Kari Nes, Thor Ola Engen
and Marit Strømstad (eds.)

Unitary School – Inclusive School

A Conference Report

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Summary: In 2000 the International Research Colloquium on Inclusive Education met at Hamar. This also was an opportunity for researchers in the Norwegian curriculum evaluation programme "Evaluating Reform 97" to meet, particularly those researchers who were involved in topic 3 projects concerning the comprehensive school, equality and cultural diversity. In an open common conference the national traditions concerning one school for all or "the unitary school" were viewed in the light of the international ideas of inclusion in education. The report is based on the contributions to this conference.			

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Tittel: Enhetsskole – inkluderende skole			
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Sammendrag: I 2000 møttes "The International Research Colloquium on Inclusive Education" på Hamar. Dette var samtidig en anledning til å møtes for deltakere i Norges Forskningsråds evaluering av Reform 97, nærmere bestemt forskere innen tema 3, "Einskapsskulen, likeverd og kulturelt mangfald". I en åpen konferanse ble de norske enhetsskoletradisjonene satt opp mot internasjonale ideer om den inkluderende skole. Rapporten presenterer bidragene på denne konferansen.			

Innhold

Mel Ainscow 9
Reaching out to all learners: The development
of an inclusive pedagogy

Julie Allan 18
Teachers and pupils: Developing inclusive relationships
in an attainment culture

Keith Ballard 35
Inclusion and diversity: Some thoughts on how education
in New Zealand might respond to cultural and other differences

Tony Booth 57
The index for inclusion. Developing learning and
participation in schools

Morten Fleischer 74
Unitary school: Between politics and pedagogics

Berit H. Johnsen 84
Traditions and ideas underlying “the school for all”
or “the inclusive school”

Contributors 95

Mel Ainscow

Reaching out to all learners: The development of an inclusive pedagogy

The field of special education faces deep changes in relation to its thinking and practices. As a result there are new opportunities for continuing its historical purpose of addressing the needs of those learners who remain marginalised by existing educational arrangements. A brief look at history reminds us that in the 19th century special educators in many countries argued for and helped develop provision for children and young people who were excluded from educational plans Only much later did this provision become adopted by national governments and local authorities.

Similarly, provision for children experiencing difficulties within mainstream schools grew as a result of a gradual recognition that some pupils were marginalised within and, in some instances, excluded from existing arrangements for providing education. As this provision developed during the latter part of the 20th century, there was also increased emphasis on notions of integration, as special educators explored ways of supporting previously segregated groups in order that they could find a place in mainstream schools.

It can be argued, therefore, that the current emphasis on inclusive education is but a further step along this historical road. It is, however, a major step, in that the aim is to transform mainstream schools in ways that will increase their capacity for responding to all learners. And, of course, such a project requires the participation of many stakeholders in ways that challenge much of the status quo.

In this paper I reflect on recent research evidence on the development of inclusive practices in order to draw out implications for those who take on leadership roles in schools.

Understanding inclusive practice

In recent years my colleagues and I have been involved in a series of research activities in relation to the development of inclusive practices in schools (e.g. Ainscow, 1999; Booth and Ainscow, 1999: Clark et al 1999; Farrell, 2000). In essence this work sets out to address the question, how do we create educational contexts that 'reach out to all learners'? It points towards certain ingredients that seem to be helpful in formulating strategies for moving practice forward. These are:

- **Starting with existing practices and knowledge.** Research suggests that most schools know more than they use. Thus the main thrust of development has to be with making better of existing expertise and creativity within any given context. Increasingly, therefore, in my own work I have been working alongside teachers as they have been developing ways of analysing their practices. Here the particular focus is on the details of classroom interventions and how these can be adjusted in order to foster a more responsive engagement between teachers and learners.

- **Seeing differences as opportunities for learning.** Adjusting existing arrangements seems to require a process of improvisation as teachers respond to the various forms of feedback provided by members of the class. For the experienced teacher this involves the application of tacit knowledge gained from years of learning through doing. Pupils who did not fit into existing arrangements can be seen as offering `surprises'; that is, feedback that invites further improvisation. All of this implies a more positive view of difference, one that is difficult to encourage in contexts where teachers feel unsupported or threatened.

- **Scrutinising barriers to participation.** In examining existing ways of working, it is also necessary to consider whether aspects of these practices are in themselves acting as barriers to participation. Once again here there is a need to engage with the details of classroom interaction. Research illustrates how some pupils receive subtle `messages' from their teachers that suggest that they are not valued as

learners. Consequently, development processes have to incorporate ways of determining the barriers experienced by some learners and addressing these in a supportive way. In this context the views of the pupils themselves are proving to be a promising source of evidence for stimulating discussion.

- **Making use of available resources to support learning** At the heart of the processes described here is an emphasis on making better use of resources, particularly human resources, in order to foster more welcoming and supportive classroom contexts. Here the possibilities are massive, involving ways of working that make more effective use of human energy through greater cooperation between teachers, support staff, parents and, of course, the pupils themselves. There is, for example, strong evidence to support the argument that better use of child-to-child cooperation can help to contribute to the development of a more inclusive classroom in ways that will, in fact, improve learning conditions for all members of a class.

- **Developing a language of practice.** Encouraging teachers to experiment in order to develop more inclusive practices is by no means easy, particularly in contexts where there are poor arrangements for mutual support. In this respect the traditional school organisation within which teachers rarely have opportunities to observe one another's practice represents a particular barrier to progress_ Specifically, it makes it -difficult for teachers to develop a common language of practice that would enable them to spare ideas and, indeed, reflect upon their own styles of working. It is noticeable that progress in developing more responsive practices seems to be associated with opportunities for teachers to spend time in one another’s classrooms. Discussion of video recordings of lessons is also proving to be promising in this respect.

- **Creating conditions that encourage risk-taking** Unlike most other professions, teachers have to carry out their work in front of an audience. In asking colleagues to experiment with their practices we are, therefore, inviting them to take risks. The approaches I am

exploring require a working atmosphere that provides support for such risk-taking. This is why the management of change is such a central factor in creating the conditions that can foster the growth of more inclusive practices. In this respect, improved collaboration within a school community seems to be a necessary ingredient.

Implicit in these six ideas is a working definition of what is meant by inclusive practice. It involves the creation of a school culture that encourages a preoccupation with the development of ways of working that attempt to reduce barriers to learner participation. In this sense, it can be seen as a significant contribution to overall school school improvement. (It is worth noting, incidentally, that this is the orientation that underpins the `Index for Inclusion' (CSIE, 2000), a school development instrument that has recently been issued to all schools in England, with the financial support of the DfEE).

In summary, then, my reflections suggest ingredients that seems to be relevant to those working to create schools that can become more effective in `reaching out to all learners' (Ainscow, 1999). These ingredients are overlapping and interconnected in a number of ways. Perhaps more than anything they are connected by the idea that attempts to reach out to all learners within a school have to include the adults as well as the pupils. It seems that schools that do make progress in this respect do so by developing conditions within which every member of the school community is encouraged to be a learner. In this way responding to those who are experiencing barriers to learning can provide a means of `raising standards' within a school.

Developing inclusive schools

Of course I do not pretend that any of this is easy. As I have argued, deep changes are needed if we are to transform schools that were designed to serve a minority of the population in such a way that they can achieve excellence for all children and young people. Such changes have to be seen in relation to the tensions and dilemmas that have been created by what some people see as the contradictions between Government agendas for

`raising standards' and `social inclusion'. Inevitably, therefore, effective leadership will be required, particularly at the school level.

There is now considerable evidence that norms of teaching are socially negotiated within the everyday context of schooling (e.g. Talbert and McLaughlin, 1994; Angelides and Ainscow, 2000). It seems that the culture of the workplace impacts upon bow teachers see their work and, indeed, their pupils. However, the concept of culture is rather difficult to define. Schein (1985) suggests that it is about the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organisation, operating unconsciously to define an organisations' view of itself and its environment. It manifests itself in norms that suggest to people what they should do and how. In a similar way Hargreaves (1995) argues that school cultures can be seen as having a reality-defining function, enabling those within an institution to make sense of themselves, their actions and their environment. A current reality-defining function of culture, he suggests, is often a problem-solving function inherited from the past. In this way today's cultural form created to solve an emergent problem often becomes tomorrow's taken-for-granted recipe for dealing with matters shorn of their novelty. Hargreaves concludes that by examining the reality-defining aspects of a culture it should be possible to gain an understanding of the routines the organisation has developed in response to the tasks it faces.

When schools are successful in moving; their practice forward this tends to have a more general impact upon how teachers perceive themselves and their work. In this way the school begins to take on some of the features of what Senge (1989) calls a learning organisations**,** i.e. "an organisation that is continually --expanding its capacity to create its future." Or, to borrow a useful phrase from Rosenholtz (1989), it becomes `a moving school'; one that is continually seeking to develop and refine its responses to the challenges it meets.

It seems that as schools move in such directions the cultural changes that occur can also impact upon the ways in which teachers perceive pupils in their classes whose progress is a matter of concern As the overall climate in a school improves, such children are gradually seen in a more positive

light. Rather than simply presenting problems that have to be overcome or, possibly, referred elsewhere for separate attention, such pupils may be perceived as providing feedback on existing classroom arrangements. Indeed they may be seen as sources of understanding as to how these arrangements might be improved in ways that would be of benefit to all pupils.

It is important to recognise, of course, that all of this implies profound changes in many of our schools. Traditional school cultures, supported by rigid organisational arrangements, teacher isolation and high levels of specialisms amongst staff who are geared to predetermined tasks, are often in trouble when faced with unexpected circumstances On the other hand, the presence of children who are not suited to the 'existing menu' of the school provides some encouragement to explore a more collegiate culture within which teachers are supported in experimenting with new teaching responses. In this way problem-solving activities may gradually become the reality-defining, taken-for-granted functions that are the culture of the inclusive school

Leading inclusive schools

Schools that move successfully towards more inclusive ways of working provide evidence of what is currently seen as a shift in thinking about leadership (Ainscow,1995). This shift involves an emphasis on what have been called ‘transformational' approaches, which are intended to distribute and empower, rather than 'transactional'. approaches, which sustain traditional concepts of hierarchy and control (e.g. Sergiovanni, 1992). Typically this requires the headteacher to foster amongst stakeholders an overall vision of the school that encourages a recognition that individuality is something to be respected and, indeed, celebrated. Such a vision is usually created through an emphasis on group processes that are also used to facilitate a problem-solving climate. All of this helps to create a context within which leadership functions can be spread throughout the staff group. This means accepting that leadership is a function to which many staff contribute, rather than a set of responsibilities vested in a small number of individuals. It also seems to involve approaches to working with colleagues that make use of teachers' existing knowledge of how learning

can be encouraged derived from their work with pupils (Ainscow and Southworth, 1995).

For this to happen we need educative leaders. Such leaders recognise that school growth hinges on the capacity of colleagues to develop. Moreover they understand that professional development is about both individuals and collegiality; it is to do with each teacher increasing his or her confidence and competence, and the staff increasing their capacity to work together as a team. Educative leadership has been shown to be a key element in creating more collaborative school cultures because leaders are instrumental in establishing certain beliefs upon which such cultures are founded (Nias et al, 1989). This means that individuals have to be valued and, because they are inseparable from the groups of which they are a part, so too should groups. It also seems that the most effective way of promoting these values are through ways of working that encourage openness and a sense of mutual security. These beliefs, it now seems, are also central to the establishment and sustenance of schools that are seeking to become more inclusive.

As we know, educational change is not easy or straightforward. It involves a complex weave of individual and micropolitical trends that take on idiosyncratic forms within each school context. Consequently it involves much negotiation, arbitration and coalition-building as well as sensitivity to colleagues' professional views and personal feelings. It is about changing attitudes and actions; beliefs and behaviour.

It follows that providing leadership in schools that are attempting to become more inclusive is not for the faint-hearted. Nor is it comfortable for any other colleagues in these schools Teachers in such a school have to be able to accept and deal with questions being asked of their beliefs, ideas, plans and teaching practice. In such a context inter-professional challenge becomes common. Therefore, those who provide leadership must model not only a willingness to participate in discussions and debates, but also a readiness to answer questions and challenges from staff members. Furthermore, they need to enable staff to feel sufficiently confident about their practice to cope with the challenges they meet.

Looking to the future

As we have seen, the issues raised in this paper are fundamental to the preparation and support of leaders in the education system, particularly in respect to the work of all headteachers. The issue of inclusion is on the agenda but there is evidence of considerable confusion as to what it means and what is involved. In this context the needs of special school headteachers requires particular attention since they must be seen as having important new roles in respect to developments within the mainstream

Further research is needed, therefore, in order to bring clarity and direction to the training that is provided. The issues that need particular attention are

- How can inclusive practices, policies and cultures be developed in schools?
- What leadership skills are needed in order to foster such developments?
- How can these leadership skills be developed?

