is difficult. **What is the reason why you think that is difficult?** I do not have very good grades in maths, so I have to, I will try to get better grades in maths, I have to practice.

Bruno's parents said that they followed his education closely and made sure that he always did his homework as well as cooperating closely with the school about how his education should be organised. Bruno seemed also to share his parents' perspective about doing good at school, as he stated that the grades he receives now will determine his way in the future. **Why is it important to be good at school?** Why it is important? Because then you will get good grades. **Yes.** Then you will get into the upper secondary school that you wish to attend.

As mentioned, at school Bruno often took part in the same or similar activities as everyone else. This applied to general tutoring, individual and group work as well as tests but sometimes with adaptions in regard to content. Whether he complied with the adaptions in his education or not varied. In the mentioned case with the CREE test, where the teacher offered him a test with fewer questions, he refused and explained that:

What did you think when the teacher offered you and (another boy) to answer fewer questions than the others? I thought it was ok… but I felt like trying. **You felt like trying?** The one (the test) that the others were supposed to take… **You wanted to answer all of the questions?** Yes. **Did you?** I did. **Even if the teacher had circled some of the questions for you?** They had not circled any questions, I got the same test as everyone else… I said "I wish to try" **What did the teacher say then?** That it was ok.

On another occasion Bruno seemed more content with the fact that he and some of the other pupils received some differentiated teaching and assignments. This seemed to be the case when Bruno spoke of teaching outside the classroom:

> **It seems that you are more active when you are part of a smaller group, is that correct?** Yes, that is correct. **Could you tell me why that is the case?** Because then I know the answer, when I am in the other classroom (the ordinary) I might not know what something means, and when I raise my hand it is not true what I, it is not the right answer…. **Do you feel more confident that you know the answer when you are part of the group (outside of the classroom)?** Yes, because then I know the answer to more questions.

Discussion

Despite being diagnosed as intellectually disabled, Bruno's school seemed from the top down to have a clear and defined strategy regarding his education. As one teacher argued, Bruno's education is based on a belief that inclusionary practices are beneficial for educational outcomes. This overall ambition seemed to be manifested in the school's organisational practices that Bruno was subjected to, as he was mostly part of the ordinary classroom and met with high expectations regarding his educational potential. Haug's (2010, 207) operationalisation of inclusion emphasises that benefit is an important dimension of inclusion by stating that 'all pupils should receive an education that is beneficial both socially and substantially' (ibid 2010, 207). However, Haug (2017, 206) claims that inclusive education seems difficult for schools to implement. The ambition of this discussion is therefore to highlight a case where the school seems to have developed a practice that is in line with inclusive education. As mentioned, according to Brinkmann (2005, 773) institutions construct their own subject matter. Using a micro-approach to inclusion the following discussion will be concerned with the role of the school, teachers and peers in constructing a pupil, that despite being

labelled as intellectually disabled, performs at school and who has developed seemingly realistic goals regarding his future.

Bruno's school: beyond a traditionalist approach

The general educational system is normative, where the ambition is that pupils obtain skills that enables them to function in relation to the social demands of society (Gilliam 2012, 169-173). Traditional and inclusive education are both normative as well and consider deviance as an unwanted state. However, a traditional understanding of intellectual disability would consider the diagnosis itself to be the unfortunate state. An inclusive discourse on the other hand would argue that poorly constructed educational environments are a major factor regarding the construction of deviance (Vehmas 2004, 209; Gallagher 2001, 642-645; Sebba and Ainscow 1996, 9-11).

The claim that Bruno's school have found it more beneficial to keep all pupils in conjoined classes since shifting practices from segregating pupils who struggled academically suggests a shift from an individual and traditional approach to a more social and inclusive one. Despite claiming that Bruno struggled academically in some subjects, teachers seem to understand him not as a deviant pupil but as a competent member that is considered to have a natural place in the classroom alongside his peers. According to Hacking (1999, 102-103), institutions such as schools influence their members by how they classify and interact with those that are labelled as a certain kind. Institutional valuation or devaluation of certain kinds of pupils will affect how a categorised pupil is approached and treated by others in the same institution. As Bruno's school seems to be founded on the belief that he is someone entitled to equal and normalised educational conditions, it appears to have had a positive influence on how he was perceived by his peers and the staff.

Inclusive education's effect on practice and attitudes

If intellectual disability as a category is used to describe an un-normal person that is in an unfortunate state of being, this will affect the associations and attitudes that the surroundings holds about the categorised (Hacking 1995a, 371-372). If disability is considered real, it will in turn influence what kind of practices and ambitions are considered to be best suited (Gallagher 2001, 642). Special schools and classes are an example where the disabled are considered in need of differentiated provision apart from *normal* pupils (Pfahl and Powell 2011, 450). However, in Bruno's case, it appeared to be the other way around.

Bruno received some adaptations in regard to working and teaching methods where he occasionally received some teaching outside of the classroom. Also, he was sometimes provided with a lesser or adapted workload on tests and other school related work compared to his peers. However, as was the case when he received teaching outside the classroom, the teachers seemed to perceive participation in a fellowship as important as they provided him the option to work within the classroom alongside his peers. Further, the organisational practices Bruno was subjected to were always based on the curriculum of the ordinary education. Thus, Bruno was engaged in the content that was normatively valued in relation to the demands of the educational system. Bruno was also mainly part of collaborative work alongside his peers in the classroom. In addition, all pupils were provided with their own IPads, which prevented those who struggled with writing from standing out as deviant or less competent.

As one teacher argued, the current practice reflected an overall strategy at Bruno's school that had existed for approximately the last 5 years. Understanding Bruno as a kind, implemented as an overall strategy, is likely to have influenced his surroundings, i.e. the teachers and his peers. When the school presents Bruno as a

competent pupil it seems to have created beliefs and attitudes amongst peers and teachers that he was an asset in the classroom and in collaborative work. In addition, some of his teachers also presented Bruno as particularly competent in some subjects as well, such as the food and health subject. In these classes his competence was even argued to be taken into consideration. This was apparent when it was claimed that those that had former experience of the school's kitchen were assigned to each group. In that way they could make a positive contribution to the fellowship. That he was understood as a competent member appeared to be reflected in the attitudes of Bruno's peers. In collaborative work he seemed to be understood and approached as a natural part of the groups. This became apparent during the food and health and natural science class where he was included in conversations and asked for advice when issues arose, such as how long the food should stay in the oven or how big a hole they were to dig.

Inclusion consists of equality over a variety of dimensions. When Bruno's school seemingly approached all pupils as equals it will not only affect those in his surroundings. Ultimately it will affect and influence how Bruno constructs himself and his understanding of the environment he is part of.

Bruno: constructing himself in line with normative expectations of a good life

According to Vehmas (2004, 212-213), even if there might be some pathology pre-determining behaviour and development of those categorised as intellectually disabled, the diagnosis relies on definitions that are socially and culturally determined. However, regardless of whether the diagnosis is real or not it will affect not only the surroundings understanding of the categorised but also the categorised understanding of her/himself (Hacking 1995b, 239). As a human kind, pupils diagnosed as intellectually disabled will interact with how they are understood and approached. This will cause the categorised individuals to exert effects on themselves, causing *new* kinds of persons to emerge

(Brinkmann 2005, 773-774). A traditionalist approach assumes that it is possible to develop law-like generalisation about the intellectually disabled that can predict and explain what kind of pupil they are dealing with (Gallagher 1998, 495). As humans act under description, a traditionalist approach will provide certain descriptions under which the defined individuals will act. If the available description is of a deviant kind, where the intellectually disabled are understood as un-normal, this can in turn contribute to construct a pupil that in one way or another perceives her/himself as deviant (Snipstad 2018, 12).

Bruno was, as mentioned, also defined as intellectually disabled and thus diagnosed in relation to the same standards that Vehmas (2004, 212-213) saw as being arbitrary and accidental. However, Bruno did not seem to have constructed himself as a deviant kind of person. On the contrary, he was a pupil that preformed in accordance with the normalised standards of the educational system as he, half way through lower-secondary school, had passed all subjects. Bruno also seemed to have a clear perception of why grades were important as he argued that this was crucial for him in order to access the upper-secondary school that he wished to attend. Bruno's ambitions and goals even reached further as he stated clear goals for the future. He claimed it was crucial to do well in school if he were to work at an airport as an adult.

The kind of person Bruno seemed to have become suggests that he did not perceive himself as deviant from the rest of his peers. This became apparent when he wanted to conduct the same test as the rest of the pupils without the adaptations offered by his teachers. Bruno's ambitions and goals seemed to be in accordance with the ambitions and goals advocated by the school. As the task of the educational system is to prepare learners for the normative demands of society, it thus seemed that the practices Bruno was subjected to were enabling him to meet these social standards.

When Bruno was treated as a similar kind as his peers he was provided with descriptions of a similar nature as other pupils from which certain possibilities and opportunities to be a person became available. Being understood and perceived in this way might have, in accordance with Hacking's (1995a) theory of human kinds, played a role in how he has constructed himself in a normalised fashion.

As discussed above, humans interact with their categories, and new kinds of people can emerge from being understood and consequently treated as a kind. In turn this might require current descriptions to change or develop in order for the category to have any explanatory function regarding the new kind that has come into existence (Hacking 1995a, 366-370). Because the categorised changes in ways that are difficult to foresee, it might be impossible to anticipate what kind of person will emerge by being understood as a certain kind. Inclusive practices did however seem to construct Bruno as an ambitious and determined pupil who was aware and conscious of how and with what means he was to meet the social demands of society.