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Julie Allan

Teachers and pupils: Developing inclusive relationships in an attainment culture

Introduction

Current policies in Scotland, the UK, Europe and beyond express a strong commitment to the twin goals of raising achievement and promoting inclusion. I am going to examine some of the tensions between these two discourses in terms of how it constructs children's and teachers' identities and in the relations between them. I will present some data from my own research which illustrate some of the problems arising from the system of assessing children with special educational needs, analysed from a Foucauldian perspective. I want to argue that in order to promote inclusive relationships between teachers and pupils, every one of us – teachers, children, mainstream children, parents and researchers – need to pursue inclusion as an ethical project in which we each have work to do on ourselves. This ethical project of inclusion is essentially about desires, not needs.

Raising achievement has been presented within policy documents in terms of more narrowly defined attainment and establishing standards and targets for all pupils. Implicit within this normalising discourse is the categorising of individual pupils, whose (lower) attainment is attributed to factors such as ethnicity, gender or special educational needs.

Strategies for raising achievement combine measures for within-school change with external accountability and are framed within a discourse of performance and standards. Within this relatively novel discourse, pupils are constructed as the beneficiaries of improved school ethos, better class organisation (including setting and streaming), greater use of direct teaching and more effective teaching generally. It has been argued, however, that the concern for standards has 'shut down the civic

imagination, constrained curriculum and attenuated pedagogy' (Rose, cited in Slee, 1997, 307). There is also evidence that certain initiatives in raising achievement not only fail to be comprehensive, but in their selectivity effectively re-inforce patterns of 'success/failure' along well-sedimented dimensions of social class and ethnicity (Gillborn and Youdell, 1999).

Inclusion is a political and social struggle which foregrounds difference and identity and which involves whole school and teacher reform. It has moved from being specific to children with special educational needs to being a central part of the current government agenda. Social inclusion, as it is framed within policy documents, problematises the exclusion of disenfranchised groups and their disengagement from society. Social exclusion theories and policies are intended to avoid deficit models and pathologies but they may contribute to the generation of a core of excluded groups and individuals.

Several commentators have argued that the shift from integration to inclusion has not been marked by the radical school reform necessary to succeed in increasing participation *and* reducing exclusionary mechanisms (Slee, 1998). Furthermore, educationists have largely neglected major theoretical perspectives which could help generate the basis of strategic change. These include the social model of disability, developed by disabled people, and identifying disability as arising from the institutionalised practices of society (Oliver, 1996); and radical feminist pedagogies (Butler, 1990), which posit the individual as an active subject. There is also a large body of creative writing, for example in disability arts, which explore identity and difference in constructive and positive ways and which student teachers may find instructive.

The individual pupil is constructed within the discourses of raising achievement and promoting inclusion in two polarised ways: either in relation to the norms of standards and targets or as outsiders in a society whose structural inequalities have not been interrogated' (Levitas, 1996) .

The individual teacher is posited either as a technician within the raising achievement discourse, or, in the context of inclusion, as undertaking institutional practices which present barriers to inclusion.

Disciplinary Assessment

Furthermore, the relationships between teachers, children and parents are constrained through the system of formally assessing children with special educational needs (opening a Record of Needs in Scotland or a statement in England and Wales). The process is iniquitous, time consuming and wasteful of resources. A major problem with the Record of Needs procedures in Scotland is the way in which they marginalise and silence parents – yet they are supposed to work in partnership with the professionals. Also, because they operate within a discourse of needs, they pathologise the children's problems. Read from a Foucauldian perspective, the statementing or recording process is a disciplinary technique which legitimises the surveillance and individualisation of pupils with special needs and their parents; it also 'engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them' (Foucault, 1977b, p189). The document is treated as if it is an objective and scientific instrument; yet appears more like a 'pseudo truth regime' (Magill, 1997, p70), which professionals use to record highly subjective and judgmental views about children and their parents. Its gaze appears all encompassing, functioning as if it sees everything; yet it is selective and sometimes misses the point. As a technique of surveillance, the Record of Needs or statement appears remarkably pervasive; but it has been possible for parents to turn the gaze to their advantage and to seek willingly to submit their child and themselves to this kind of scrutiny. The dramatic increase in statementing and recording has led Warnock (1997) to label the whole process her 'biggest mistake' (p13). She is objecting, not to problems with the process itself, but with her Committee's failure to realise that individuals would turn the gaze to their own advantage.

Techniques of surveillance

Three features of a Foucauldian framework of discipline can be recognised in the process of opening and maintaining a Record of Needs:

- hierarchical observation
- normalising judgements
- the examination.

Recording is used as a scientific and objective technique, based on professionals' expertise, but as a science it appears 'inept, deficient and inconsistent' (Magill, 1997, p69). Its ostensibly omnipresent and omniscient gaze attends selectively to pupils' professionally constructed needs and ignores their desires. It is a disciplinary technique which validates teachers' subjective judgements about pupils and parents, creating compliant subjects, but some discover the value of being looked upon in this way. I want to look more closely at each of these features, and their impact upon one pupil with recorded special educational needs, Brian a twelve year old with Down's Syndrome.

Hierarchical observation

Foucault (1977a) has noted how hierarchical surveillance ensures a 'hold over the body' (p177) of individuals with special needs, with a form of power that 'seems all the less *corporal* in that it is more subtly *physical* (ibid; original emphasis). That is, whilst it does not have to do violence to or exert pressure upon, the body, its hold on it is much more extensive through its 'uninterrupted play of calculated gazes' (ibid).

Brian's Record of Needs began on a very positive note describing him as:

a slow learning child who responds well to a structured learning setting and had consequently developed many of the pre-school skills expected of a child starting school.

His needs were summarised as 'intellectual and social impairment', but his Down's syndrome was mentioned only incidentally, in relation to the two hour delay in informing his parents of this following his birth. This point is made neutrally within his Record of Needs, yet was part of an 'horrendous' tale told by Brian's mother, suggesting that the gaze had missed the traumatic aspect of this episode. His parents were described in the Record of Needs as:

> intelligent caring people who want the best for Brian and have provided a richly stimulating home environment for him. They are anxious to pursue a positive approach which has obviously contributed greatly to Brian's progress.

Professionals were less positive about Brian's parents in a later review of his Record of Needs in which they were questioning the continuation of his mainstream placement:

> A major problem could be Brian's parents' acceptance of the need for a special school placement. The parental objective at the outset appeared to be for Brian to have the first two years of primary education in mainstream school but the expectation has continued beyond [Primary] 1 and [Primary] 2.

Brian's parents' wish to continue with a mainstream placement was criticised for being unreasonable and the professionals' aspirations to convince them of 'the need' for segregation suggested that they privileged their own judgement over that of the parents.

Normalising judgements

Judgements were made about pupils within their Records of Needs, premised on a binary division of 'normal/abnormal'. The normalising judgements of the teachers were based on a gaze which saw certain things and ignored others. The Record of Needs and Individualised Educational Programmes which were derived from these enabled teachers to both homogenise and individualise pupils.

Brian's Record of Needs indicated that his 'not always predictable behaviour', in which he 'plays alongside, rather than with other children . . . can sometimes take the form of [that of] a younger child'. There were some good signs that Brian was progressing towards the norm, for example it was stated that 'Brian's gaining maturity is indicated by the fact that he is moving on to the senior section of the Boys Brigade'. However, it was also made clear that he 'can't be trusted to go to the toilet on his own' as he

'wanders'. His Record of Needs also played out a dispute between professionals and parents regarding his placement in a mainstream school, with both sets of arguments framed within normalising discourses. His parents, it was noted, 'feel very strongly' that the progress he had 'sustained . . . in all areas of development since his birth' would be best maintained by a mainstream placement.

The professionals, however, took a different stance and, in an early review of the Record of Needs (when Brian was aged eight), they drew attention to the increasingly widening gap between Brian and his classmates:

He has made progress in the past year, but compared with rest of class, Brian is falling further behind. Looking ahead to [Primary] 4, where children are increasingly able to carry out a programme of work and do projects, we can anticipate that the gap between Brian and others will widen. The class teacher will have an increasingly wide range of abilities and needs to cater for.

This had led the professionals to question the validity of his parents' justification for a mainstream placement:

It is now difficult to sustain the original argument that Brian should have the opportunity to model his educational progress and behavioural patterns on classmates. Educationally he works for most of the day as an individual and his behaviour is not modelled on that of his classmates.

One option suggested by the professionals was placement in a special school. Another consideration, to hold him back for a year, had been discounted on the grounds that his physical maturation was normal, and there would be a 'problem with his size and strength' if he was placed with younger children. The professionals had voiced the question: 'are we meeting Brian's needs?' and in considering the demands upon the class teacher and the special qualities required to teach Brian, said that: 'not all staff members have the personality/confidence/ability to cope with learning difficulties of this nature'.

The examination

Academic, social and emotional aspects of the pupils' lives were scrutinised as part of the recording process, with recommendations being made about 'fixing' abnormalities in these areas. Yet the gaze of the professionals was both selective and obtuse.

Brian's unwillingness to co-operate at times both interfered with the assessment process and provided professionals with evidence about his behaviour. It was noted by the speech therapist, for example, that 'it was not possible to assess Brian's verbal comprehension as he was not interested in co-operating fully on this particular occasion'. More generally, Brian was described as 'affectionate and happy', but was considered too dependent on others. His Record of Needs noted a difference of opinion between his parents and professionals over the extent of his ability to interact with his peers:

In class, the extent of natural interactions between Brian and other children in unstructured situations is limited. However [Brian's mother] reported that Brian goes to [junior Boys' Brigade] and Sunday School and doesn't need his parents to be there.

According to his Record of Needs, staff needed to 'draw back to help him become more independent' and within the classroom, Brian required:

Support . . . to ensure that Brian understands what is required of him when learning new skills; direction to keep Brian to the task in hand . . . setting of limits on behaviour during playtimes, lunchtimes and enforcing these when necessary.

The support specified here was of a disciplinary kind, aimed at correcting Brian's 'abnormal' behaviour.

Parents and the auspicious gaze?

The process of maintaining and reviewing Records of Needs ensured that individual pupils were perpetually scrutinised within a hierarchy of

professionals for whom surveillance functioned as a ‘decisive economic operator, both as an internal part of the production machinery and as a specific mechanism in the disciplinary power’ (1977b, p175). Parents, and to a lesser extent pupils, were encouraged to articulate their views, but these were also subjected to scrutiny and used as evidence of need in the ‘progressive objectification and ever more subtle partitioning of individual behaviour’ (ibid, p173). This was particularly evident in relation to Brian’s parents, whose viewpoints were presented as problematic and as possible contributors to their children’s special needs.

The economic climate in which the resources for education provision are restricted appears to have reversed concerns about labelling or stigma associated with being identified as having special needs. A Record of Needs has become a valued commodity which is viewed, misguidedly or otherwise, as opening the door to additional resources. In a climate of resource constraints distance from the norm has become valued and the Record of Needs has become a form of power, which is coveted rather than resisted.

Inclusion as an ethical project

I want to turn now to the proposal that inclusive relationships between teachers and pupils can be developed if all us – pupils with special needs, mainstream pupils, teachers, schools, and researchers – pursue inclusion as an ethical project on ourselves. This is derived, again from Foucault (1987), whose framework for ethical work on ourselves focuses on:

the forms of relations with the self, on the methods and techniques by which he works them out, on the exercises by which he makes of himself an object to be known, and on the practices that enable him to transform his own mode of being (p30).

Foucault gave little advice on how to achieve this, so it has been necessary to be a little creative. Nevertheless, he does spell out the four dimensions of his ethical work, and elaborates upon these in relation to sexuality:

1. *Determination of the ethical substance*: this involves identifying 'this or that part of oneself as prime material of his moral conduct' (ibid, p26) and allowing individuals to decide which aspect of the self is to be worked on. Foucault offers fidelity as an example, with individuals resisting temptation or experiencing the intensity of a binding relationship.

2. The *mode of subjection* concerns the 'way in which the individual establishes his relationship to the rule and recognizes himself as obliged to put it into practice (ibid, p27). Foucault argues that this allows the individual to pursue 'brilliance, beauty, nobility or perfection' (p27). Blacker (1998) suggests that an example of this is the Greek aristocrat who fashions his diet according to certain aesthetic criteria.

3. *Self practice or ethical work* involves what one does 'not only in order to bring one's conduct into compliance with a given rule, but to attempt to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one's behaviour' (ibid). Thus, sexual austerity in Foucault's example, can be practised silently, through thought or involving a much more explicit and 'relentless combat' (ibid). It is a form of 'asceticism' (Blacker, 1998, p362) through which individuals transform themselves.

4. The *Telos* is the ultimate goal which an individual is trying to achieve and in Foucault's example, fidelity is associated with an aspiration towards complete self mastery. Blacker (1998) describes this as a kind of 'controlled and self-regulated dissemination of the subject into the world, a positive dissolution . . . not self-absorption, but being absorbed into the world: a *losing-finding* of the self' (pp362-363; original emphasis).