Conclusion

This article has challenged the notion that it is possible to develop universal and law-like generalisation regarding the developmental course of the intellectually disabled. As mentioned, a traditionalist approach to education considers disability as something real and consequently considers deviance as intrinsic to the individual. Similarly, the DSM-5 defines intellectually disabled as someone who deviates from the norm in regard to social and academic competences as well as other socio-cultural standards considered vital for normal functioning. Despite Bruno being classified as intellectually disabled, he did not seem to behave, act or understand himself in a deviant manner. As humans interact with their classification, i.e. the way they are understood and approached by their surroundings, institutions construct their own subject matter. To be an excluded or

included individual represents different ways of being a person. Whether learners construct their identities as normals or deviants relates to the descriptions provided by educational institutions.

Bruno's school did not follow the deviant traditionalist approach to disability but treated him as a natural member of the classroom where he was subjected to teaching with high expectations regarding his educational potential. By emphasising participation, fellowship and a perception that Bruno is entitled to a beneficial education suggests that the school's overall strategy is inclusive. By being approached in this way it appears that Bruno has constructed himself in a normalised fashion. This highlights issues regarding an individually oriented approach where deviance is considered intrinsic to the individual because this can contribute to constructing a deviant pupil.

As part of society schools are normative where the purpose is to enable learners to meet both the social demands of education as well as the demands of the wider society. Normality implies that not all are capable of meeting the standards of education or a future adult life. Because of this, there will always be those that are unable to reach the current objectives of education as well as living an independent and self-sufficient adult life. However, the purpose of inclusion is by adapting to the variety of all learners provide greater opportunities for everyone to meet their social and academic potential. This means that education has to continuously work towards reducing disabling barriers. In Bruno's case, being understood as a competent and natural member in the school community appears to have constructed a pupil that both achieves in school with realistic goals for the future as well as having a clear conception of what it would require of him to reach these goals. Inclusion is a debated concept where uncertainty exists regarding whether, how and by what means schools are to become inclusive. However, the case discussed in this article highlights an example where a school

through quite simple changes of perspectives and practices seems to have, from the top

down, successfully dedicated itself to the process of inclusion

Literature

American Psychiatric Association. 2013. Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental
      Disorders (Fifth Edition). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.

Barton, Len. 1997. "Inclusive Education: Romantic, Subversive or Realistic?"
      International Journal of Inclusive Education 1 (3): 231–242. doi:
      10.1080/1360311970010301.

Brinkmann, Svend. 2005. "Human Kinds and Looping Effects in Psychology:
      Foucauldian and Hermeneutic Perspectives." *Theory & Psychology* 15 (6): 769–
      791. doi: 10.1177/0959354305059332.

Emanuelsson, Ingemar. 1998. "Integration and Segregation — Inclusion and
      Exclusion." *International Journal of Educational Research* 29 (2): 95–105. doi:
      https://doi.org/10.1016/S0883-0355(98)00016-0.

Fangen, Katrine. 2010. *Deltagende observasjon*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Farrell, Peter. 2000. "The Impact of Research on Developments in Inclusive Education."
      International Journal of Inclusive Education 4 (2): 153–162. doi:
      10.1080/136031100284867.

Folkestad, Helge. 2003. "Institusjonalisert hverdagsliv: En studie av samhandling
      mellom personale og beboere i bofellesskap for personer med
      utviklingshemming." Doctoral thesis Universtitet i Bergen.

Gallagher, Deborah J. 1998. "The Scientific Knowledge Base of Special Education: Do
      We Know What We Think We Know?" *Exceptional Children* 64 (4): 493–502.
      doi: 10.1177/001440299806400405.

Gallagher, Deborah J. 2001. "Neutrality as a Moral Standpoint, Conceptual Confusion and the Full Inclusion Debate." *Disability & Society* 16 (5): 637–654. doi: 10.1080/09687590120070042.

Gilliam, Laura. 2012. "Sociale børn og gode klasser. Konstruktioner af civiliserde felleskaber i skolen." In *Civiliserende intstitutioner. Om idealer og distinktioner i opdragelse*, edited by Laura Gilliam and Eva Gulløv, 119–158. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Grøsvik, Kjellhaug. 2008. "Diagnostisering av utviklingshemming hos barn" In *Utredning og diagnostisering: utviklingshemming, psykiske lidelser og adferdsvansker*, edited by Jarle Eknes, Trine Lise Bakken, Jon Arne Løkke and Ivar Mæhle, 17–34. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Hacking, Ian. 1995a. "The Looping Effects of Human Kinds." In *Causal Cognition: A Multidisciplinary Debate,* edited by Dan Sperber, David Premack, and Ann James Premack., 351–394. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hacking, Ian. 1995b. *Rewriting the Soul. Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Hacking, Ian. 1999. *The Social Construction of What?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hallahan, Daniel P. 1998. "Sound Bytes from Special Education Reform Rhetoric." *Remedial and Special Education* 19 (2): 67–69. doi: 10.1177/074193259801900202.

Haug, Peder. 2010. "Approaches to Empirical Research on Inclusive Education." *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research* 12 (3): 199–209. doi: 10.1080/15017410903385052.

Haug, Peder. 2014. "Er inkludering i skulen gjennomførleg?" In *De Utenfor: Forskning om Spesialpedagogikk og Spesialundervisning*, edited by Sidsel Germeten, 15–38. Bergen Fagbokforlaget.

Haug, Peder. 2017. "Understanding Inclusive Education: Ideals and Reality." *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research* 19 (3): 206–217. doi: 10.1080/15017419.2016.1224778.

Hausstätter, Rune Sarromaa. 2014. "In Support of Unfinished Inclusion." *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 58 (4): 424–434. doi: 10.1080/00313831.2013.773553.

Hausstätter, Rune. 2018. "Spesialundervisning for Elever med utviklingshemming - et Nødvendig Område." Spesialpedagogikk 83 (1): 44–54.

Højholt, Charlotte, and Dorte Kousholt. 2014. "Participant Observations of Children's Communities—Exploring Subjective Aspects of Social Practice." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 11 (3): 316–334. doi: 10.1080/14780887.2014.908989.

Kauffman, James M. 1999. "Commentary: Today's Special Education and Its Messages for Tomorrow." *The Journal of Special Education* 32 (4):244-254. doi: 10.1177/002246699903200405.

Kiuppis, Florian. 2014. "Why (not) Associate the Principle of Inclusion with Disability? Tracing Connections from the Start of the 'Salamanca Process'." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 18 (7): 746–761. doi: 10.1080/13603116.2013.826289.

Matikka, Leena, and Hannu. T Vesala. 1997. "Acquiescence in Quality-of-Life Interviews With Adults Who Have Mental Retardation." *Mental Retardation* 35 (2): 75–82. doi: 10.1352/0047-6765(1997)035<0075:AIQIWA>2.0.CO;2.

Morris, Jenny. 2003. "Including All Children: Finding out About the Experiences of Children with Communication and/or Cognitive Impairments." *Children & Society* 17 (5): 337–348. doi: doi:10.1002/CHI.754.

Pfahl, Lisa, and Justin J. W. Powell. 2011. "Legitimating School Segregation. The Special Education Profession and the Discourse of Learning Disability in Germany." *Disability & Society* 26 (4): 449-462. doi: 10.1080/09687599.2011.567796.

Phoenix, Ann. 2013. "Analysing Narrative Contexts." In *Doing Narrative Research*, edited by Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou, 72–87. London: Sage Publication Ltd.

Polkinghorne, Donald. E. 2005. "Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52 (2): 137–145. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.137.

Sebba, Judy, and Mel Ainscow. 1996. "International Developments in Inclusive Schooling: Mapping the Issues." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 26 (1): 5–18. doi: 10.1080/0305764960260101.

Snipstad, Øyvind Ibrahim Marøy. 2018. "Framing Inclusion: Intellectual Disability, Interactive Kinds and Imaginary Companions." *International Journal of Inclusive Education*: 1–14. doi: 10.1080/13603116.2018.1511759.

Vehmas, Simo. 2004. "Ethical Analysis of the Concept of Disability." *Mental Retardation* 42 (3): 209–222. doi: 10.1352/0047-6765(2004)42<209:Eaotco>2.0.Co;2.

Vislie, Lise. 2003. "From Integration to Inclusion: Focusing Global Trends and Changes in the Western European Societies." *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 18 (1): 17–35. doi: 10.1080/0885625082000042294.

Wendelborg, Christian, and Jan Tøssebro. 2008. "School Placement and Classroom Participation Among Children with Disability in Primary School in Norway: A Longitudinal Study." *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 23 (4): 305–309.

6 The looping effect of interactive kinds: Intellectual disability as a moving target

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter of this dissertation, Hacking (2007, p 288-289 & 296-298) argues that there are at least five elements at play in the interactive relationship between a category and the classified. There are general discourses about the category intellectual disability (a), which are applied to objects, i.e. the individuals classified (b). Though they share the same category, the classification is applied in institutions (c) with different content that is implemented with both individualistic and social understandings that in turn relate to different knowledge traditions (d) that have been generated and legitimised by experts and professions (e) within institutions.

When turning to the looping effect of interactive kinds it is argued that these five elements interact with each other, forcing the categories and the classified to develop, evolve or even change as they *move* through time (Hacking, 1995a, p 366-370). Intellectual disability is a category that evokes certain assumptions and beliefs as well as being an object of study in many social and medical research traditions. This has produced multiple truths about what intellectual disability is. Existing truths will affect common beliefs as well as institutional and professional knowledge and practice. The descriptions provided by practice that follows from certain understandings and perspectives on intellectual disability affect the classified pupils. As is the case with how individuals classified as intellectually disabled evolve and change over time, so is the case with the categories. The informants in this dissertation will develop or evolve themselves as intellectually disabled kinds of pupils due to being affected by the content and the practice that follow from being defined into certain categories. Pupils' change of self can either confirm existing knowledge and consequently legitimise the practice developed in light of particular truths, or pupils might change in ways that are not covered by experts' and professionals' prior knowledge, beliefs, perspectives or attitudes. If the latter happens, the category itself might lose its descriptive power. When a category does not provide sufficient descriptions of the kind of person it classifies, it requires that new knowledge is generated, which consequently causes the category itself to evolve or change. As knowledge and truth about the intellectually disabled pupil are produced, it will in turn affect what is considered 'best' practice. As new knowledge followed by new practice concerning intellectually disabled pupils emerges, the category will provide new descriptions that will affect the classified pupils in new ways (Hacking, 1995a, p 366-370).