Whilst Foucault's ethical work is directed towards a kind of sexual austerity, it can be applied to inclusion in a much more positive way, privileging, rather than suppressing, desires. It is put into practice through a kind of 'curiosity' (Foucault, 1988f, p321), which:

evokes the care of what exists and might exist; a sharpened sense of reality, but one that is never immobilized before it; a readiness to find what surrounds us strange and odd; a certain determination to throw off familiar ways of thought and to look at the same things in a different way . . . a lack of respect for the traditional hierarchies of what is important and fundamental (ibid).

I will now go on to spell out what this ethical work might entail for each of us engaged in the project of inclusion

The ethical project of inclusion

Pupils with special needs

If mainstream pupils, teachers, schools and researchers are all engaged in ethical work on themselves, they will remove much of the oppression normally experienced by disabled people. Consequently, there may be less need for the kind of defensive strategies which the pupils reported in this research, where 'the constant fear of discovery makes *normative* social interaction difficult and adds to the barriers faced by disabled people' (Barnes, 1996, p43; original emphasis). Nevertheless, pupils need to be helped to cope with the real situations in which they find themselves and to find ways of overcoming the disabling barriers which remain. They may need some encouragement to explore the possibilities of being active subjects, with options to transgress. Brian seemed to have fewer opportunities to transgress than other pupils, but this need not necessarily be the case if teachers and mainstream pupils support them.

The ethical work by pupils with special needs might concern how their disability is perceived by others. Teachers might help pupils to explore their sense of self - expressed as desires rather than needs - and to analyse the constraining and enabling factors, but should avoid passing judgements on them. This could then lead to the removal of some constraints or the enunciation of strategies to circumvent others. Teachers could also specify the kind of support they perceive to be necessary, with both parties exploring the consequences of receiving this kind of support or doing without it. It may be possible to negotiate strategies which recognise both needs and desires, for example by providing support within classrooms which does not disturb peer interaction. Dialogue of this kind may encourage pupils to 'escape the grasp of categories' (Foucault, 1977b, p190) and practise alternative forms of conduct.

Ethical work for pupils with special needs privileges their desires over professionally constructed needs, but also acknowledges that knowledge about their ‘needs’ is also an instrument of power which is constraining

and disabling. Greater knowledge of the way these limits are constructed, that is by a disabling society, may move individuals towards collective, rather than individual, transgressions, but it is important that they are given the scope to make these kinds of decisions.

Mainstream pupils

The mainstream pupils in my research showed great commitment to the welfare of pupils with special needs and an engagement with inclusion. Their ethical work, therefore, might work towards greater self consciousness of what appeared to be a mini-regime of governmentality, focusing on its positive aspects and on the avoidance of activities which promote exclusion.

The very positive aspects of the mainstream pupils' regime, such as their pedagogic involvement with pupils with special needs, could be reinforced, encouraging them to examine their responsibilities towards pupils with special needs and to push the limits of these responsibilities still further. They might also scrutinise the ambivalences and contradictions within their understanding of disability and identity, not with a view to eradicating these, but in order to reach decisions about their conduct and its consequences. For example, they might consider how charity discourses, expressed as feeling sorry for individuals, disable them by making them passive, and contribute to the oppression of disabled people generally. Ethical work of this kind could also help to give mainstream pupils a greater sense of their active engagement with school processes, rather than as passive recipients.

Teachers

Teachers and other professionals have ethical work to do on themselves, in order to avoid using experience as 'terrorism' on those without it (Spivak, 1994, p129), whilst also facilitating their pupils' ethical work. Felman (1982) suggests that the biggest challenge for professionals comes from their own 'passion for ignorance' the incapacity - or the refusal - to acknowledge one's own implication in the information.

There have been many calls for a scrutiny of professional knowledge (eg Skrtic, 1995; Tomlinson, 1996) and of teachers' 'interests and investments in the knowledge being forged' (Orner, 1998, p279). Skrtic (1995) argues that the process of professionalization creates individuals who share the belief that they are acting in the best interests of clients, based on knowledge which they assume to be objective. Ethical work by teachers, therefore, involves subverting their own 'ideology of expertism' (Troyna and Vincent, 1996, p142).

Kelly (1997) suggests that teachers might 'grasp difference as a pedagogical project' (p113), aspiring to a missing, rather than a meeting, of minds (Johnston, 1977). Greene (1978) argues that students must experience opportunities to 'articulate the themes of their own existence' (p18), experiencing 'curriculum as possibility' (ibid).

Schools

Schools also have a great deal to do and their ethical project will necessarily be far reaching, if they are to become less oppressive spaces for pupils with special needs. Slee (1996) suggests that schools should pathologise themselves in order to acknowledge their own failures. This would expose the ways in which special needs has been used as a 'bureaucratic device for dealing with the complications arising from clashes between narrow, waspish curricula and disabled students' (Slee, 1998, pp131-132). Disability has to be seen in terms of uneven power relations and privilege and speaks to 'political, rather than individual pathologies' (ibid, p134).

The application of school effectiveness research to special education has already proved seductive for some, yet pupils with special needs stand to lose most from the school effectiveness mentality because it forces teachers to demonstrate that their disproportionate expenditure on them, in terms of money and effort, has been productive (Bataille, 1985) and creates a normalising and differentiating imperative. Booth (1998) is right to dismiss such an approach as 'expensively misconceived' (p87), on the grounds that what it has to say about effective schools ‘could be agreed in an afternoon by experienced teachers pooling their ideas' (ibid). There is a

need to exercise deep scepticism in the direction of these particular fictions, which Hamilton (1996) has labelled as 'an ethnocentric pseudo-science that serves merely to mystify anxious administrators and marginalise classroom practitioners', and which will inevitably be detrimental to inclusion.

Ethical work for schools focuses on everyone in it – teachers, senior management, ancillary staff and pupils - but also addresses the schools' institutionalised practices. It incorporates both personal and collective responsibility, with individuals establishing the rules of conduct for themselves and in relation to others.

Researchers

Researchers' ethical work might be devoted to scrutiny of the ways in which closure in their own thinking is disabling and how truths about progress in integration and inclusion have been 'arbitrarily mass manufactured and disseminated' (Blacker, 1998, p357). The ethical project also demands that researchers look at their own complicity in this process. They might make themselves more available for criticism by colleagues and engage in 'experiment, creativity and risk' (Stronach and Maclure, 1997, p152).

The 'under-theorised state of special educational practice' (Slee, 1998) is being taken seriously by researchers and there have been many welcome moves to remedy this. When I was last in Norway (Haug, 1998), at a seminar on theorising special education where I also took a Foucauldian perspective, the respondent suggested that Foucault would have 'celebrated' the arguments for a potential transgression of disabled identity, but would be 'a little shaken' by the analysis of the governmentality of mainstream peers. I was delighted to have both pleased and disturbed Foucault, since I think it's important to use any theory critically, self-consciously and creatively, rather than faithfully, and to generate a response, whether negative or otherwise.

Theorising, as Slee (1998) reminds us, is a political activity and disabled people have played a major role in politicising disability. Yet disabled

people have been marginalised from research and knowledge production, through the unwillingness of researchers to alter research relations. Furthermore, they have been treated as objects of research, with able bodied researchers firmly in control. Ballard (1997) suggests that researchers' ignorance about disabled people leads them to 'establish a distance between themselves and those they study' (p245) and construct them as 'other' (p246). He calls for more explicit attempts to involve disabled people in research and analysing policy and practice as well as helping them to access resources and engage in political action in community groups. Research involving disabled people can encounter problems, but these usually arise from structural, environmental or attitudinal barriers rather than from any limitations of the individuals concerned (Zarb, 1997).

(In)conclusion

The ethical work we all have to do on ourselves is necessarily never complete, always in process, creating ourselves as 'relational, conjunctive and dynamic' subjects (Braidotti, 1997, p68). It involves learning to respect difference in others and 'knowing how to respond to others . . . how to 'go on' with them in practice' (Shotter, 1997, p353). The ethical project of inclusion could be thought of as a Deleuzian project of becoming or of 'immanence' (Deleuze, 1997, p4), which Braidotti (1997) observes is also a politics of desire: so we all have to really really want it.

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Keith Ballard

Inclusion and diversity: Some thoughts on how education in New Zealand might respond to cultural and other differences

In New Zealand the term inclusion has been used in recent years to refer to integrating children and young people with disabilities into mainstream classroom settings. This is an important area of both ongoing struggle and some significant achievement. The idea that inclusion must be about ensuring equity and justice in access to learning for all students (Booth & Ainscow, 1998) is also increasingly evident in policy and practice.

In this paper I suggest the need to further extend the analysis of what we mean by inclusion. As Tony Booth and Mel Ainscow have suggested, if we are to work for inclusion, we should attend to pressures for exclusion in our society. In this regard I suggest two areas, in addition to disability, in which there is evidence for exclusion in New Zealand. These are the area of Maori and education and that of the educational and social disadvantage that results from communities experiencing poverty and deprivation. In both these cases my analysis is grounded in ideas of culture and ideology.

For all minorities at risk of exclusion this analysis suggests the need to understand the role of the ideas used by the dominant power group in a society, and how these may construct some people as unworthy of inclusion and create an exclusionary environment in education and society. In this paper I ask how might researchers and educators respond to such issues? I suggest that our response should include examining our concepts, organisations and practices. We might ask of ourselves, are we inclusive or exclusive? Are disabled people and ethnic or other minorities involved in research and policy making in education? Do some of “us” identify as disabled or as indigenous? Do “we” include “them”? If not, why not? As an example of what may happen when we respond to these questions, I will present some ideas and experiences from work with Maori on disability and educational issues. I have found that inclusion means that I have to

change what I do and how I do it. This is not easy and I do not claim that I am successful, which is why this paper presents some thoughts on how we might proceed, rather than offering a more definitive position.

Disability and Inclusion

Disability is an area in which significant changes have occurred in both understanding and practice in New Zealand. Legislation and policy reflect disability as a social and political issue rather than as a matter of medical and individual concern. In practice there is evidence for inclusion in many educational settings but also of prejudice and discrimination that results in denying children access to schools and early childhood centres (Brown, 1999).

The Education Act (1989) says that "every person … is entitled to free enrollment and free education at any state school…" from five years of age (Section 3). There is a let-out clause if special assistance cannot "reasonably be made available" but the Act gives equal rights to "people who have special needs (whether because of disability or otherwise)…" (Section 8).

The reform of education known as "Tomorrow's Schools" (Department of Education, 1988) disbanded the central Department of Education and all regional education authorities. The reforms moved responsibility for operating each school to a local parent elected Board of Trustees. Regulations require these Boards to ensure "equitable outcomes" for all students (Department of Education, 1989, p. 10). The New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) mandates that schools ensure all children with "special needs" are included in instruction in the curriculum. Ministry of Education (1995) Special Education Guidelines say that children with "special needs" should have "access to the same range of age appropriate education settings as other learners" (Section 1).

A special education funding regime assigns funding to each school on a basis that estimates the schools need to resource children who have disabilities. There are no checks on how this limited amount of money is in

fact used. Students who are said to have “high” and “very high” needs are estimated by the Ministry of Education to comprise 1% of all students. Application may be made for these students to be “verified” as eligible for ongoing individual support. This introduces a categorical approach to education. The amounts and arrangements involved in this scheme are controversial and under review in 2000.

All of this must be understood in the specific context of New Zealand educational and social policy. Since the Labour Government “ reforms” of 1984-1990 education in New Zealand has been designed on a New Right market model in which each school is an individual education “provider” required to meet the wishes of its local parent Board of Trustee “managers”. In such education markets schools compete for students and evidence suggests in New Zealand (Codd, 1999; Tapp, 1998; Thrupp, 1998), as elsewhere (Barton, 1997; Smyth, 1993), that disabled and other minority children are not a priority where student intake is based on a school’s reputation for academic performance. While there is a rhetoric of inclusion, and parents and teachers who achieve inclusion in some places (Ballard, 1996), the wider ideological context in which policy and practice is grounded is one that is competitive and individualistic and therefore not especially supportive of minority and equity issues.

A Culture of Commerce

Economist Brian Easton describes contemporary New Zealand as a commercialised society. He defines commercialisation as using “the model of private business enterprise to organise economic (and even non-economic) activity” (Easton, 1997, p. 14). The 1984-1990 Labour government, in a radical move away from its former left-wing social democratic tradition, adopted the New Right ideology of Reagan and Thatcher and introduced “reforms” grounded in an “extreme version” of the Friedman and Von Hayek rationalist economic theories promoted by the Chicago School of Economics (Easton, 1997, p. 93). The Labour government’s reforms, pursued subsequently by National (traditionally conservative) governments, have meant that state activities have either been fully privatised or have been “corporatised” and required to be run as if they were a business. For example, public hospitals became

commercially operated Crown Health Enterprises with business goals and user charges (Easton, 1997, p. 162). Schools became parent-operated educational enterprises (some state schools have commercial sponsors – Jesson, 1999, p. 56) while universities and other tertiary institutions were "recast as delivering private benefits to fee-paying students, in order to justify reduced government funding and force institutions to respond to market demand" (Kelsey, 1997, p. 4).

The introduction of a market model for state education in New Zealand has been described as "one of the most radical experiments in education policy … [in] the OECD" (Boston, 2000, p. 11). Each school in New Zealand operates as an independent educational "shop", competing for students. Reviewing research on the effects of 16 years of the "self-managing" school, Jonathon Boston (2000) writes that:

> The combined impact of decentralised management and competition for students has been to intensify educational inequalities; the gap between high and low performing schools has widened; the degree of ethnic polarisation has sharpened; and schools have become more segregated socioeconomically. (p. 11)

This system, says Boston, is harmful to minorities and to those least advantaged in society.

The "free market" commercialisation of New Zealand has not just involved public sector reform. Import licensing has been abolished and tariffs reduced to the extent that *all* car manufacturers and many clothing factories have closed down with significant job losses. A single-minded commitment to a rigid ideology has seen between 1985 and the mid 1990s unemployment at "unprecedented levels … overseas debt quadrupled … and spending on research and development [fall] to half the OECD average" (Kelsey, 1997, p. 9). The two state-owned television channels are both commercial and are required to operate as private businesses returning a profit to the government. The 1984-1990 Labour government removed restrictions on overseas ownership of the media and most,

including all of the major newspapers, are now owned offshore (Kelsey, 1997, p. 112). Kelsey notes the cultural implications of this which, alongside the removal of quotas for local content, has meant that television in New Zealand is dominated by American "soap operas, sit-coms and talk shows which [bear] little resemblance to the diversity of New Zealand life" (1997, p. 113). A recent study showed that only 24% of New Zealand television programmes (including news) were made in New Zealand (Norris, Pauling, Lealand, Huijser & Hight, 1999).

Exclusion through Structured Poverty

Waldegrave, Stephens and Frater (1995) use a poverty threshold of "60% of median, equivalent, household, disposable income" to show that, following the first period of economic and social "reforms" under the Labour government of 1984-1990, and further reductions in welfare support in 1991, by 1993 18.5% of all New Zealand households fell below the poverty threshold. This meant that 32.6% of all New Zealand children lived in poor households, and 72.6% of single-parent families lived below the poverty line. While 14.2% of Pakeha experienced poverty, 39.3% of Maori and 51.1% of Pacific Island households lived below the poverty line. In this context assistance from food banks has been required by increasing numbers of people, and in the Auckland area alone the number of food banks increased from 16 in 1989 to 130 in 1994 (Mackay, 1995, cited in Waldegrave, 1998). A significant number of those using food banks – up to 28% on the North Shore – are waged, indicating a working poor in a low-wage economy (NZCCSS, 1999). Waldegrave (1998) cites a report of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in Britain that notes that "income inequality has been growing more rapidly in the UK than in other countries except New Zealand (Barclay, 1995, p. 14, cited in Waldegrave, 1998, p. 3). Blaiklock (1999) reports that since 1982 the wealthiest 10% in New Zealand have increased their disposable incomes by a third or more, while the poorest decile has experienced a significant decline (citing Statistics NZ, 1999, p. 6).

A recent study of low-income New Zealand households (Waldegrave, King & Stuart, 1999) emphasised the experience of overcrowded and poor housing, difficulty in affording health care, and not being able to afford

essential food items (60% of respondents). The study concluded that "social cohesion is being seriously undermined by classic expressions of poverty and an inability of poor New Zealanders to participate equitably in their own society" (p. 48). This report noted that poverty was experienced "disproportionately … among Maori, Pacific Island people, women and children" (p. 47).

Maori and Education

While Maori have shown increasing levels of participation and improved levels of attainment, data show that the New Zealand education system does not meet the needs of Maori. Between 1977 and 1997 the proportion of Maori leaving school with no qualification decreased from 68.5% to 37.7% while the numbers leaving with 6th or 7th Form Certificate almost trebled, from 14.4% to 40.2% in 1997 (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 11). However, the disparities between Maori and non-Maori have remained constant since 1992. As at 1997, Maori are still three times more likely than non-Maori to leave school without qualifications (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, Figure 2, p. 11). Those Maori who do remain at school are less likely to sit national examinations, with 64% of Maori students taking School Certificate compared to 92.3% non-Maori. The greatest disparities are for qualifications that enable tertiary study. In 1997, 37.9% of Maori compared with 74.4% of non-Maori sat 6th Form Certificate while 24.1% of Maori sat University Entrance and Bursary level exams compared with 58.3% non-Maori (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, Table 5, p. 11).

The Ministry of Education (1998) "Annual Report on Maori Education" found that because of less successful primary schooling and more repeating of classes, Maori senior students were often older and ill-prepared for exams. Few Maori reach the senior forms, often leaving school in the fourth form while, if they do progress, they are less likely to sit exams and more likely to achieve lower grades, and Maori take fewer non-core-subject papers than non-Maori (Davies & Nicholl, 1994).

In 1997 Maori were five times more likely than non-Maori to enrol in Training Opportunities Programmes (TOPs) that provide minimal employment options (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998). While Maori participation in

tertiary education has increased from 18,200 in 1992 to 23,617 in 1997, in 1996 7.7% of all university graduates were Maori (who comprise 15% of the population), showing that, as in secondary school, despite increasing participation there are still large disparities (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, Figure 5 and Table 7, p. 12).

The economic restructuring of the eighties impacted most heavily on those in less-skilled, labour-intensive industries. This led to dramatic increases in Maori unemployment, which rose from 13.5% in 1988 to 27.3% in 1992 (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998). The effect on non-Maori unemployment levels was more gradual and stayed within a 5% range. In 1992 Maori unemployment was three times the level of non-Maori. Maori are more vulnerable because of the young, low-skilled work force and their lower educational attainment. In 1992, 47.9% of Maori teenagers available to take part in the labour force were unemployed, compared to 19.1% of non-Maori. While unemployment fell between 1992 and 1997, Maori youth were still twice as likely as non-Maori youth to be unemployed (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, Figure 9, p. 15).

There is a view commonly expressed in New Zealand that such data reflects the personal failure of individual Maori and the moral failure of Maori families who are seen as not supporting their children's education. I do not agree with this individualist deficit theory. My interpretation of the data is grounded in evidence from other minority experiences. Colonised people dominated by a new majority culture find the meanings they assign to their physical, social and spiritual worlds challenged, and their ideas and values undermined. Describing the experiences of Yir Yoront Aboriginal people in Australia, Sharp (1967) describes how this may result in "cultural disintegration and demoralization of the individual" (p. 89). Nevertheless, Aboriginal and Maori have adapted and ensured their cultures survive and are sustained. It is also evident that they have lacked the resources and power to organise education in ways that are culturally appropriate for them. In that case they typically attend schools where teachers are from the majority culture and, like minorities elsewhere, their experience is that of being marginalised in a context that sees their differences as deficiencies and that involve the systematic devaluing of

their cultural identity (Walker, 1987; Weisman, 1998; Wyatt-Smith & Dooley, 1997). Weisman (1998) suggests that such educational systems involve pressure to assimilate into the majority culture, a process that "instills an uncritical acceptance [of the dominant] social and political order" (Weisman, 1998, p. 71). This does not foster achievement. Sylvia and White (1997) report that by eighth grade 40% of American minority students are "at least one grade level below their expected performance (p. 293).

Maori have created their own early childhood centres (Te Kohanga Reo – Maori language nests), Maori language primary and secondary schools (Kura Kaupapa Maori) and Maori universities (Whare Wananga). Nevertheless, the majority of Maori children and young people (more than 90%) attend regular state schools where the majority of their teachers are Pakeha. This presents a challenge to teacher educators. I believe that we should strive to ensure that teachers from our programmes do not identify cultural differences as deficiencies – a position that privileges the dominant culture and that Wyatt-Smith and Dooley (1997) identify as racist.

Inclusion, Exclusion and Maori Education

In 1769 the English voyager James Cook is recorded as taking "formal possession" of areas of the North and South Islands of a country that Dutch explorer Able Tasman had visited in 1642 and named "New Zealand" (Wards, 1968, p. 1). To be able to possess and to name a country and its people represents a significant power. This issue of power and dominance has had continuing implications for Maori and for their education.

The indigenous Maori were, and remain, a tribal people who identify with defined geographical areas. While initial contacts with Europeans resulted in some conflict, Maori welcomed opportunities to trade. This included using their skills as sailors and navigators to operate their own ships taking goods to Australia.

Bishop and Glynn (1999) note that visitors in the mid 1800s recorded Maori having created and operating extensive farming, with New

Zealand's first Attorney General Sir William Swainson describing in 1857 commercial enterprises on a large scale with, in one instance, a tribe operating 8000 acres in cultivation of crops together with "5000 pigs, four water mills and 96 ploughs. They were also the owners of 43 small coastal vessels, averaging 20 tons each, and upwards of 900 canoes" (from Temm, 1990, cited by Bishop & Glynn, p. 31).

On 6 February 1840 the British government signed a treaty with 213 Maori chiefs at Waitangi. The Treaty of Waitangi gave Maori "exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties" (Article 2, text in English, Orange, 1989, p. 31). Yet within a short while Maori were being deceived and cheated and vast areas of their land were taken by government agents and by settlers. Where Maori resisted incursions, this was seen as an excuse to imprison their leaders – including those articulating and organising passive resistance on a significant scale (Scott, 1975) – and confiscate the land.

The effects were devastating. In our own region, for example, the records show the 1840s as "a time of prosperity and promise for Ngai Tahu, based on their traditional resource, the land" (Evison, p. 16). By the 1880s, with the land mostly taken from them, Ngai Tahu people were impoverished. In 1891 Alexander Mackay, a government agent appointed to investigate Maori land issues, reported to parliament that "some of the younger men remarked that it would be better for them all to die as there appeared to be no future for them" (cited in Evison, 1987, p. 60).

As an adaptable people, Maori have sustained themselves as a minority in the dominant European culture. Although the Treaty itself is not part of New Zealand law, government legislation that refers to the Treaty can be recognised in a court of law (Orange, 1989) and is used to gain recognition for Maori wishes and rights. In recent years substantial amounts of money have been paid by government to a number of tribes in settlement for land and other resources taken from them since 1840. Nevertheless, Maori have had to struggle to have their language recognised in a resistant school system and have, in recent years, suffered extreme hardship as a New Right agenda created unemployment and reduced welfare support.

In education, as communities have become poorer, their schools have become poorer and, again, Maori in particular are disadvantaged. Martin Thrupp (1998) reports on a series of seven case studies of New Zealand schools in which, irrespective of their size or the socioeconomic background of their community, almost all of the teachers and principals interviewed saw themselves in competition with other schools. Thrupp notes that, in different socioeconomic areas, competition was based on different factors. Schools in higher socioeconomic communities saw themselves competing for top students, while for schools in lower socioeconomic areas the concern was to stop "white flight", the move of European children away from the school, which further concentrated Maori and Pacific Island children in those schools. In this regard Thrupp reports on "the perceived mandate markets gave to racism and the breaking down of the social fabric of communities" (p. 14). One principal in this study said that before the "Tomorrow's Schools" reforms the local primary school had been a feature of our communities and a New Zealand

> "… cultural icon … because that's … your family area. That's what *we* recognised as kids … and I think that's gone now, and I think the *consequences* are all in terms of dislocation, of people feeling ill at ease where they live, of not liking their community, of not relating. (p. 14)

Teachers are clearly affected by the social, political and cultural contexts within which they work. Many have felt harmed by the changes in their schools and society. The principal referred to above in Thrupp's study said that the market model of education was "destabilising … communities…. That's terrifying in a way. And I think, for a Labour government to have introduced that, and legitimise that, I think is absolutely appalling, just terrible" (p. 14).

I suggest that teachers have a role in resisting that which they see as harmful to children and to education. This is a complex and contentious area involving competing values and ideologies. In the last part of this paper I will describe the theoretical basis to my position in this area. I will use some work with Maori to raise questions about working with minority

groups on issues of oppression and empowerment. I do not suggest answers for others. My purpose is to describe some experiences and challenges that I continue to struggle with as a researcher and teacher educator.

Teacher Education

Giroux and McLaren (1986) advance the view of John Dewey that public education underpins, informs and sustains democracy. Efforts to improve the quality of schools must, Giroux and McLaren say, be grounded in teacher education which should focus on teachers as "transformative intellectuals" (p. 159). By "intellectual", Giroux and McLaren (p. 159) cite Lentricchia (1983, pp. 6-7) who refers to the "*specific intellectual* described by Foucault … whose fight against repression" is undertaken in their particular school or other setting. Giroux and McLaren describe a "transformative intellectual" is one whose work recognises the political contexts of education and who has a commitment to an emancipatory agenda for those who experience disadvantage and oppression.