By approaching inclusion from a micro-perspective, the three articles in this dissertation have produced three different narratives that tell individual stories of what it is like to be a pupil classified as intellectually disabled in school. Further, each of the articles touches upon different dimensions of inclusion – participation, fellowship, democracy and benefit (Haug, 2010, p 207; 2014, p 18). Combined, the articles cover all of these four dimensions. Drawing on the articles in this dissertation, the aim of the following discussion is concerned with the relation between the individual and the school in the process of 'making up' people in light of the main research question.

6.1 Concepts and categories

In education as well as in other social and human sciences, categories and concepts seldom have one universal and agreeable definition. There is not one single way to define inclusion, educational difficulties or intellectual disability. Ever since it emerged in the discourse of education, inclusion has been subjected to categorical, relational and non-categorical perspectives (Kiuppis, 2014, p 749-750; Nilholm, 2006, p 433). Depending on the definition, it affects whether educational difficulties are considered to be located intrinsically within the individual, to be caused by a gap or mismatch between intrinsic factors and the social world pupils are part of or to be mainly social and a result of poorly designed educational arrangements. Debates about (intellectual) disability are both similar and related to the debates concerning inclusion and educational difficulties. In the mid-twentieth century, socially oriented perspectives on disability were developed and challenged the naturalistic and medical perspectives that had dominated the disability discourse over the last century (Hausstätter, 2018, p 48-49; Oliver, 1999; Tideman, 2005, p 220-222). The arguing over disability, inclusion and educational difficulties has not been put to rest but still exists and influences the current professional and practical field of education (Hausstätter, 2018, p 48-49).

Intellectual disability is a moving target where the category throughout history has been implemented with a multitude of different knowledge, assumptions, attitudes, practices and so forth that have influenced how society has viewed people classified as intellectually disabled. Despite intellectual disability being a rather new category, that at the time of writing is awaiting inclusion in the next revision of the International Classification of Disease (ICD-11) (World Health Organisation, 2018, 6A00.0), related classifications have been applied since the birth of the normality concept in the late nineteenth century or perhaps even before (Hacking, 1995a, p 371). Sailing under different flags, such as 'ill-balanced, idiots, imbeciles,

subnormal, morons, feebleminded, mental deficient, moral imbeciles and retards' (Hacking, 1999, p 111), the different categories have all had in common that they classify people that deviate from what is considered normal behaviour at a given period in time. During their time as the dominating descriptor, each of the categories mentioned above was at a particular time in history an integrated part of medical and social discourses. Different discourses were all associated with their own regiment of treatment, schooling exclusion and inclusion (Hacking, 1999, p 111). In light of dominating assumptions of ontology, institutions emerged and/or developed as a result of an interactive relationship between society, institutional practice and the classified individuals who changed because of being classified. Regarding education, sciences have developed theories and methods for learning, which have become implemented in educational practices, which in turn have affected classified pupils. As categories are constantly on the move their content evolves and changes over time, which has resulted in major impacts on the schooling or lack of schooling for 'deviant' children. Throughout history there have been periods where these children were totally excluded from education and periods where they received their education in segregated special school systems. Later, human rights perspectives that focused on oppression and discrimination paved the way for integration and the current inclusion policies (Farrell, 2000, p 154-155; UNESCO, 1994, p 5-7).

One of the most significant breaks with dominating discourses concerning societies' perceptions and knowledge about the disabled came with the introduction of the social model (Oliver, 1999/1983; UPIAS, 1975). During the era following the Second World War, the dominating medical discourses were under siege. New perspectives were introduced and new knowledge was produced. These perspectives affected policy and practices which gradually moved towards integrating pupils formerly located in special schools into the ordinary schools, i.e. those earlier reserved for the 'normal' (Tideman, 2005, p 221). Despite many western countries deciding to close down special schools as a result of new knowledge and policy about what was considered acceptable education, exclusion continued to flourish in many countries and schools. Even after inclusion was introduced, attempting to broaden the scope and provide a perspective on education that was more socially oriented and concerned with education for all, segregation remained the reality for many children that are now classified as intellectually disabled (Pfahl & Powell, 2011; Smyth et al., 2014; Soriano et al., 2017; Wendelborg & Tøssebro, 2010).

Post Salamanca, inclusion has taken on a variety of definitions. Knowledge has been produced within research communities that base their knowledge production within different medical and social paradigms (Booth, 1996; Gustavsson et al., 2005; Kauffman, 1999; Kauffman et al., 1998; Norwich, 2002; Sebba & Ainscow, 1996). Considering intellectual disability as a matter of biology, oppression or somewhere in-between will in turn affect what is considered 'best' practice in schools.

6.2 **The classified individuals**

As 'new' paradigms emerged and new knowledge about education and disability was produced, new ways of being a disabled pupil became possible (Hacking, 1995b, p 239). The descriptions available to pupils classified as intellectually disabled, provided to them by their social and educational environments, may in turn cause classified pupils to change how they perceive themselves and the perspectives they hold about their surroundings. Despite the informants in this dissertation sharing the same diagnosis and being part of the Norwegian educational system, their experiences, actions and behaviour differed.

As a kind of person, meaning how the individual behaved, acted and experienced, Will, the informant in the first article, frequently interacted and engaged with his imagination. As mentioned in the article, and which will be elaborated on later, Will was mainly placed within a segregated setting. Within this segregated context he had created imaginary companions that he regularly interacted with or referred to and pretended identities that he often entered. The imaginary companions were given lifelike attributes and seem to serve as loyal companions that he both participated with and exhibited power over. Regarding the pretended identities, he regularly entered different roles in activities when other pupils were not present or as part of interactions with some of his imaginary companions, i.e. he acted as a teacher in relation to the imaginary companion 'Ann'.

The second article payed particular attention to Dina's choice to self-segregate and why this kind of behaviour had come to be. Dina was provided by her school the opportunity to influence her physical placement. Dina expressed ambivalence regarding where she preferred to spend time in school, and often she would use her power to influence in order to segregate herself from her peers. On the one hand, she claimed to value the fellowship with peers, but on the other she appeared to appreciate spending time in her segregated work space that was located in a room next to the classroom. Dina's teachers claimed that she lately had become more persistent about leaving the classroom. It appeared as if her desire to segregate occurred

whenever she experienced unpleasant feelings such as insecurity, frustration, boredom, low motivation, tiredness or passivity.

Bruno, in contrast to Will and Dina, appeared to behave in addition to having ambitions and aspirations about his present education and future life that appeared to be both in line with Haug's (2010, p 207) normalised dimensions of inclusion and demands in education and general society. Bruno had a clear perception of why school was important, as he stated that doing good in school and having good grades were important in order to gain access to the upper secondary school that he wanted to attend. In addition, Bruno also had ambitions that reached beyond schooling and into adult life, as he claimed that getting into a relevant upper secondary school would be the gateway to getting a job as ground crew at an airport. Bruno was also a pupil that achieved in school, and half way through lower secondary school he had passed all subjects.

6.3 **Educational institutions**

Educational institutions play an important role in the mentioned discourses of education, where schools both influence upon and are influenced by concepts and categories. According to Hacking (2007, p 288-291), existing knowledge, perspectives, understandings and so forth that exist in society about particular categorised kinds of people will influence institutional approaches, practices, attitudes and beliefs that actors within institutions hold about those classified as a particular kind. In turn, this provides certain descriptions from which the person, in this case the intellectually disabled, can be a person. Being understood and treated as a particular kind of person, provides some descriptions and restricts others.

What constitutes 'best' practice regarding education for pupils classified as intellectually disabled relates to the general discourses that exist about these pupils as a kind. Ordinary and special education is a divided discipline, where normalised standards of competition and achievement meet social values such as equality and justice for all (de Beco, 2018, p 15-23; Haug, 2014, p 21-22). Balancing these, often contrasting, interests is no easy task for policy makers, schools or teachers. This has caused the practical state of inclusion to vary immensely both between and within countries (Haug, 2017, p 206-207).

The three pupils classified as intellectually disabled in this dissertation were all subjected to different educational arrangements. Each school organised their practices in ways that resembled different beliefs about what kind of approaches were considered most suited for the kind of pupil they were dealing with. This project does not claim that any of the schools were

oppressive by intention. Instead, the study considers current perspectives and practices as a consequence of schools and teachers interacting with different discourses regarding intellectual disability and education.

Will's school described him as a challenging pupil. As he was claimed to display challenging behaviour, the school and his teachers considered it problematic for him to be part of the ordinary classroom. At school, Will spent most of his days within a segregated room, physically separate from his peers. For the most part, Will also ate his lunch segregated from peers. Only recently was he granted the privilege to spend his break-times outside alongside peers. In addition, he was always closely supervised by an adult in all contexts that he participated in, regardless of whether other peers were present or not. Often Will would be told off when he tried to decide on or influence his education. In addition, the challenging behaviour he was claimed to display also had consequences in interactions with his peers. Article one highlights this when it shows how Will was involved in a conflict with one of his peers. Even though Will did not start the argument, he was the one removed from the situation.

Dina's school appeared to emphasise the importance of participating within a fellowship, and her teachers claimed that it was important for her to be part of the ordinary classroom. Dina had an established social network with some of her peers that seemed to confirm to the teachers' and other staff the benefits from participating in the classroom. However, it seems that the educational and social demands placed on Dina by her school were lower than those placed on her peers. When Dina's peers had theoretical subjects, her education was more focused on practical and aesthetic activities such as arts and crafts, physical activity or horseback riding. Dina also spent a significant amount of time in other contexts such as outside the classroom together with younger children, together with other children defined with special needs or alone with a teacher or assistant in a small room next to the classroom. In line with the democracy dimension of inclusion and the right to influence upon one's own education (Haug, 2010, p 207), Dina's teachers and other staff had also created a space that enabled her to influence her physical placement. More specifically, Dina was provided the option to segregate herself from contexts and situations where she appeared to experience frustration, boredom, insecurity or other unwanted feelings. Her peers did not have this option and were, it seems, expected to cope within the context of their peer environment. The way Dina was approached by her school suggests that she, at least partly, was met with an assumption that she was different than her peers and thus that she needed more protection

from the complexity of the social world. However, it is important to mention that there appeared to be a disagreement between the teachers in Dina's school, where Dina's special education teacher claimed that there was a lack of communication between the teachers and assistants responsible for Dina and the teachers in charge of general education. This, the special education teacher continued, complicated the efforts to integrate Dina into the classroom.

In Bruno's school, one of his teachers stated explicitly that the agreed upon perspective was that they, as far as possible, kept the classes conjoined. In addition, the school seemed to view Bruno as a competent member of the classroom as well as meeting him with high ambitions and expectations in regards to his educational potential. The narrative produced in the third article painted a picture of a school that sought to secure normalised educational conditions for Bruno by facilitating so that he could be an integral member of class. Though appearing not to consider Bruno as a deviant kind, he did have some adaption in regards to his education. In the classroom, an assistant was sometimes present to assist pupils that struggled in particular subjects. Bruno also received some teaching outside the classroom. However, he mainly attended the ordinary education alongside his peers. On occasions when teaching took place outside of the classroom, these sessions rarely lasted for the whole lesson. Outside the classroom he was often part of a smaller group of peers. When Bruno was given assignments in a segregated context he was often encouraged to work with them in the ordinary classroom. Bruno also took part on seemingly equal grounds as others in collaborative work in the classroom. In group-work, his peers appeared to view him as a competent member, including him in discussions and asking him for advice. The additional support that Bruno received appeared to depend on particular subjects and was not restricted to pupils with a diagnosis. Bruno, and other pupils for that matter, received extra support only in particular subjects where they displayed difficulties.

Besides being provided with some adaptations regarding teaching and working methods, Bruno followed the ordinary curriculum. He also participated in tests and was graded as everyone else. Instead of approaching Bruno as a deviant kind in need of specialised educational arrangements, the practices he was subjected to seem to support a perception that by making structural adaptations to the curriculum they could provide the variety of learners an opportunity to benefit from ordinary education.

As mentioned, there is not just one way for a school to be inclusive. On an individual and institutional level, Haug's (2010, p 207) four dimensions of fellowship, participation,

democracy and benefit can be realised in a variety of ways depending on perspectives and approaches that policy makers and the field of practice choose to apply in order to understand diversity. Educational arrangements that are considered exclusionary in one perspective might not be viewed as oppressional or discriminative in a different one (Kiuppis, 2014, p 749-751). Even though the scope of the three articles is slightly different, as they touch upon different dimensions of inclusion, there are similarities and differences in practices that Will, Dina and Bruno were subjected to. These practices appeared to relate to underlying perspectives about what kind of person intellectually disabled pupils are and whether or not they are considered as biologically deviant from peers.

6.4 **Knowledge**

Educational institutions are normative. What is believed in school, assumed by the actors and taught in the classrooms is not isolated from dominating social discourses of values, experiences, cultures, intentions and choices (Gallagher, 2001, p 641). Further, no intentional actions can be conducted towards kinds of people without the presence of necessary description. Any understanding, assumption or belief about intellectual disability and inclusion requires the existence of the necessary categories and concept (Hacking, 1999, p 102-104). There would be no way to speak of the intellectually disabled pupil without the existence of the necessary categories and the content implemented within them. Likewise, there would be no way to speak of, practice or study inclusion or exclusion if there were not one or more agreeable definitions. As argued in the former section, each of the schools presented in the articles seem to have acquired certain understandings of educational practices and perspectives on disability that resemble more general discourses concerning education and disability. However, in order for schools to have these beliefs it requires the existence of discourses as well as direct or indirect knowledge about them.

Arguably, educational institutions on policy and at school level are affected by dominating beliefs and perspectives about intellectual disability, educational difficulties and normality (Hacking, 2007, p 296-298). In addition, the actors at school, meaning teachers, staff and other pupils are influenced by current institutional practices as well as perspectives and beliefs acquired from other social arenas such as educational background, families, media, interactions with other people's beliefs and so on (Sandvin, 2014, p 110). The organisational practices found in the three articles are considered to be influenced both by general discourses as well as local assumptions, beliefs and attitudes towards those classified as intellectually disabled.

The three cases in this dissertation illustrate three kinds of practices that are likely to be related to different perspectives of the concept of normality, educational and social difficulties, inclusion and disability. In a traditionalist conception of educational difficulties that relates to a categorical approach to inclusion, the assumptions and practices that Will and Dina were subjected to might be considered legitimate or even necessary. Because a categorical approach understands inclusion as a matter concerning disability (Kiuppis, 2014, p 749-750), it also implies that intellectual disability is mainly a question of biology. Perceiving intellectually disabled pupils as intrinsically deviant further suggests that special arrangements are necessary. Segregation from peers, close supervision as well as lower or alternative educational and social demands might therefore be considered as 'best' practice.

Regarding the informants, Will was, as mentioned, attending a school that seemed to view him as someone who deviated from what was considered to be normal. When Will was believed to be different, highlighted by how the school spoke of him as challenging and difficult, it consequently legitimated differentiated practices. In a traditional educational approach that is based on an individualistic perspective, the response to educational difficulties is to focus on changing or adapting the pupil. In Will's case, his educational arrangements might be in line with a traditional perspective since he, because of his diagnosis, is considered to have individual needs that require alternative or specialised educational arrangements (Kauffman, 1999, p 246-247). Consequently, less attention is directed to the environment and the structures that define the norm within which the pupils are expected to function (Barnes & Mercer, 2010, p 18-24).

While the perspectives and concerns raised in the first article resemble a categorical/traditional approach, the perspective dominating the second article seemed more complex. Dina's school was not unaware of inclusion. However, they appeared to have an approach to education that also shared some similarities with traditionalistic approaches to educational difficulties as well as a categorical approach to inclusion. When Dina was met with lower expectations, both educationally, as there was less focus on theoretical subjects than was the case with her peers, and socially, as she was not required to cope with feelings in the same way as others, it is possible to argue that her school assumed that Dina deviated from her peers. These assumptions that the school appeared to base its approaches on might have been influenced both by interacting with Dina as well as viewing her as a kind that deviated in line with how individualistic/medical perspectives understand disability. A traditional approach to education relates to both a categorical approach to inclusion as well as

medical/individual perspectives on disability. From this perspective, intellectually disabled pupils are considered to have some intrinsic features that the ordinary education is unable to accommodate (Gallagher, 2001, p 641-650). Hence, a traditional approach to education argues that specialised arrangements are necessary in order to meet the needs of pupils that because of their impairment deviate from the classified normal (Gallagher, 2001, p 648-650; Kauffman, 1999, p 246-247). By considering Will and Dina as pupils that, because of intrinsic factors, deviate from their peers, social aspects such as fellowship, participation and benefit appeared to be downplayed.

In light of different perspectives on inclusion and their underlying assumptions of normality, the understanding of intellectual disability and beliefs about what constitutes acceptable education, Bruno's school seems to consciously place itself within a relational/social understanding where education is adapted to the variety of learners. Despite Bruno receiving some adaptations in regards to teaching, working and learning methods, individual adaptations do not necessarily conflict with socially oriented approaches to education. As mentioned, a non-categorical approach does not suggest that all pupils should do the same things, but instead it states that education needs to be adapted in order to accommodate for the needs of all learners, providing everyone with a beneficial education both socially and substantially (Haug, 2010, p 207; Sebba & Ainscow, 1996, p 7-9).

Practice framed within a categorical/traditional/medical approach to inclusion, disability and educational difficulties applied to the third case might have disagreed with how the school approached Bruno. A traditionalist approach to education considers labelling necessary and believes that the best way to provide children with disabilities an acceptable level of teaching is through careful, systematic and persistent empiricist research (Kauffman et al., 1998, p 276). If Bruno's school was to take this approach, basing practice on empiricist research conducted on intellectual disability within a traditionalist tradition, the conclusion might have resulted in greater use of individualistic teaching approaches. The reason for this is that a traditional approach believes that both labelling and maintaining the distinction between general and special education provides the best suited foundation to meet the needs of disabled children (Gallagher, 2001, p 645-647; Kauffman, 1999, p 246-247). However, in social approaches to inclusion, specialised educational arrangements can themselves be discriminatory as they might contribute to constructing barriers that hinder full and equal participation for all (Haug, 2010, p 207).

In socially oriented perspectives on education and disability, deviance is not believed to arise solely from intrinsic factors. Instead, disability and educational difficulties are considered mainly, or at least in part, to be related to social and educational structures (Gustavsson et al., 2005, p 34-37; Nilholm, 2006, p 433). According to Farrell (2000, p 154-155), a non-categorical approach to inclusion is influenced by a human rights approach that views inclusion as a matter of equality and justice for all. Normalcy and thus deviance are in a non-categorical approach considered to emerge from how education is structured around a conception of what constitutes a normal pupil. Regarding a relational approach to inclusion and disability, this perspective acknowledges individual difficulties but considers normalcy in line with providing as 'normal' a living condition as possible to people with disability (Tideman, 2005, p 220-222).