These writers see the New Right's attack on education in America as redefining "the purpose of education so as to eliminate its citizenship function in favour of a narrowly defined labour market perspective" (p. 161). This presents a challenge for those who oppose New Right theory and practice – a struggle over whose ideas should inform education and teaching.

Along with a diverse range of educational (Codd, 1999; Thrupp, 1998), legal (Kelsey, 1993, 1997) and economic (Easton, 1997) researchers, I believe that New Zealand has, since 1984, experienced a sustained and highly successful attack on egalitarian values and on policies that may have developed to support a more inclusive society. This has involved changes to the values, practices and language asserted by the dominant power and political groupings to the extent that a new "culture" of New Right individualism and commercialism is now predominant throughout media and institutional discourse. Many of the students who come into our teacher education programmes are likely to have been socialised into this culture (Mathews, 1999) and may have little experience of opposition to

the Thatcherian notion that “there is no alternative”. Will they be inclusive or exclusive in their teaching practices? We may give them theoretical tools of analysis that will help them to see injustice and understand its institutional and structural origins. But if *we* are not inclusive in our institutional and personal practices, our education of student teachers will model neither our stated values and goals nor the praxis we may teach about.

In the last part of this paper I give one example of some ideas on how to be inclusive, and some experiences of how difficult this is to achieve. The ideas are straightforward and are about ways of working with Maori that respect their culture and rights. The experiences are of the difficulties that arise when we are required to change our way of doing things and release our dominant hold on resources and power.

It is important to record that I am not writing about Maori or on behalf of Maori. That would, once again, involve colonisation of their voice. This writing is about myself as a Pakeha member of the dominant colonising culture. Also, I recognise the limitations of this work. Ted Glynn (who introduced me to this area) and Russell Bishop provide more significant examples of how Pakeha are working effectively with Maori in a bicultural framework of genuine power sharing (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). The point of my account is that it involves work in one of my particular research areas (intellectual disability) and experiences in my institution. Attention to our own contexts is what Giroux and McLaren (1986) recommend if we are to challenge oppression.

Inclusion and Exclusion is about Power

Inclusion is not about assimilation. To be included should not require that a person subordinate their culture and values to those of others. Inclusion, I think, involves respect for differences, and diversity in values and actions. As Alan Dyson (1996) has said, there is more than one story to be told, and inclusion needs care if we are not to silence some voices and privilege others. Nevertheless, while acknowledging the complexity of this area, we might also recognise the need to attend to those who are most often

silenced and who least often have influence and control in research and in education.

In 1988, and over the following year or so, I met with a group in the North Island, Te Roopu Manaaki I te Hunga Haua. Their work was in the area of intellectual disability and, as Maori, was grounded in their cultural beliefs and processes. They achieved much in the area of deinstitutionalisation, including building a community residence that allowed them to bring some of their people out of psychopaedic institutions.

They also reached out to two national agencies that work in the disability area, seeking to encourage these agencies to understand and meet the needs of Maori. This has not been successful and has served for me as examples of how, even with goodwill, inclusion is difficult to achieve because it requires genuine change in dominant structures. Such structures have sufficient power not to be disturbed by a minority voice. The work of the agency – or school, university, research group – may proceed unaffected in any significant way, its power to name and to decide on issues unaltered.

Ruth Gerzon, a Pakeha (New Zealander of European descent) is a member of Te Roopu Manaaki I te Hunga Haua. She emphasises that, as one of the two peoples who signed the Treaty of Waitangi, Pakeha, not just Maori, should work to see the Treaty honoured. That requires a commitment to sharing resources, decision making and power with Maori. From her experiences with Te Roopu Manaaki, Ruth Gerzon has explained ways in which Pakeha resist sharing power. I see this as an explanation of exclusion. I have found her analysis to be consistently accurate in situations I have worked in from 1988 to the present.

As the last part of this paper, I present Ruth's account of how Pakeha act to exclude Maori. I think that each part of this account can apply to other minorities, for example:

- How do we as researchers and educators include people with intellectual and other disabilities in our work?
- How do we include those from cultures different from our own?

- How do we include those excluded as a result of the oppression of poverty?

By inclusion, I mean having equal power in interpreting and naming the world, in deciding on the processes to be used in research, discussion and debate, and in decision making.

By exclusion, I mean situations in which a person or group does not have their voice heard or their wishes and needs addressed in ways acceptable to them. Institutional racism (or disablism or gender or socioeconomic discrimination), for example, occurs where there are policies which assume a particular culture (or gender) is the norm and so operate with rules and processes that benefit one group who receive a disproportionate share of resources and power. When this occurs in education, the needs of minority groups are not well met.

In her work Ruth Gerzon refers to the idea of "partnership" as a means of engaging with minority groups. This is significant in the New Zealand context where there are two signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi. On a Treaty issue related to state-owned assets, Ruth Gerzon notes that the Court of Appeal defined partnership as involving
- "utmost good faith"
- "mutual trust"
- "honour" (Court of Appeal, State Owned Enterprise Case).

However, Ruth Gerzon points to practices that are common that are said to involve partnership but that in fact do not and therefore offer little to minority groups. These seem to be simple issues and it would seem that they may be easily resolved. In fact, I see them in operation frequently in settings I work in, and find them difficult to change. It is even difficult to get the dominant power group to recognise that there are issues here at all. With Maori experience as the example, Ruth Gerzon identifies barriers to power sharing that occur when a dominant group engages with a minority but with the dominant group maintaining control. The actions she records are as follows:

Tokenism. This may involve appointing one Maori on a committee and which usually means they have little power over the majority. An alternative would be to set up a Maori committee with the same power of decision making. Another example of tokenism is to give a facility a Maori name, with the impression that the facility is inclusive of Maori. If this is to be done then it should involve shared decision making that indicates genuine change in the facility in ways acceptable to Maori. Appointing a Maori adviser is another common strategy. This may be valuable but may also involve a blocking mechanism where a dominant vote or veto is held by the Pakeha majority. An alternative is to make the Maori appointee accountable to their own people and to undertake to attend to and act on the representative views of those people.

Asking Maori people for advice and then ignoring it is a frequent experience in which organisations record that Maori have been consulted and then proceed unchanged. Failing to recognise that Maori processes need time means that institutions get frustrated when responses are not available within a timeframe set by Pakeha and so proceed without Maori input. What is often needed here is to give Maori the same resources we have for consultation and the preparation of submissions. Also, we need to accept that the different consultation processes in Maori society may take longer than ours.

There are "hardly any Maori here …" is often used as an excuse for not addressing Treaty issues. What should be asserted is that just one Maori child should be catered for in a way that affirms their culture but that, in any case, organisations need to create themselves as inclusive and therefore as responsive to Maori and other minorities before Maori will engage with them. The presence of Maori is not the issue. The issue is the responsibility of each organisation to honour the Treaty.

Organisations may send Pakeha staff to courses on Maori culture. This may show some commitment but real change in an organisation would seem more likely if the organisation appointed Maori staff and also educated Pakeha staff.

Organisations often expect Maori people to all agree. They then say that involvement with Maori is all too difficult when they do not. This ignores the tribal (and regional) nature of Maori society. It is also simplistic and rather like expecting all Pakeha in our society to hold to one view.

Alternatively, what does sometimes happen is that an organisation may choose a Maori viewpoint that they agree with and ignore ones that may involve change that the organisation does not wish to make. What is achieved then is a tokenism that will not be respected in the longer term. Calling a hui (a gathering to discuss a particular topic) or arranging a conference or meeting at a marae is often undertaken by professional groups and institutions. This is time-wasting for Maori unless meaningful change in an organisation is intended.

A question often raised in this area is "But what about the Samoans, the Dutch…?" Their cultures should be respected. But Maori are the people of this land. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed with Maori. The partnership was agreed between Maori and Pakeha. From this bicultural position we engage with people of other cultures.

These seem relatively simple issues, yet it is not easy to find examples in which, through "good faith" and "mutual trust", the partnership of the Treaty of Waitangi is honoured. If it were, surely we would see an education system that was successful for Maori as well as for Pakeha.

Inclusion and Exclusion

My interpretation of why it is difficult to achieve inclusion through a bicultural or other form of partnership is that it requires of the dominant group that they change and that they share the power and resources they hold. If they do not, they assimilate the "other" into the dominant university, research group, school, or teacher education culture. This is exclusion, since it suppresses and excludes the voice, values and preferred strategies and goals of the minority.

If inclusion means dominant groups sharing power and resources, then this may be difficult to achieve in New Zealand. Our dominant culture is now

one of individualism and competition in which education is a commodity to be traded in the marketplace, rather than a social good (Grace, 1988). Each of our schools and universities must attend to increasing their market share. For example, in 1990 there were 6 institutions offering teacher education. There are now more than 40. When, in 1998, one of these institutions offered a three-year programme in place of the established pattern of a four-year degree, the other institutions quickly followed, afraid that they would lose students to the shorter (and therefore cheaper) option. Equity and other social goals may not figure large in this commercial market agenda and, indeed, education as a global commodity may become "standardised" and removed from particular social and cultural goals (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993).

I do not believe that we can have inclusive education in an exclusive society. Our normally conservative regional newspaper stated in an editorial last year that New Zealand policies have shifted from a belief in "community good" to a "cult of self-interest" that has "encouraged the socially destructive virus of selfishness" (*Otago Daily Times*, 17 April 1999, p. 1). Beyond this, our economic and social policies since 1984 have benefitted a few and harmed many. Data from a recent study commissioned by Treasury show that between 1982 and 1996, the top 10% of households had a significant increase in their incomes while those in middle and lower income homes experienced income decline (O'Dea, 2000). Confirming earlier data (Barclay, 1995 cited in Waldegrave, 1998, p. 3), the author of this report says that New Zealand now has "one of the highest levels of inequality in the OECD" (O'Dea, 2000, p. 2). If we will watch the emergence of increasing inequality, and people in our own communities becoming unemployed and growing poorer, how shall we speak of inclusion? Those of us in the presently dominant group of our society may be likely to sustain, instead, what American economist John Kenneth Galbraith (1992) refers to as a "culture of contentment" in which those with assets ignore the difficulties of others by claiming that the poor are responsible for their own fate. New Right economic and social ideology are not, then, held to account. A culture of contentment alongside other cultural differences in New Zealand presents a challenge to the

transformations that seem needed if we are to achieve inclusive education in an inclusive society.

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Tony Booth

The index for inclusion.
Developing learning and participation in schools

The Index is a resource to support the inclusive development of schools. It is a comprehensive document that can help everyone to find their own next steps in developing their setting. The materials are designed to build on the wealth of knowledge and experience that people have about their practice. They challenge and support the development of any school, however 'inclusive' it is thought to be, currently.

Inclusion is often associated with students who have impairments or students seen as 'having special educational needs'. However, in the Index, inclusion is about the education of *all* children and young people. The Index provides schools with a supportive process of school self-review and development, which draws on the views of staff (both teachers and others), governors, students and parents/carers, as well as other members of the surrounding communities. It involves a detailed examination of how barriers to learning and participation can be reduced for any student.

The Index is not an additional initiative but a way of improving schools according to inclusive values. It is not an alternative to raising achievement but about doing this in a way that builds collaborative relationships and improvements in the learning and teaching environment. In attending to values and the conditions for teaching and learning it can help to sustain improvements in schools. It encourages a view of learning in which children and young people are actively involved, integrating what they are taught with their own experience. It is a practical document, setting out what inclusion means for all aspects of schools; in staffrooms, classrooms, and playgrounds.

The Index was produced over a three year period, with the help of a team of teachers, parents, governors, researchers and a representative of disability organisations, who had wide experience of encouraging the

inclusive development of schools. An initial version was piloted in six primary and secondary schools and then a modified version was evaluated in a detailed programme of action research in seventeen schools in four Local Education Authorities (LEAs). The schools found that the materials helped them to identify issues for development that might otherwise have been overlooked and to put them into practice. They also suggested ways in which the materials could be improved.

Using the Index in a variety of ways

There is no right way of using the Index. The materials describe only one way of using it which assumes that the process is started and led from within individual schools. However, many schools find it useful to have support, in getting started with the Index, from someone with previous knowledge of using it. In some areas, clusters or families of schools work in collaboration with each other and Local Education Authority advisory staff. They have found that such arrangements give them added impetus to keep going.

The materials also assume that there is an intention to integrate the Index work with an existing school development planning process. Others begin on a smaller scale, for example, in using the materials to raise awareness about inclusion with teachers and governors. This may then lead on to work in greater depth. Some schools have taken on the sections of the Index to do with improving staff conditions and relationships before looking more generally at teaching and learning. The Index has been used to structure a piece of individual or group research by teachers in a school. Any use is legitimate which promotes reflection about inclusion and leads to greater participation of students in the cultures, curricula and communities of their schools.