As different knowledge traditions provide certain perspectives that guide what is considered to give the most beneficial education for all, it is difficult to develop a universal framework from which it is possible to judge if a school is inclusive or not. What then should be the purpose of inclusion and from which perspective should it be understood? To answer this question the remaining part of this discussion is concerned with how different practices contribute to 'making up' Will, Dina and Bruno as children/youths and as pupils. What is believed, assumed and known about pupils defined as intellectually disabled affects the approaches, practices and attitudes that they are subjected to. In turn, this will affect how the classified individuals act, behave and experience (Hacking, 1999, p 103-104).

6.5 'Making up people': Knowledge and practice affecting individuals

In all three cases there seems to be a relation between the descriptions available to the informants and the kind of experiences, actions and behaviour that they exhibited. However, it is not always the case nor is it necessary for interactive (human) kinds to be directly familiar with general discourses that exist about the category that they are defined into. Despite all the informants in this dissertation being classified as intellectually disabled it is not given that they had knowledge about the ways in which they were described and understood in discussions about inclusion and disability. According to Hacking (1999, p 103), categories can indirectly become known to the classified. As institutional practices are always part of wider discourses, individuals might become affected indirectly by how they are treated and approached by actors and institutions that themselves are influenced by general beliefs, assumptions and produced knowledge.

Will was rarely part of a peer environment and had little power over the educational arrangements that he was subjected to. Descriptions provided to him by his school and teachers appeared to relate to the construction of his imaginary universe. Dominating theories about children's imaginary companions and pretended identities have gradually moved away from considering a child's construction of these as a sign of an underlying pathology. Instead, Taylor (1999) claims that imaginary companions relate to social factors and can function as a response to loneliness, companionship, imposed restriction or limitations in the child's life, to avoid blame, to overcome fear and anxiety, as a means to communicate with others and/or as a way of speaking about events that are not personally experienced. In considering theories about imaginary companions in relation to the case of Will, it is reasonable to argue that the role and function of these relate to the practices that he was subjected to. Will's imaginary companions were only present when he was segregated from peers. As Will claimed to miss being part of a peer environment, the imaginary companions appeared to serve the role of companionship and as a way to avoid feelings of loneliness. As Will was often confronted by adults when acting out, he often blamed his imaginary companions. Regarding restrictions in Will's life, he did on multiple occasions enter the role of a teacher in relation to one of his imaginary companions, where he would present himself as the competent one and pretend to exercise power over one of his imaginary companions, who he referred to as 'Ann'. By imagining being in a power-over position thus might be a way to experience a sense of influence in the context of schooling, an arena where he was provided limited power in 'real' life.

Through its practices, the school provides Will with descriptions that enable some and restrict other possibilities to be a person. When Will is perceived and consequently treated as a deviant kind, the consequence that seems to follow is that he engages in alternative participation and fellowship that does not seem to follow the normatively valued dimensions of inclusion as emphasised in the four horizontal dimension presented by Haug (2010, p 207).

Dina also seemed to have constructed herself in relation to the knowledge and educational arrangements governing her education. As Dina had influence over her physical placement, she appeared to apply this power in order to segregate herself in situations where she experienced discomfort. Regarding her peers on the other hand, they appeared to be required to cope within the context of their peer environment. According to Vygotskij (1993, p 34-38), compensation is an inherent strategy located in all biological organisms. In humans, compensation strategies are argued to emerge from feelings of inferiority. According to

Vygotskij (1993, p 34-38) an inferiority complex is defined as the psychological self-evaluation processes of one's own social position. In social environments such as schools, unpleasant feelings of a diminished social position might not be unique to Dina. Everyone is likely to experience passing moments of insecurity, frustration and discomfort. However, according to Vygotskij (1993, p 100-101) the compensation strategies a pupil turns to relate to the social and educational structures the child is subjected to by the school. When other pupils had no other choice than to cope with negative feelings in the presence of peers, they had to develop ways to compensate and overcome these feelings within their peer environment. However, when Dina was provided the opportunity to segregate, she was simultaneously provided with another possible way to compensate for unwanted feelings. As Dina was also claimed to become more persistent about leaving the classroom, it suggests that she is a moving target that gradually changes her way of being, which might create barriers for future participation in social fellowships as well as prevent her from acquiring tools for overcoming difficulties instead of withdrawing from them. By placing lower social and educational demands on Dina and allowing her to segregate from the classroom in the face of discomfort appears to have enabled compensation strategies to develop that are disabling in relation to the normative standards of school and society at large.

Hacking (1995a, p 366-370; 2007, p 296-298) claims that it is difficult to determine in advance what kind of person will emerge as a result of being understood and consequently approached as a particular kind of person. As illustrated in articles one and two, there is not one way to be an intellectually disabled pupil. The same also holds true in article three. As opposed to Will and Dina, Bruno appeared to be understood more in line with a non-categorical or relational approach to inclusion. Little suggests that the actors in Bruno's environment considered him as a deviant kind. Instead, he was mainly part of normalised educational structures, where he partook in similar educational activities as his peers and was met with high expectations and ambitions from his teachers regarding his educational potential. Though sharing the same diagnosis as the other pupils included in this project, Bruno appeared to both behave as well as have ambitions about his present and future life that were more in line with the normalised expectations of society.

6.6 The looping effect: Legitimising or generating knowledge

The different perspectives that appeared to dominate the practice in the three schools that Will, Dina and Bruno attended have been argued to influence how they experience themselves and their surroundings. However, it would be unreasonable to argue that the informants'

schools conducted practices that they did not consider to be in the pupils' best interests. It would be just as unreasonable to argue that any of the informants experienced suffering from being subjected to their current educational arrangements as all of them, in general, displayed satisfaction at school. Will's engagement with imagination appeared genuine and something that he enjoyed doing. Dina's choice to segregate prevented her from experiencing the strains and difficulties that participation in fellowships with peers can cause. Bruno's aspirations about education and adult life appeared as motivation towards reaching his goals. In order to critically discuss inclusion and exclusion, it is therefore necessary to look at the normativity concept. What is the purpose of education and what kinds of people are normatively valued in society? Gilliam (2015, p 169-173) argues that an important role of education is to contribute to creating the next generation of citizens that can engage culturally and productively in wider society. Hacking (1995a, p 366-370; 2007, p 296-298) claims that it is difficult to predict what kind of person will emerge from being treated as a kind. However, the narratives produced in this dissertation suggest that certain practices might be enabling or disabling in relation to the social and cultural norms in society

Will and Dina were subjected to organisational structures that deviated from their peers. Because they were subjected to differentiated practices, it was consequently difficult, if not impossible, for them to act under normalised descriptions that were available to many of their peers. As the data in this article was collected at a particular time and place in the informant's life, it is impossible to argue whether the participants changed in ways that confirmed or evolved the schools' and teachers' understandings and practices. However, as Vygotskij (1993, p 34-38) argues, being met and treated as biologically different will not provide the necessary tools to overcome the barriers that they face. Experts, here referred to as professionals in school, are influenced by wider discourses about those categorised as intellectually disabled. In addition, the practices applied by the experts in school are also influenced by how the intellectually disabled pupils behave and act. As a result of the looping effect, the classified pupils will change in ways that may or may not confirm existing beliefs and knowledge that guides practice (Hacking, 1995a, p 366-370). If Will and Dina change in line with current beliefs about them, existing practices will be legitimised and validated. If they change in ways that are not covered by prior understandings of them as a kind, new knowledge about them has to be generated, which in turn has implications for practice that ultimately affects the classified individuals in new ways. However, as long as the description relates to a categorical approach where Will and Dina, because of their diagnosis and current

ways of being, are considered to be different from their peers, the new kinds of beings that emerge from the looping effect might just be another kind of deviant person that is subjected to another kind of deviant practice.

In Bruno's case, as he was subjected to 'normalised' understandings and practices, it seemed to have affected him in ways that are enabling in relation to the social demands of society. When Bruno as an interactive kind interacts with his social environment, the kind of person he becomes will also confirm or alter existing beliefs about him. If the understanding and practices that he is subjected to are confirmed by the way Bruno changes, the normalised approach that the school subjects him to will be legitimised. If he was to change into a new kind of being, the change will occur by interacting with similar descriptions as those available to his peers. It might therefore be more likely that he will continue to behave, act and experience in line with what is considered normalised expectations of education and society.

7 Conclusion

How do 'kinds' of knowledge and practices existing within schools contribute to 'making up' intellectually disabled pupils in relation to perspectives on inclusion?

In this dissertation, inclusion is not limited to a matter of placement but relates to all aspects concerning education. This project is based on Haug's (2010, p 207) operationalisation of inclusion, where inclusive education refers to both horizontal and vertical levels (see table in Haug 2014, p 18). Mainly focusing on the lower two vertical axes, the horizontal levels (participation, fellowship, democracy and benefit) have all been debated. The first article was based on issues of participation and fellowship and discussed whether or not imagination could be considered a genuine kind of participation within a fellowship. The second article problematised the democracy dimension in relation to fellowship and participation and discussed why a pupil chooses to withdraw from the fellowship with peers. In the third article the main focus was on how the school through its practices contributed to making up a pupil that seemed to benefit from ordinary education.

By approaching inclusion from a micro-perspective where the empirical material was collected from within educational institutions, the project was able to produce narratives about how the informants appeared as kinds of pupils. A micro-approach also made it possible to observe practice and discuss the structures that governed the informants' every-day life at school. In addition, by applying the theoretical framework of Ian Hacking, it provided opportunities to study how individuals' ways of being interacted with the structures they were subjected to. This further enabled an analysis of how general discourses about education, inclusion and disability influenced the field of practice that in turn influenced the informants.

Considering the main research question in light of different perspectives on disability as well as different approaches to inclusion, the dissertation has shown that kinds of beliefs and kinds of practice that pupils classified with intellectual disability are subjected to in school plays a major role regarding the kind of person it is possible for them to be. Before speaking of inclusion, one has to ask what the purpose of education is. If the ambition is to provide pupils with the necessary tools needed to engage in society both culturally and productively, individual understanding and segregated practices regarding intellectually disabled education appear unfortunate. When education is organised based on beliefs that intellectual disability refers to individuals that deviate from others, the descriptions available for pupils to interact with will also be of a deviant kind. On the other hand, if the intellectually disabled are provided with descriptions related to equality, justice and normalisation, the way in which it is

possible to be a pupil might thus resemble normalised descriptions similar to those available to peers.

Education, from policy to practice, is normative. Regarding pupils diagnosed with intellectual disability, there might be one or more biological factors influencing who and what they are. However, there are no natural and casual links that suggest that an assumed intrinsic pathology requires a categorical approach in order to provide an acceptable education. What children are expected to learn, how they should behave and what they are to become, all relate to normative standards of what is considered valued in society. Traditional approaches to education are not, as their advocates claim, objective. Instead, like any other perspectives on education they have norms and value systems that interact with learners. The values and norms implied in traditionalistic/categorical approaches might provide descriptions to pupils classified as intellectually disabled that are not in keeping with the social and cultural demands of society. Interacting with perspectives that consider intellectually disabled children as different or special might thus construct barriers that hinder them from engaging culturally or from being functioning and productive members of the complex social world.

Underlying all aspects of education and disability is the normativity concept. While a categorical approach seems to be at risk of constructing disabling barriers in regards to the classified pupils' way of being, approaches that focus on equality and justice for all might contribute to provide descriptions of a normalised kind and not ones that are individualistic, special and reserved for the intellectually disabled. The conclusion drawn from this project is that practice has major impacts on 'making up' the intellectually disabled pupil. Consequently, this also places great responsibility upon educational research, policymakers and practitioners as the knowledge, assumptions, attitudes, beliefs and practice about and towards pupils classified as intellectually disabled affect the construction, maintenance and re-construction of the 'normal' and 'deviant' pupil.

References

Ainscow, M. (1998). Would it work in theory?: arguments for practitioner research and theorising in the special needs field. In C. Clark, A. Dyson, & A. Millward (Eds.), *Theorising Special Education* (pp. 21-31). London Routledge

Avramidis, E., & Kalyva, E. (2007). The influence of teaching experience and professional development on Greek teachers' attitudes towards inclusion. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 22*(4), 367-389. doi:10.1080/08856250701649989

Avramidis, E., & Norwich, B. (2002). Teachers' attitudes towards integration / inclusion: a review of the literature. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 17*(2), 129-147. doi:10.1080/08856250210129056

Barnes, C., & Mercer, G. (2010). *Exploring Disability: A Sociological Introduction* (2 ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Barnes, C., Oliver, M., & Barton, L. (2002). Introduction. In C. Barnes, M. Oliver, & L. Barton (Eds.), *Disability Studies Today* (pp. 1-17). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Barton, L. (1997). Inclusive education: romantic, subversive or realistic? *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 1*(3), 231-242. doi:10.1080/1360311970010301

Booth, T. (1996). A Perspective on Inclusion from England. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 26*(1), 87-99. doi:10.1080/0305764960260107

Brinkmann, S. (2005). Human Kinds and Looping Effects in Psychology: Foucauldian and Hermeneutic Perspectives. *Theory & Psychology, 15*(6), 769-791. doi:10.1177/0959354305059332

Čagran, B., & Schmidt, M. (2011). Attitudes of Slovene teachers towards the inclusion of pupils with different types of special needs in primary school. *Educational Studies, 37*(2), 171-195. doi:10.1080/03055698.2010.506319

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 19*(5), 2-14. doi:10.2307/1176100

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (3 ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Cuskelly, M. (2005). Ethical Inclusion of Children with Disabilities in Research. In A. Farrell (Ed.), *Ethical Research with Children* (pp. 97-111). Berkshire: Open University Press.

Danermark, B. Ekström, M. Jakobsen, L & Karlsson, J. C. (2003). *Att förklara samhället* (2nd ed.). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

David, T., Tonkin, J., Powell, S., & Anderson, C. (2007). Ethical aspects of power in research with children. In A. Farrell (Ed.), *Ethical research with children* (pp. 124-137). Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill Education.

Davis, W. E. (1989). The Regular Education Initiative Debate: Its Promises and Problems. *Exceptional Children, 55*(5), 440-446. doi:10.1177/001440298905500507

de Beco, G. (2018). The right to inclusive education: why is there so much opposition to its implementation? *International Journal of Law in Context, 14*(3), 396-415. doi:10.1017/S1744552317000532

De Fina, A., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Analysing narratives as practices. *Qualitative Research, 8*(3), 379-387. doi:10.1177/1468794106093634

Dolva, A. S., Gustavsson, A., Borell, L., & Hemmingsson, H. (2011). Facilitating peer interaction – support to children with Down syndrome in mainstream schools. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 26*(2), 201-213. doi:10.1080/08856257.2011.563607

Emanuelsson, I. (1998). Integration and segregation — inclusion and exclusion. *International Journal of Educational Research, 29*(2), 95-105. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0883-0355(98)00016-0

Estell, D. B., Jones, M. H., Pearl, R., Van Acker, R., Farmer, T. W., & Rodkin, P. C. (2008). Peer Groups, Popularity, and Social Preference: Trajectories of Social Functioning Among Students With and Without Learning Disabilities. *Journal of Learning Disabilities, 41*(1), 5-14. doi:10.1177/0022219407310993

Fangen, K. (2010). *Deltagende observasjon*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Farrell, A. (2005). Ethics and research with children. In A. Farrell (Ed.), *Ethical Research with Children* (pp. 1-14). Berkshire: Open University Press.

Farrell, P. (2000). The impact of research on developments in inclusive education. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 4*(2), 153-162. doi:10.1080/136031100284867

Flem, A., Moen, T., & Gudmundsdottir, S. (2004). Towards inclusive schools: a study of inclusive education in practice. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 19*(1), 85-98. doi:10.1080/10885625032000167160

Foucault, M. (1991). What Is Enlightenment? In P. Rainbow (Ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (pp. 32-50). London: Penguin Books.

Gallagher, D. J. (2001). Neutrality as a Moral Standpoint, Conceptual Confusion and the Full Inclusion Debate. *Disability & Society, 16*(5), 637-654. doi:10.1080/09687590120070042

Georgakopoulou, A. (2006). Thinking big with small stories in narrative and identity analysis. *Narrative Inquiry, 16*(1), 122-130. doi: https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.16.1.16geo

Gilliam, L. (2015). Sosiale barn og gode klasser: Konstruksjonen av siviliserende fellesskap i skolen. In L. Gilliam & E. Gulløv (Eds.), *Siviliserende institusjoner: Om idealer og distinksjoner i oppdragelse* (pp. 131-174). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity.* New Jersey: Prentice-hall Inc.

Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2008). Narrative Ethnography. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Handbook of Emergent Methods* (pp. 241-264). New York: Guilford Press.

Gustavsson, A., Tøssebro, J., & Traustadóttir, R. (2005). Introduction: approaches and perspectives in Nordic disability research. In A. Gustavsson, J. T. Sandvin, R. Traustadóttir, & J. Tøssebro (Eds.), *Resistance, reflection and change: Nordic disability research* (pp. 23-44). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Hacking, I. (1995a). The looping effects of human kinds. In D. Sperber, D. Premack, & A. J. Premack (Eds.), *Causal cognition: A multidisciplinary debate* (pp. 351-394). Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Hacking, I. (1995b). *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple personality and the sciences of memory*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Hacking, I. (1999). *The social construction of what?* Cambridge: Harvard university press.

Hacking, I. (2002). *Historical Ontology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hacking, I. (2007). Kinds of People: Moving targets. In P. J. Marshall (Ed.), *Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume 151, 2006 Lectures* (pp. 285-318): British Academy.

Hallahan, D. P. (1998). Sound bytes from special education reform rhetoric. *Remedial and Special Education, 19*(2), 67-69. doi:10.1177/074193259801900202

Haug, P. (2004). Hva forskningen forteller om integrering og inkludering i skolen. In J. Tøssebro (Ed.), *Integrering och inkludering* (pp. 169-198). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Haug, P. (2010). Approaches to empirical research on inclusive education. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 12*(3), 199-209. doi:10.1080/15017410903385052

Haug, P. (2014). Er inkludering i skulen gjennomførleg? In S. Germeten (Ed.), *De utenfor: Forskning om spesialpedagogikk og spesialundervisning* (pp. 15-38). Bergen Fagbokforlaget.

Haug, P. (2017). Understanding inclusive education: ideals and reality. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 19*(3), 206-217. doi:10.1080/15017419.2016.1224778

Hausstätter, R. S. (2018). Spesialundervisning for elever med utviklingshemming - et nødvendig område. *Spesialpedagogikk, 83*(1), 44-54.

Hausstätter, R. S. (2014). In Support of Unfinished Inclusion. *Scandinavian journal of educational research, 58*(4), 424-434. doi:10.1080/00313831.2013.773553

Heath, S., Brooks, R., Cleaver, E., & Ireland, E. (2009). *Researching young people's lives*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Humphrey, N., & Symes, W. (2013). Inclusive education for pupils with autistic spectrum disorders in secondary mainstream schools: Teacher attitudes, experience and knowledge. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 17*(1), 32-46. doi:10.1080/13603116.2011.580462

Højholt, C., & Kousholt, D. (2014). Participant observations of children's communities— Exploring subjective aspects of social practice. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 11*(3), 316-334. doi:10.1080/14780887.2014.908989

Jahnukainen, M. (2015). Inclusion, integration, or what? A comparative study of the school principals' perceptions of inclusive and special education in Finland and in Alberta, Canada. *Disability & Society, 30*(1), 59-72. doi:10.1080/09687599.2014.982788

Jerlinder, K., Danermark, B., & Gill, P. (2010). Swedish primary-school teachers' attitudes to inclusion – the case of PE and pupils with physical disabilities. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 25*(1), 45-57. doi:10.1080/08856250903450830

Kauffman, J. M. (1999). Commentary: Today's special education and its messages for tomorrow. *The Journal of Special Education, 32*(4), 244-254. doi:10.1177/002246699903200405

Kauffman, J. M., Hallahan, D. P., & Lloyd, J. W. (1998). Politics, science, and the future of learning disabilities. *Learning Disability Quarterly, 21*(4), 276-280. doi:10.2307/1511173

Kittelsaa, A. M. (2010). En dobbel utfordring: Å intervjue unge med en utviklingshemming. In R. G. Gjærum (Ed.), *Usedvanlig kvalitativ forskning* (pp. 162 - 189). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Kiuppis, F. (2014). Why (not) associate the principle of inclusion with disability? Tracing connections from the start of the 'Salamanca Process'. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 18*(7), 746-761. doi:10.1080/13603116.2013.826289

Kiuppis, F. & Haustätter, R.S. (2014) *Inclusive Education Twenty Years After Salamanca.* New York: Peter Lang.