The contents of the Index

There are four elements to the Index:
Key Concepts
- to support thinking about inclusive school development.

Review Framework: Dimensions and Sections
- to structure the approach to the evaluation and development of the school.

Review Materials: Indicators and Questions
- to enable a detailed review of all aspects of a school and help to identify and implement priorities for change.

An Inclusive Process
- to ensure that the process of review, planning for change and putting plans into practice is itself inclusive.

Key concepts: Developing a language for Inclusion

The key concepts of the Index, are 'inclusion', 'barriers to learning and participation', 'resources to support learning and participation', and 'support for diversity'. These provide a language for discussing inclusive educational development.

Inclusion

Everyone has his or her own view of a complex idea like inclusion. The dimensions, sections, indicators and questions provide a progressively more detailed view. Many people find that the notion of inclusion becomes clearer as they engage with the materials. Some of the ideas which make up the view of inclusion within the Index are summarised in Figure 1. Inclusion involves change. It is an unending *process* of increasing learning and participation for all students. It is an ideal to which schools can aspire but which is never fully reached. But inclusion happens as soon as the process of increasing participation is started. An inclusive school is one that is on the move.

Participation means learning alongside others and collaborating with them in shared learning experiences. It requires active engagement with learning and having a say in how education is experienced. More deeply, it is about being recognized, accepted and valued for oneself.

Developing inclusion involves reducing exclusionary pressures. Like inclusion, exclusion is thought of in a broad way. It refers to all those temporary or longer lasting pressures which get in the way of full participation. These might result from difficulties in relationships or with what is taught, as well as from feelings of not being valued. Inclusion is about minimising *all* barriers in education for *all* students in the locality.

Inclusion starts from a recognition of the differences between students. The development of inclusive approaches to teaching and learning respect and build from such differences. This may involve deep changes in what goes on in classrooms, staffrooms, playgrounds and in relationships with parents/carers. To include any child or young person we have to be concerned with the whole person. This can be neglected when inclusion, is focused on only one aspect of a student such as an impairment, or his or her need to learn English as an additional language. The exclusionary pressures on a child with an impairment, may be primarily directed at his or her background or because the curriculum does not engage his or her interests. Children learning English as an additional language may feel dislocated from their culture, or may have experienced a recent trauma. But we have to beware of stereotypes. A student learning English as an additional language may have more in common even in these respects with children in the school for whom English is a home language than with students for whom it is not.

The work done in identifying and reducing the difficulties of one student may benefit many other students, whose learning was not initially a particular focus of concern. This is one way in which differences between students, in interests, knowledge, skills, background, home language, attainments or impairment can be seen as resources to support learning.

Students continue to be excluded from a mainstream education because they have an impairment, though this should be made more difficult in England by the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act[1], the Code of

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[1]Department for Education and Skills (2001) Special Educational Needs and Disability Act, London, DfES.

Practice on Disability[2] and the 'inclusion' guidance associated with the Act. This guidance recognizes that mainstream education has sometimes been 'blocked' for 'trivial and inappropriate' reasons[3]. Where parents want it, schools and LEAs are legally obliged to endeavour to make it possible for a child with an impairment to attend a mainstream school and participate within it. However, this falls short of the recognition of the right of a child to a local mainstream education. The Race Relations (Amendments) Act 2000[4], encourages similar action in relation to increasing 'race equality', supported by guidance from the Commission for Racial Equality[5] [6] [7]

Inclusion is about making schools supportive and stimulating places for staff as well as students. It is about building communities which encourage and celebrate their achievements. But inclusion is also about building community more widely. Schools can work with other agencies and with communities to improve educational opportunities and social conditions within their localities.

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[2] Disability Rights Commission, (2002) The Code of Practice on Disability, London, DRC.
[3] Inclusive Schooling, Children with Special Educational Needs, London, DfES p13.
[4] The Home Office (2000) Race Relations (Amendments) Act, London, The Home Office.
[5] Commission for Racial Equality, (2002) Preparing a race equality policy for schools, London, CRE.
[6] Commission for Racial Equality, (2002) Disability Discrimination Act 1995 Part 4: Code of Practice on the Duty to Promote Race Equality, London, CRE.
[7]Commission for Racial Equality, (2002) The Duty to Promote Race Equality, A Guide for Schools, London, CRE,

Figure 1. Inclusion in education

Inclusion in education involves:

Valuing all students and staff equally

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

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

Reducing barriers to learning and participation for all students not only those with impairments or those who are categorised as 'having special educational needs'.

Learning from attempts to overcome barriers to the access and participation of particular students to make changes for the benefit of students more widely.

Viewing the difference between students as resources to support learning, rather than problems to be overcome.

Acknowledging the right of students to an education in their locality.

Improving schools for staff as well as for students.

Emphasising the role of schools in building community and developing values, as well as increasing achievement.

Fostering mutually sustaining relationships between schools and communities.

Recognising that inclusion in education is one aspect of inclusion in society.

Barriers to learning and participation

In the Index, 'barriers to learning and participation' provides an alternative to the concept of 'special educational needs'. The idea that educational difficulties can be resolved by identifying some children as 'having special educational needs' has considerable limitations. It confers a label that can lead to lowered expectations. It deflects attention from the difficulties experienced by other students without the label, and from sources of difficulty in relationships, cultures, curricula, teaching and learning approaches, school organisation and policy. It contributes to a fragmentation of the efforts that schools make to respond to the diversity

of students grouped under different headings such as 'special educational needs', 'English as an additional language', 'ethnic minority', 'gifted and talented'.

The notion of barriers to learning and participation can be used to direct attention at what needs to be done to improve the education for any child. Students encounter difficulties when they experience *barriers to learning and participation*. Barriers may be found in all aspects of the school, as well as within communities, and in local and national policies. Barriers also arise in the interaction between students and what and how they are taught. Barriers to learning and participation can prevent access to a school or limit participation within it.

Although the language of 'special educational needs' can be a barrier to the development of inclusive practice in schools, the concept of 'special educational needs' remains part of the culture and policy framework of all schools and influences a variety of practices. Although they do not have to use the title by law, most schools designate someone as 'a special educational needs co-ordinator' and are encouraged to do so by the Special Educational Needs Code of Practice[8], as well as the Teacher Training Agency's 'standards for special educational needs co-ordinators'[9]. The alternative terms 'learning support co-ordinator', 'learning development co-ordinator' or 'inclusion co-ordinator' are preferable. Such terms encourage a broader notion of support that connects work done with students who experience difficulties, with necessary changes for all students.

It is even more difficult to avoid the language of special educational needs in writing statements of special educational need, in the identification of student difficulties in the Code of Practice, in the use of Individual Education Plans and the information that schools have to provide in order to account for their expenditure on 'special educational needs'. The shift to a different way of thinking about educational difficulties creates

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[8]Department for Education and Employment (2001) The special educational needs code of practice, London, DfEE.

[9]Teacher Training Agency (1998) National standards for special educational needs co-ordinators, London, TTA.

complexity, since for some purposes we have to work with the existing language. But those who adopt the alternative concepts find that they help to provide new possibilities to identify and overcome difficulties in schools.

Resources to support learning and participation

Inclusion involves the identification and minimising of barriers to learning and participation. This involves mobilising resources within the school and its communities. There are always more resources to support learning and participation than are currently used within any setting. Resources are not just about money. Like barriers they can be found in any aspect of a school; in students, parents/carers, communities, and teachers; in changes in cultures, policies and practices. The resources in students, in their capacity to direct their own learning and to support each other's learning may be particularly under-utilised, as may the potential for staff to support each other's development. There is a wealth of knowledge, within a school, about what impedes the learning and participation of students, which may not always be used to the full. The Index helps schools to draw on this knowledge to inform school development.

Figure 2 provides a set of questions that can be used to reflect on existing knowledge about the cultures, policies and practices of a school.

Figure 2. Addressing barriers and resources

What are the barriers to learning and participation in the school?

Who experiences barriers to learning and participation in the school?

How can barriers to learning and participation be minimised?

What resources to support learning and participation are available?

How can additional resources to support learning and participation be mobilised?

Support for diversity

When difficulties are seen to arise from the ‘special educational needs’ of children and young people it can seem natural to think of support as about providing additional people to work with particular individuals. The Index adopts a far broader notion of 'support' as *all activities which increase the capacity of a school to respond to student diversity*. Providing support to individuals is only part of the attempt to increase the participation of students. Support is also provided when teachers plan lessons with all students in mind, recognising their different starting points, experiences and learning styles or when students help each other. When learning activities are designed to support the participation of all students the need for individual support is reduced. Equally, the experience of supporting an individual may lead to an increase in active, independent learning, as well as contributing to improvements in teaching for the wider group of students. Support is a part of all teaching and all staff are involved in it. Major responsibility for the co-ordination of support may rest with a limited number of people but in working out how support is co-ordinated it is essential to link support for individuals and groups with staff and curriculum development activities.

A social model of educational difficulties and disabilities

The use of the concept 'barriers to learning and participation' for the difficulties that students encounter, rather than the term 'special educational needs', is part of a social model of difficulties in learning and disability. It contrasts with a medical model in which difficulties in education are seen to arise from deficiencies or impairments in a child or young person. According to the social model, barriers to learning and participation can exist in the nature of the setting or arise through an interaction between students and their contexts: the people, policies, institutions, cultures, and social and economic circumstances that affect their lives.

Disabilities are barriers to participation for students with impairments or chronic illness. Disabilities may be created in the environment or by the interaction of discriminatory attitudes, actions, cultures, policies and

institutional practices with impairments, pain, or chronic illness. Impairment can be defined as a long-term 'limitation of physical, intellectual or sensory function'[10], though the notion of an intellectual impairment is problematic and may suggest an unwarranted physical basis to difficulties. While there is little that schools can do to overcome impairments, they can considerably reduce the disabilities produced by discriminatory attitudes and actions and institutional barriers.

Institutional discrimination

The Macpherson Report[11] following the inquiry into the way the murder of Stephen Lawrence had been handled by the police, focused attention on the institutional racism within police forces and other institutions, including schools and education offices. Institutional discrimination is deeply embedded within cultures and influences the way people are perceived and the responses that are made to them, including the way staff are appointed. Institutional discrimination is much wider than racism. It includes the way institutions can disadvantage people because of their gender, disability, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation. It is a barrier to participation and in education may impede learning. Because people are often more familiar with discussion of racism or sexism than disablism, they may be less aware of the involvement of people and institutions in the creation of disability. Racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and disablism share a common root in intolerance to difference and the abuse of power to create and perpetuate inequalities. Making schools more inclusive may involve people in a painful process of challenging their own discriminatory practices and attitudes.

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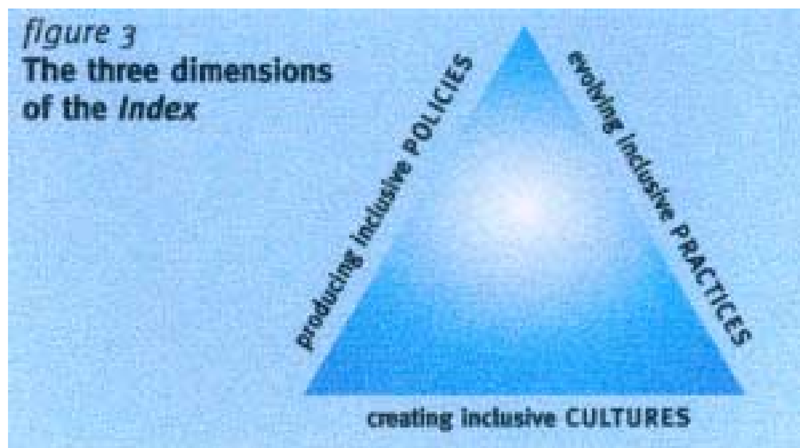
[10]Adapted from Disabled People's International, 1981.
[11]Macpherson, W. (1999) The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, London, HMSO.

The Review framework: Dimensions and sections



Inclusion and exclusion are explored, in the Index, along three interconnected dimensions of school life: creating inclusive cultures, producing inclusive policies and evolving inclusive practices (see figure 3). These dimensions have been chosen to direct thinking about school change. Experience with the Index indicates that they are seen, very widely, as important ways to structure school development.

The three dimensions are all necessary to the development of inclusion within a school. Any plan for school change must pay attention to all of them. However the dimension, 'creating inclusive cultures', has been placed deliberately along the base of the triangle. Frequently, too little attention has been given to the potential of school cultures to support or undermine developments in teaching and learning. Changes in school cultures, with their emphasis on shared values and collaborative relationships, may lead and support changes in other dimensions. They are the heart of inclusive school development. It is through inclusive school cultures, that changes in policies and practices, achieved by a school community, can be sustained and passed on to new staff and students.