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju* (2nd ed.). Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk.

Langdridge, D. (2006). *Psykologisk forskningsmetode: En innføring i kvalitative og kvantiative tilnærminger*. Trondheim: Tapir Akademisk Forlag.

Lillehammer University College. (2010). *Child and Youth Participation and Competence Development Research Programme.* Lillehammer University College. Retrieved from: https://eng.inn.no/studies/catalogue/school-kindergarten-and-pedagogy/phd-child-and-youth-participation-and-competence-development-buk

Loh, J. (2013). Inquiry into issues of trustworthiness and quality in narrative studies: A perspective. *The qualitative report, 18*(33), 1-15.

Lune, H., & Berg, B. L. (2017). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (9th ed.). Harlow: Pearson.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing Qualitative Research* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication

Ministry of Church and Education. (1973-74). *Om Lov om Bridge i Lov av 13. Juni 1969 nr. 24 om Grunnskolen*. (Ot. prp. nr. 64. (1973 – 74)). Oslo: Kyrkje- og Undervisningsdepartementet

Mishler, E. (2006). Narrative and identity: The double arrow of time. In A. De Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and Identity* (pp. 30-47). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nietzsche, F. W. (2001). Book Two. In B. Williams (Ed.), *The Gay Science* (pp. 69-105). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nilholm, C. (2006). Special education, inclusion and democracy. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 21*(4), 431-445. doi:10.1080/08856250600957905

Nilholm, C., & Alm, B. (2010). An inclusive classroom? A case study of inclusiveness, teacher strategies, and children's experiences. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 25*(3), 239-252. doi:10.1080/08856257.2010.492933

Norwich, B. (2002). Education, inclusion and individual Differences: Recognising and resolving dilemmas. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 50*(4), 482-502. doi:10.1111/1467-8527.t01-1-00215

Okely, J. (2012). *Anthropological Practice: Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Method*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Oliver, M. (1999). *Social work with disabled people* (2nd ed.). London: MacMillan Press.

Oliver, M. (2013). The social model of disability: thirty years on. *Disability & Society, 28*(7), 1024-1026. doi:10.1080/09687599.2013.818773

Patterson, W. (2013). Narratives of events: Labovian narrative analysis and its limitations. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research* (2 ed.). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

Pfahl, L., & Powell, J. J. W. (2011). Legitimating school segregation: The special education profession and the discourse of learning disability in Germany. *Disability & Society, 26*(4), 449-462. doi:10.1080/09687599.2011.567796

Phoenix, A. (2013). Analysing narrative contexts. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing Narrative Research* (pp. 72-87). London: Sage Publication.

Pijl, S. J., Frostad, P., & Flem, A. (2008). The social position of pupils with special seeds in regular schools. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 52*(4), 387-405. doi:10.1080/00313830802184558

Polkinghorne, D. E. (2005). Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Counselling Psychology, 52*(2), 137-145. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.137

Pratt, M. G. (2009). From the editors: For the lack of a boilerplate: Tips on writing up (and reviewing) qualitative research. *Academy of Management Journal, 52*(5), 856-862.

Sandvin, J. T. (2014). Utviklingshemmet av hvem? In K. E. Ellingsen (Ed.), *Utviklingshemming og deltakelse* (pp. 91 - 119). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Sebba, J., & Ainscow, M. (1996). International Developments in Inclusive Schooling: mapping the issues. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 26*(1), 5-18. doi:10.1080/0305764960260101

Shakespeare, T. (2014a). *Disability rights and wrongs revisited* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Shakespeare, T. (2014b). The social model of disability. In L. J. Davies (Ed.), *The disability studies reader* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.

Skjervheim, H. (2002). *Mennesket.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget

Skrtic, T. M., Sailor, W., & Gee, K. (1996). Voice, collaboration, and inclusion: Democratic themes in educational and social reform initiatives. *Remedial and Special Education, 17*(3), 142-157. doi:10.1177/074193259601700304

Smyth, F., Shevlin, M., Buchner, T., Biewer, G., Flynn, P., Latimier, C., . . . Ferreira, M. A. V. (2014). Inclusive education in progress: policy evolution in four European

countries. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 29*(4), 433-445. doi:10.1080/08856257.2014.922797

Snipstad, Ø. I. M. (2018a). Democracy or fellowship and participation with peers: what constitutes one's choice to self-segregate? *European Journal of Special Needs Education*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/08856257.2018.1520493

Snipstad, Ø. I. M. (2018b). Framing inclusion: intellectual disability, interactive kinds and imaginary companions. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/13603116.2018.1511759

Snipstad, Ø. I. M. (2018c). Inclusive education and the construction of the 'normal' pupil. *Unpublished Manuscript.*

Soriano, V., Watkins, A., & Ebershold, S. (2017). *Inclusive Education for Learners with Disabilities*. Retrieved: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/596807/IPOL_STU(2017)596807_EN.pdf

Squire, C. (2013). From experienced-centred to socioculturally-oriented approaches to narratives. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research* (2nd ed., pp. 47-71). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

Söder, M. (2003). Normalisering, handikappolitik och forskning. In B. Nirje (Ed.), *Normaliseringsprincipen* (pp. 189-209). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Söderström, S., & Tøssebro, J. (2011). *Innfridde mål eller brutte visjoner? Noen hovedlinjer i utviklingen av levekår og tjenester for utviklingshemmede* Retrieved: https://samforsk.no/SiteAssets/Sider/publikasjoner/Rapport%20Innfridde%20m%C3%A5l%20WEB-utgave.pdf

Taylor, M. (1999). *Imaginary Companions and the Children Who Create Them*. New York: Oxford University Press

Thomas, C. (2002). Disability theory: Key ideas, issues and thinkers. In C. Barnes, M. Oliver, & L. Barton (Eds.), *Disability studies today* (pp. 38-57). Cambridge Polity Press.

Tideman, M. (2005). A relational perspective on disability: An illustration from the school system. In A. Gustavsson, J. T. Sandvin, R. Traustadóttir, & J. Tøssebro (Eds.), *Resistance, Reflection and change: Nordic disability research* (pp. 219-232). Lund: Studenlitteratur.

Trell, E-M. & Van Hoven, Bettina. (2010). Making sense of place: Exploring creative and (inter)active research methods with young people. *Fennia, 188*(3), 91-104. Retrieved from https://fennia.journal.fi/article/view/2522

UNESCO. (1994). *The Salamanca statement and framework for action on special need education*. Paris: UNESCO. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/SALAMA_E.PDF

United Nations. (2006). *Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities and optional Protocol.* New York: United Nations

UPIAS. (1975). *Fundamental principle of disability.* London: Union of physically impaired against segregation.

Van Maanen, J. (2011). Ethnography as work: Some rules of engagement. *Journal of management studies, 48*(1), 218 - 234. doi:doi:10.1111/j.1467-6486.2010.00980.x

Vehmas, S. (2004). Ethical analysis of the concept of disability. *Mental Retardation, 42*(3), 209-222. doi:10.1352/0047-6765(2004)42<209:Eaotco>2.0.Co;2

Vehmas, S., & Mäkelä, P. (2009). The ontology of disability and impairment: a discusion of the natural and social features. In K. Kristiansen, S. Vehmas, & T. Shakespeare (Eds.), *Arguing about disability: Philosophical perspectives* (pp. 42 - 56). London: Routledge.

Vislie, L. (2003). From integration to inclusion: focusing global trends and changes in the western European societies. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 18*(1), 17-35. doi:10.1080/0885625082000042294

Vygotskij, L. S. (1993). The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky : 2 : The Fundamentals of defectology : (abnormal psychology and learning disabilities). In R. W. Rieber & A. S. Carton (Eds.), *Osnovy defektologii* (Vol. 2). New York: Plenum Press.

Webster, R., & Blatchford, P. (2018). Making sense of 'teaching', 'support' and 'differentiation': the educational experiences of pupils with Education, Health and Care Plans and Statements in mainstream secondary schools. *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 1-16. doi:10.1080/08856257.2018.1458474

Wendelborg, C., & Tøssebro, J. (2010). Marginalisation processes in inclusive education in Norway: a longitudinal study of classroom participation. *Disability & Society, 25*(6), 701-714. doi:10.1080/09687599.2010.505744

World Health Organisation. (2018). *International classification of diseases for mortality and Morbidity statistics.* Geneva: World Health Organisation.

World Health Organisation. (2016). *International statistical classification of disease and related health problems.* Geneva: World Health Organisation.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Response letter from the Norwegian Ethical Committee for Social Science

NSD

Øyvind Snipstad
Avdeling for pedagogikk og sosialfag Høgskolen i Lillehammer
Postboks 952
2604 LILLEHAMMER

Vår dato: 30.03.2017   Vår ref: 52894 / 3 / LB   Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 09.02.2017. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

52894	Elever med utviklingshemming og deres erfaringer og refleksjoner omkring inkludering i skolen
Behandlingsansvarlig	Høgskolen i Innlandet, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Øyvind Snipstad

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvernombud/meld_prosjekt/meld_endringer.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.08.2019, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Kjersti Haugstvedt

Lene Christine M. Brandt

Kontaktperson: Lene Christine M. Brandt tlf: 55 58 89 26
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Formålet er å studere hvordan elever med utviklingshemming opplever seg selv og sin posisjon i skolen ut ifra sosiale dimensjoner av inkludering.