Each dimension is divided into two sections to further focus attention on what needs to be done to increase learning and participation in a school. The dimensions and sections are set out and described in figure 4. Together, they provide *a review framework* to structure a school

development plan and can become headings within it. Schools may wish to ensure that they are moving forward in all these areas.

Figure 4. The dimensions and sections in the index

DIMENSION A: *CREATING INCLUSIVE CULTURES*

Section A.1. Building Community

Section A.2. Establishing Inclusive values

This dimension creates a secure, accepting, collaborating, stimulating community, in which everyone is valued as the foundation for the highest achievements of all. It develops shared inclusive values that are conveyed to all new staff, students, governors and parents/carers. The principles and values, in inclusive school cultures, guide decisions about policies and moment to moment practice in classrooms, so that school development becomes a continuous process.

DIMENSION B: *PRODUCING INCLUSIVE* ***POLICIES***

Section B. 1. Developing the school for all

Section B. 2. Organising support for diversity

This dimension makes sure that inclusion permeates all school plans. Policies encourage the participation of students and staff from the moment they join the school, reach out to all students in the locality and minimise exclusionary pressures. All policies involve clear strategies for change. Support is considered to be all activities which increase the capacity of a school to respond to student diversity. All forms of support are developed according to inclusive principles and are brought together within a single framework.

DIMENSION C: *EVOLVING INCLUSIVE PRACTICES*

Section C.1. Orchestrating learning

Section C.2. Mobilising resources

This dimension develops school practices which reflect the inclusive cultures and policies of the school. Lessons are made responsive student diversity. Students are encouraged to be actively involved in all aspects of their education, which draws on their knowledge and experience outside school. Staff identify material resources and resources within, each other, students, parents/carers and local communities as which can be mobilized to support learning and participation.

The Review materials: Indicators and Questions

Each section contains up to twelve indicators. These are aspirations against which existing arrangements can be compared in order to set priorities for development. Each represents an important aspect of the school, though sometimes the importance of an issue, such as ethnicity, gender or impairment, is reflected by it being spread through the indicators as a whole.

The meaning of each indicator is clarified by a series of questions. The questions following each indicator help to define its meaning in ways that invite schools to explore it in detail. They prompt and challenge thinking about a particular indicator and draw out existing knowledge about the school. They sharpen the investigation of the current situation in the school, provide additional ideas for development activities and serve as criteria for the assessment of progress. Often, it is when people begin to engage with the detail of the questions that they see the practical significance of the Index. At the end of each set of questions there is an invitation to add questions. It is expected that staff in every school will make their own version of the Index by adapting and changing existing questions and adding their own.

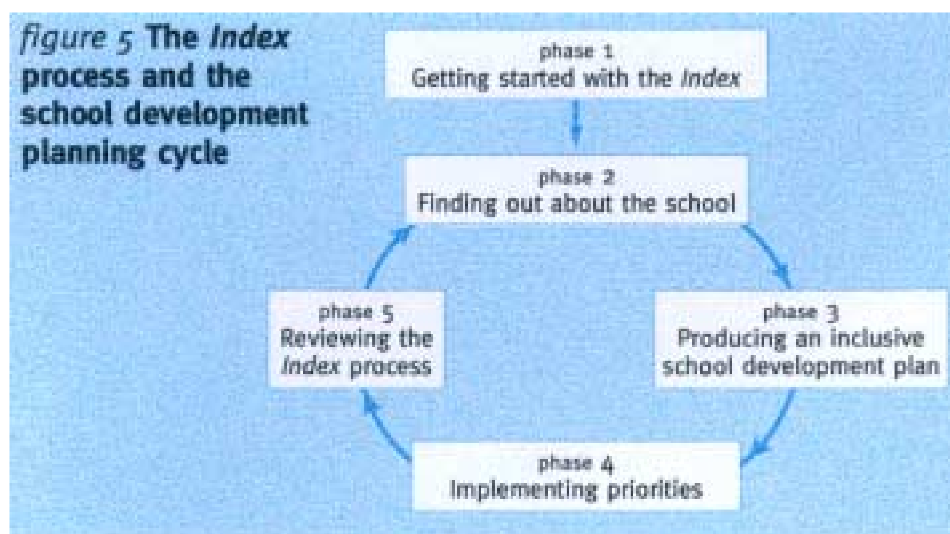
Some indicators and questions refer to matters for which schools share responsibility with Local Education Authorities, such as access to school buildings, statements of special educational needs and admissions policy. It is hoped that Local Authorities will work constructively together to produce building plans, procedures for developing statements, and admissions policies, which encourage the participation in the mainstream of all students from a school's locality.

In some schools, staff and governors may conclude that they do not wish to engage with particular indicators at present, or that these do not indicate a direction in which they wish to travel. Schools are expected to respond in different ways and to adjust the materials to their own requirements. However, adaptation should be resisted if it proposed because an indicator or question poses an uncomfortable challenge.

In other schools, indicators and questions may not apply because of the character of the school. Single-sex schools and many religious denomination schools do not set out to include all students from their locality. Nevertheless staff in such schools often do wish to plan for the inclusive development of their school and may wish to adapt the indicators and questions to suit their purposes. They are subject to the same requirements for inclusive change, for example within the national curriculum, or in legislation on disability or race as other schools. When the Index was first published it was not anticipated that it would be used to prompt the development of special schools. However, several special schools have used it to uncover restrictions in the participation of students and staff within the schools.

The Index process

The Index process, itself, can contribute to the development of inclusion. It involves a detailed collaborative self-review which draws on the experience of everyone connected to the school. It is not about assessing anyone's competence but about finding ways to support school and professional development. It can be represented in the same way as a school development planning cycle, as shown in figure 5, with an additional phase in the first year, 'Getting started with the Index', in which a co-ordinating group becomes familiar with the materials and how they can be used.



However, school development should not be seen as a mechanical process. It arises as much from making connections between values, emotions and actions as from careful reflection, analysis and planning. It is about hearts as much as minds.

The Index in Use

The Index has been used in a large number of individual schools in England and in many other countries. Schools make best use of it when they take ownership of the materials, adapting them to their own circumstances. But besides being used in schools, it has been drawn upon in creating national and local policy documents. The Government guidance on 'Inclusive Schooling' echoes the review framework of the Index when it suggests that inclusion is 'a process by which schools, local education authorities and others, develop their cultures, policies and practices'. It describes the Index as a means by which 'schools..can..identify and remove the barriers to learning and participation'[12]. The index is an acknowledged influence on the guidance on 'Working with teaching assistants'[13]. Some of its basic concepts are shared with the statutory guidance on inclusion in the National Curriculum[14] as well as the inclusion guidance for Ofsted (school) inspectors and head teachers[15] and it formed part of the background to 'Inclusive School Design'[16]. A version of the Index is being prepared to support the development of all aspects of local authorities, from the fire service to the library service. One Local Education Authority has reorganised its inclusion agenda around the dimensions and sections of the Index to make it compatible with the work it wishes to support in schools, with the Head of Inclusion claiming that 'the Index is the lead document for this Authority'. Another education authority has revised upwards its target of schools it wishes to see working

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[12] Department for Education and Skills, (2001) p 2-3.

[13] Department for Education and Employment (2000) Working with teaching assistants, London, DfEE.

[14] Department for Education and Employment (1999) Inclusion, providing effective learning opportunities for all pupils, in, The National Curriculum Handbook for Primary Teachers in England, London, DfEE.

[15] Office for Standards in Education, (2000), Evaluating educational inclusion, London, DfEE.

[16] Department for Education and Employment, (2001) Inclusive school design, London, HMSO.

with the Index from 25% to 40% to 100%. Many local education authorities have supported collaborating groups of schools to work with the Index, and this has been a particularly valuable way to get schools started and sustain their involvement.

As well as Norwegian, versions of the Index have been prepared or are being prepared, in Chinese, Finnish, French, German, Hindi, Hungarian, Maltese, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish. English versions are being used in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and the USA. An international team has looked at how versions of the Index can be developed for the economically poor areas of countries of the South.[17]

Such work has encouraged a view that the concepts, review framework, review materials and process of the Index have wide application. There have also been suggestions about how the Index can be improved. There is a particular need for more examples of the range of work with the Index. Some examples are included in part 2 and an extensive dossier of brief reports of such work is in preparation[18] as well as detailed case-studies of the Index in action. These will be published separately.

What schools can hope to achieve

Inclusion is said to be 'the keystone'[19] of Government education policy. However, many teachers argue that they have to work hard to minimise the excluding pressures from policies, which in encouraging competition between schools can lead to a narrow view of the achievement of students. Many barriers to learning and participation reside within contexts over which schools have little control. The most powerful barriers to achievement remain those associated with poverty and the stresses it produces. Nevertheless, schools can and do change. They can radically

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[17]Booth T, and Black-Hawkins K. (2001) Developing an *Index* for inclusion with countries of the South, Paris, UNESCO.
[18]Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education (2002 in preparation) Working with the Index for Inclusion, Bristol, CSIE.
[19]Department for Education and Employment (1998) Meeting special educational needs; a programme of action, London, DfEE (p8).

affect the educational experiences of students and staff by developing cultures in which everyone is respected and where policies and practices support all students to be engaged in learning, to participate with others and to achieve highly. Many schools, in widely differing circumstances, find the Index helpful in allowing them to take a degree of control over their own inclusive development; analysing what they do, determining priorities for change and putting these into practice.

Morten Fleischer

Unitary school: Between politics and pedagogics

Abstract

This paper looks at two problems facing the Norwegian unitary school system in light of a broader sociological perspective of the alleged transition from modernity to post-modernity. I am focusing on the unitary school system and its possibility for bettering its pedagogically goal of the pupils moral education. The idealistic intention of the unitary school has always been to combine schooling both as a place to acquire knowledge in the broad sense of the word, and a safe place for the children to grow as human beings. The question is: Do the educational reforms of the 1990s, in the conflicting perspective of modernity versus post-modernity offer a better learning of the more subtle «personal development» and moral training, within the framework of the unitary school. This development is seen as a necessary component of a «good» education of the child?

Introduction

The last decade brought an increasing focus on the Norwegian Educational System, under the banner of the "Unitary School". A time-honoured tradition in Norwegian educational politics, as well as, pedagogies. It seemed that some of the criticisms made against the current educational system needed a further basis of argument.

The educational reforms of the 90s are interesting along at least three lines:

Firstly, the very magnitude of the reforms place a strong focus on these institutions and their functions, and interactions with society in general. Metaphorically speaking: When you turn on the light, you do not only see the designer furniture in the room. It is also a good chance you notice the greasy stains on the carpet.

Secondly, the national education system has a fundamental impact on society's social and material reproduction processes i.e. as seen in economic, political and religious controversy of public interest.

Thirdly, questions concerning educational issues, affects and tacitly «controls», parents and children's everyday life in such a way that they «have» to organise a large part of their lives around it.

Some reservations

I do not wish to further the conspiracy theorists notion that somebody in particular is «to blame for the state of the planet», or to be more precise, the state of the educational system. It is not only contrary to academic endeavour in general, but such an attitude also forfeits the possibility of reaching a common understanding and eventually a working educational platform based on some form of mutual agreement. The system perspective puts on a wider focus and tries to look beyond the individual mechanisms at play.

I also wish to make it clear that I do not adhere to the idea that there is an objective alternative to be found outside of human deliberation and practice.

Finding a possible solution is, in my opinion, not something from the X-files, which claims that «the truth is out there». Such a view implies that the solution is lying there to be found passively outside human action, provided of course one looks in the right place. Rather, finding a working solution is an active process, which cannot be reached without the active and intentional efforts of communicatively orientated persons. Such a process needs something more than a change in bureaucratic and administrative procedures whatever their magnitude may be. Size does not necessarily account for quality. To paraphrase an ancient Greek philosophical thought: Knowing the right thing does not equal doing the right thing.

The unitary school

The twofold concept of the unitary school

From an international point of view, the Norwegian concept of the unitary school, is somewhat of an outsider compared to other European and American systems and ideas of education. Though other countries also depend upon state-funding, national, and compulsory guidelines in various degrees, the Norwegian unitary school is, for all practical purposes, 100% state funded, and thus controlled. The public school system is the predominant feature of Norwegian education. Private school counts for less than 5% of the educational alternatives.

I will focus on two important dimensions in the idea underlying the unitary school. Its task can be described as twofold.

Firstly, the public school system shall provide the renewal of the production forces of society, i.e. the industrial need for a steady workforce, reproduction of the economy, etc.

Secondly, it shall nurture a more «spiritual» and morally subjective dimension on the part of the individual learner. The primary goal of this dimension is to enable pupils to become responsible human beings.

In other words: To help the pupils become a productive member of society, but also be a place where pupils can grow in their own right as individuals.

The Norwegian educational tradition is closely linked, with German philosophy of education and scholastic thought in general. The legacy from Herbart, Pestalozzi, and Fröbel, is still a part of Norwegian educational thought. From the German tradition stems a distinction between the concepts «Ausbildung» and «Bildung».