Utvalget informeres skriftlig og muntlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet. Vi anbefaler imidlertid at det ikke legges opp til at personer som ikke ønsker å delta må krysse av for dette, og returnere samtykkeerklæringen. I setningen om NSD ber vi om at den omskrives noe slik at det bare står at "Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS". Vi gjør endelig oppmerksom på at det i skrivet opplyses at alle innsamlede data (notater og lydfiler) skal slettes ved prosjektslutt. Dersom du ønsker å ha mulighet til å oppbevare skriftlig materiale i anonymisert form etter prosjektslutt, anbefaler vi at det i stedet står at "Lydopptakene slettes, og skriftlige data anonymiseres, senest ved prosjektslutt".

Vi minner om at når barn skal delta aktivt, er deltagelsen alltid frivillig for barnet, selv om de foresatte samtykker. Det må derfor gjennom hele prosessen være tydelig for dem at deltakelse er frivillig og at de når som helst kan trekke seg dersom de ønsker det.

Det behandles sensitive personopplysninger om helseforhold.

Det behandles enkelte opplysninger om tredjeperson. Det skal kun registreres opplysninger som er nødvendig for formålet med prosjektet. Opplysningene skal være av mindre omfang og ikke sensitive, og skal anonymiseres i publikasjon. Så fremt personvernulempen for tredjeperson reduseres på denne måten, kan prosjektleder unntas fra informasjonsplikten overfor tredjeperson, fordi det anses uforholdsmessig vanskelig å informere.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger Høgskolen i Innlandet sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet.

Forventet prosjektslutt er per epost fra prosjektleder 30.03.2017 oppgitt til sommeren 2019. Ombudet justerer derfor dato for forventet prosjektslutt til 31.08.2019. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres. Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å:
- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)
- slette digitale lyd-/bilde- og videoopptak

Appendix 2: Invitation letter to participants and their parents

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

Til ungdom og foresatte

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt
Denne invitasjonen er aktuell dersom du er en ungdom i alderen 12 til 16 år som har behov for noe ekstra støtte i skolen. Studien det inviteres til er et doktorgradsprosjekt med tittelen *Elever med utviklingshemming og opplevelse av inkludering i skolen*. Prosjektet finansieres i sin helhet av Høgskolen i Innlandet (tidligere Høgskolen i Lillehammer). Habiliteringstjenesten står som avsender. De har sagt seg villig til å formidle kontakt for meg med ungdommer som kanskje kan tenke seg å delta og jeg vet derfor ikke hvem du/dere som får dette brevet er.

I prosjektet er jeg interessert i å finne ut hvordan du opplever din hverdag i skolen.
Å delta i studien betyr at jeg vil være til stede på skolen din over en periode på omlag en måned. I løpet av denne tiden ønsker jeg også å gjennomføre noen intervju. I disse intervjuene ønsker jeg å spørre deg om hvor du pleier å være i timen og i friminuttene, hvordan du selv syns dette er, hva du gjør når du er på skolen og hvem du gjør det sammen med, hva du syns du trenger hjelp til og om du mener den hjelpen du får er god nok, hvilke interesser du har på skolen og på fritiden, samt tanker om dine tidligere og fremtidige år på skolen.

Intervjuene vil bli tatt opp på lydbånd slik at det er enklere for meg å huske hva vi snakket om. Jeg vil også ta notater når jeg er tilstede i skolen. Lydopptakene og notatene, samt all annen informasjon om deg er det kun jeg som har tilgang til. Denne informasjonen vil oppbevares trygt, innelåst på et kontor. Etter at jeg er ferdig vil personopplysningene anonymiseres, det vil si at ingen kan finne ut hvem du er, hvor du bor eller hvilken skole du går på i de publiserte resultatene. Lydopptakene og notatene vil slettes når prosjektet er ferdig sommeren 2019.

Å delta i prosjektet er frivillig. Selv om du takker ja her kan du når som helst på et senere tidspunkt trekke deg uten at det vil medføre noen konsekvenser. Trekker du deg vil, om ikke annet avtales, all informasjon som du har gitt meg slettes. Du kan også underveis i intervjuene be om å hoppe over spørsmål som du syns er ubehagelig å svare på.

Virker det interessant og du har lyst til å delta ber jeg deg og en av dine foreldrene om å signere samtykkeerklæringen på neste side og sende den tilbake i vedlagt konvolutt til adressen som står nederst på samme side.

Dersom dere har noen spørsmål i forbindelse med prosjektet kan jeg nås på telefon arbeid: 612 88 547, privat 415 93 351 eller på epost; oyvind.snipstad@hil.no

Prosjektet er meldt til av Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS.

Med vennlig hilsen

Øyvind I. M. Snipstad
Avdeling for pedagogikk og sosialfag
Høgskolen i Innlandet
postboks 400
2418 Elverum

Samtykkeerklæring: Elever med utviklingshemming og opplevelse av inkludering i skolen.

Jeg har lest/ fått presentert informasjon om prosjektet og ønsker å delta ☐

Ved å markere for deltar samtykkes det samtidig til at Øyvind Snipstad kan henvende seg til skolen for å avtale besøk. Det er derfor viktig at navn og adresse på skolen skrives ned.

Navn deltager

....

Navn foresatt

....

Adresse

....

Tlf.

....

Epost

....

Navn på skole

....

Skolens adresse

....

Returadresse
Øyvind I. M. Snipstad
Avdeling for pedagogikk og sosialfag
Høgskolen i Innlandet
postboks 400
2418 Elverum

Appendix 3: Letter to the school with a request to conduct fieldwork

Hei,

Denne henvendelsen gjelder et doktorgradsprosjekt om elever med utviklingshemming og inkludering i skolen ved Høgskolen i Innlandet. I forbindelse med feltarbeidet til dette prosjektet er har jeg i samarbeid med habiliteringstjenesten i (…) sendt ut forespørsler om deltagelse til elever og foresatte innenfor prosjektets aktuelle målgruppe. Grunnen til at jeg kontakter dere er fordi en elev ved deres skole, (…), og hennes/hans foresatt (…) har takket ja til å delta i studien og jeg henvender meg derfor til dere med en forespørsel om å gjennomføre datainnsamling ved deres skole.

Kort om feltarbeidet. Å delta i dette prosjektet innebærer at jeg vil være tilstede i skolen noen dager i uken over en periode på om lag en måned. I tillegg ønsker jeg å gjennomføre noen intervju eller samtaler med (…) i løpet av perioden jeg er til stede. Formålet er å bli kjent med eleven og hvordan hun/han erfarer og opplever sin skolehverdag. Alle data jeg innheter vil selvfølgelig publiseres anonymt. Prosjektet er også godkjent av personvernombudet for forskning.

(…) vil inngå i en deltagermasse på 4 til 6 ungdommer i alderen 12 til 16 år som er gitt en utviklingshemmingsdiagnose. Innsamlede data vil benyttes til kunnskapsbygging om hvordan inkludering og funksjonshemming forstås i en samfunnskontekst, i dette tilfellet politisk og akademisk.

Om dere har mulighet så ønsker jeg gjerne å avtale et møte slik at jeg kan presentere meg selv og vi kan diskutere det som står nevnt i denne eposten mer i detalj. Har anledning til et møte den (…). Mulig oppstart kan være (…)

Ser frem til å høre fra dere!

Med vennlig hilsen

Øyvind I. M. Snipstad

Doktorgradsstipendiat
Barn og unges deltakelse og kompetanseutvikling
Avdeling for pedagogikk og sosialfag, Lillehammer

Telefon: 41593351

E-post: oyvind.snipstad@inn.no

s

How do 'kinds' of knowledge and practices existing within schools contribute to 'making up' intellectually disabled pupils in relation to perspectives on inclusion?

This project departs from a micro-perspective on inclusion where the object of study is the processes that take place within educational institutions and between actors in the classrooms and other contexts at schools. Based on this, the dissertation aims to understand how education contributes to 'making up' intellectually disabled pupils. Drawing on the theoretical works of the Canadian philosopher Ian Hacking, this project discusses how produced knowledge, stereotypical assumptions, values, beliefs and so on that are implemented in the category 'intellectual disability' affect organisational practices, which in turn interact with the children classified as intellectually disabled and influence how they understand themselves and their surroundings.

The dissertation consists of three articles that are based on empirical data gathered from three pupils diagnosed with intellectual disability. The three informants are each devoted their own article. Individually the articles discuss different issues and themes related to different dimensions of inclusion, respectively: participation, fellowship, democracy and benefit. Based on the mentioned perspectives on inclusion, the purpose of the articles is to discuss how intellectual disability as a category affects the surroundings attitudes, practices, assumptions, understandings and so on, which in turn provides certain descriptions from which the classified pupils experience, behave and act.

The project argues that the beliefs and practices that pupils classified as intellectually disabled are subjected to in school play a major role in regards to the kind of person it is possible for them to be. When education is organised based on beliefs that intellectual disability refers to pupils that deviate from others, the descriptions available for them to interact with will also be of a deviant kind. On the other hand, if education provides descriptions related to high expectations, ambitions and opportunities for all, the way in which it is possible to be a pupil for children classified as intellectually disabled might thus resemble normalised descriptions similar to those available to their peers. Just as interacting with perspectives that consider intellectually disabled children as different or special might construct barriers relating to normative standards of society, more socially oriented approaches to education might contribute to deconstructing barriers for present and future participation.