Ausbildung denotes the instructional/scholarly aspects with focus on training and a more «mechanistic» classroom teaching that centre around «classic» subject matter (mathematics, physics, language, etc).

Bildung denotes a more individual psychologically perspective of growing up an develop morally and expressively. The essential concepts here are self-esteem, and becoming a member of the socio-cultural tradition in ones own right.

To my knowledge, English does not have such a clear semantic division, but uses the collective term of education. For this reason I distinguish between education focusing on the encyclopaedic aspect of learning, and education focusing on the effort of conveying a cultural tradition, with its moral standards, its language and rites. The discrimination between these to constructs is critical to the argument of this paper. A more worldly aspect regarding the material reproduction of society as a whole, on the one hand, and the cultural reconstruction of the individual on the other. These to constructs are qualitatively different, and consequently need qualitatively different approaches to secure desired results.

For example, there is difference between what makes Mark a good swimmer (skills), and what makes, or shall we say, how Markus constitutes himself as a «good» person (attitudes, beliefs, self-perception).

I would like to stress this example, because the Bildung aspect can not be achieved without the active and willing interest and co-operation of the individual him or herself. The point is, to put it bluntly: One simply can not manage or build individual lives as one can balance a chequebook or manufacture a car. However fascinating the information-processing model of input and output is, the risk of reducing the person and his or her learning process to a pure stimuli-response model is at hand. The person as a historical and cultural being, runs the risk of getting lost in the «effective» focus on learning as a knowledge acquiring process only.

The educational reforms of the 1990s

The educational reforms of the 1990s have in contrast to earlier reforms had a broader scope and wanted to take on more than one single aspect of the school. Reform 97 «the compulsory school reform», Reform 94 «the college reform» together with the implementation of a new national curriculum, show us that the authorities intended to do a thorough change.

The reforms, however grand in design, continue in the century long tradition of the unitary school.

Reform 97: the reforms had an unsurpassed intentional magnitude, which is evident by the following statement concerning the compulsory school.

> The reform of the compulsory education is a family reform, a children's reform, a schooling reform and a cultural reform (NOU, 1996, s.61).

Reform 94 continues the unitary school though on three counts:
Firstly, the structural changes, which reduced the number of courses from 109 to 13. This reduction means a standardisation of the structure and content.

Secondly, focus on a more integrated relationship between the school, the students, and their future employers.

Thirdly, this reform gives a law-protected right of 3 years of college education.

Reform 97 continues the unitary school thought through the following points:

- The age at which the children start school reduces from 7 to 6 years.
- The total length of the compulsory school increases with one year, now totalling 10 years.
- Concerning the content, there is a strong focus on the common curriculum.
- The local aspect of the curriculum reduces in favour of the national and common dimension on both the actual learning content and the evaluation of the students and the school.

These changes were made possible with an extensive effort within administration and legislation. This means an increase in the formal law as well as the rewriting old laws to fit in with the current plans.

I will argue that the educational reforms of the 1990s have put forward a greater focus on bureaucratic and administrative procedures and planning. The political aspect of organising, funding, and general management have in a stronger sense affected the pedagogical issues of what the children actually are learning and why. Out from the perspective of the educational system itself this may seem necessary. From the perspective of the learner and teacher, this may well prove counter-productive and even detrimental to the cultural objective of the unitary school. Again, there is a difference between managing an educational system, in much the same sense as a corporation, and attending to the learning experiences of the children.

In my opinion, the reforms of the 90s are connected with a more general political change toward neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. This tendency is a part of the globalisation of the economy, the withering of the nation state, etc, together with an advancing technocratic supremacy within the welfare state.

I assume that an increase in the technocratic management of schooling creates specific problems for the cultural dimension of the unitary school. Andy Hargreaves puts it this way:

> Many western educational systems are today exposed to an expanding bureaucratic control and standardisation in the services they are supposed to render. In spite of efforts toward economic autonomy of the local schools, and school-based personnel management, the control over the curriculum, evaluation, and indeed the teachers themselves are, with few exceptions, increasingly being centralised and controlled in detail. (Hargreaves, 1996, p.123 my translation)

This comment illustrates a tendency which can be described within the framework of the Habermasian constructs of System and Lifeworld.

System and lifeworld - in perspective of the unitary school

My underlying idea is to link Habermas' terms of system and lifeworld with the twofold conception of the unitary school. To do so I associate the system with politics and lifeworld with pedagogic.

I am trying to shift the focus from «who is to blame for this particular state of affairs» to a wider, but more elusive system perspective. The perspective I am trying to take puts more emphasis on a sociological system perspective than on a psychological bearing, on part of the individual learner.

The system is, in short, constituted by the framework of economic, administrative and legal management of society in general. In education terms this means: the curriculum, the governing educational laws together with the various departmental decrees, and financial management.

> By the everyday lifeworld is to be understood that province of reality which the wide awake adult simply takes for granted in the attitude of common sense. (Habermas, 1987, p.130)

The lifeworld is, in short, our common everyday cultural ever present background. Our language, our patterns of interpretation, and our place for mutual communication.

I use these two constructs (system and lifeworld) as a framework for the developments of the unitary school in the 1990s. Within the setting of system and lifeworld, I will focus on what Habermas terms «Tendencies toward juridification».

The expression juridification, in German «Verrechtlichung» refers, according to Habermas, quite generally to the tendency toward an increase in formal (or positive, written) law that can be observed in modern society. (Habermas, 1987, p.357)

The means both an expansion of law, that is to say, more legal regulation of social matters, and an increasing density of law, that is to say, more specific and specialised formulation of legal statements. The juridification works within the bureaucratic system, with its pragmatic and consensus understanding. This leads to a strong focus on what is possible, within the budgets and general economy. Questions of moral and expressive nature, the more elusive, and often threatening, questions of why get left out in the political-economic struggle.

This tendency toward juridification is evident in the reforms of the 90s, and thus, in the educational system as a whole. Especially with the development and implementation of the new national curriculum and the subsequent adding of laws, and the continuous rewriting of existing ones. There is a clear effort on behalf of the authorities to regulate, and thus, control an expanding educational system with the precise letter of the law.

At the outset of this assumption lies «The thesis of internal colonization», a construct offered by Habermas to explain why, we can observe a growing bureaucratic and economic organisation of our everyday lives.

> The thesis of internal colonization states that the subsystems of the economy and state become more and more complex as s consequence of capitalist growth, and penetrate ever deeper into the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld. (Habermas, 1987, p.367)

With this comment I wish again to point out the system perspective, with its focus on structures not directly connected with individual will. The usual struggle where teachers blame the school administrators and the school administrators blame the teachers seems futile. The problems are at a systemic level where no one in particular is to responsible for the consequences. This is mainly due to the complexity of the system itself.
The system is «driven» by an instrumental reason whilst the lifeworld is «driven» by a communicative reason centered around mutual understanding. In the words of Habermas:

> There are structural differences between the legal form in which courts and school administrators exercise their powers, on the one hand, and the educational task that can be accomplished only by way of action oriented to mutual understanding, on the other.

Out from this rises a tension. A tension between, what may be termed «societal reproduction» on the one hand, and «individual reconstruction» on the other. The tension between the need for material reproduction on the part of society, which tends to be a practical question, and the need for ethical and moral development on the other, which tends to be a cultural or traditional question. The strain in this dualism is growing more complex as the outside world seems to adhere increasingly to a market ethic of «those who have» and «those who have not». Furthermore, the market ethic of winners and losers seems to put a reductionism bias not only on the students learning experience but also on the practice of teaching.

> If, however, the structure of juridification requires administrative and judicial controls that do not merely supplement socially integrated contexts with legal institutions, but convert them over to the medium of the law, then functional disturbances arise (ibid., p.369)

I will sum it all up with these words from the master himself; Habermas:

> The point is to protect areas of life that are functionally dependent on social integration through values, norms and consensus formation, to preserve them from falling prey to the systemic imperatives of economic and administrative subsystems growing with dynamics of their own, and to defend them for becoming converted over, through the steering medium of the law, to a principle that is, for them, dysfunctional. (Habermas, 1987, p.375)

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Berit H. Johnsen

Traditions and ideas underlying “the school for all” or “the inclusive school”

I have been asked to tell you about the beginning of the so-called school for all in Norway, and about possible connections to the principle celebrated to day of a school for all or the inclusive school.

Recent years I have been occupied with studies in the history of educational ideas, with focus on ideas concerning the elementary school for all, or the regular elementary school, as it was called some years ago. The reason why I started these studies was my earlier efforts to implement the principle of the local school for all, or the inclusive school, both as a district adviser on special needs education and in teacher education. To my mind the teacher is the key to quality education for all – the regular teacher and the special needs teacher. I observed that in some schools important steps were taken towards higher quality teaching in the local school for all. This was specially the case where practicing teachers went through a two years upgrading education in special needs education, connected to their work in their home school (Johnsen 1993). In other schools, however, other aims and goals were of higher priority than welcoming children with special needs in their own home environment. Why these differences?

One assumption underlying my research was that educational traditions and ideas are important basic factors when priorities are made in the school and the classroom - to day as well as in earlier years. Traditions may be fresh or old, consciously expressed or part of our implicit or even unconscious reasons for how we choose to plan and to practice teaching. Analysing ideas and traditions through the history of the elementary school may therefore increase our understanding of what is happening in the school to day and contribute to further educational debate.

A further basic assumption for my research into the history of ideas was that traditions are not static and unchangeable from one historical epoch to

another. On the contrary, traditions and ideas are in continuous change in interplay with other ideas and societal conditions. To follow a single idea isolated through history – or between different societies for that matter - would therefore most certainly create a lot of misunderstanding, even to the extent that an idea might serve as contradiction to what it was intended to be in the first place[20]. It is therefore of great importance to analyse educational ideas in accordance with their historical and contemporary context.

My questions to history are directed towards three different but highly interrelated levels of educational debate. First it is a search for the roots of the idea of a school for all and a study of the different facets of this idea as it changes through history. Secondly it is an inquiry into debates about the activity of schooling –focusing on educational "commonplaces" so as aims and goals, content and organisation of school- and classroom activities, assessment and evaluation, and last but not least on debates about the nature of the pupil, of learning, and of individual- and special needs. Thirdly it is an investigation into "the contextual landscapes" of these educational debates in the light of related cultural and political debates, changing power structures and material conditions.

This presentation consists of a short description of the foundation and early development of "the school for all" in Norway – also called the unitary or unified school, pointing out some of the connections to related educational ideas in the remaining Europe. Knowledge and debates about children's different individual learning needs is referred to and illustrated by early examples of differentiation and of individually adapted education. But in spite of early efforts the development turned towards exclusion of children

[20] Here I want to interrupt with a critical comment on todays' inclusion discourse – both in Norway and internationally. I guess we can agree on the view that no country or society has yet completely succeeded in implementing the principle of inclusion or the local school and society for all. We are all more or less on our way, and critical but positive debate is therefor necessary. However, conceptions like special education, special needs education, inclusion and a school for all, are too complex to be exported **at face value** from the Nordic welfare state system to the liberal USA, or to Latvia or Bosnia or Uganda, for that matter. And it is a waist of energy to import ideas and terminology back home again **at face value**, for example from USA.

with certain difficulties or diseases from "the school for all", as is shortly described. At the same time there was an incipient scientific curiosity concerning different impairments, spreading from public debate in Paris throughout Europe and over The Atlantic Ocean, leading to foundations of special schools and institutions. The presentation will end by repeating the question if this early development of educational and special needs educational ideas and traditions affect debates and practical work in "the school for all" to day.

A school for all and everybody?[21]

A school for all: What was the content of this and related expressions in early educational debate? In Norwegian educational law the principle of a school for all was formulated in 1739 by the autocratic King Christian VI. Thus Norway and the "twin realm", Denmark, were the first countries known with what was to be a permanent law on a non-payment elementary school "for all and everybody", as it was stated. The way the principle was formulated and realised in this early phase, shows that focus was on establishing schools in every local society so that all and everybody, even the poorest of children, would have a sufficient education. By sufficient education was first of all meant teaching to read and concrete Christian religious knowledge, with additional possibilities to teach writing and arithmetic, if the parents wished.

The founding of elementary education for all was an ambitious idea. What were the incentives to this huge project? Three main reasons may be pointed out. First of all it was a religious project. Secondly it might be seen as an attempt to gather and control different religious and other societal views and behaviour under royal control. Thirdly, reading skills were gaining increasing importance, as the societal structure was changing from self-sufficiency towards specialisation, trade, travelling and a growing number of cities.

Pietism, a German branch of Protestant Puritanism, was the main incentive to the development of a school for all. Martin Luther (1483-1546) himself

[21] Literature not referred to here, is documented in Johnsen 1998/2000.

pointed out how important it was with a personal relationship between every individual human being and God through the words of the Holy Book. This called for translations of the Bible from Latin to German and to other mother tongues. But it was not until the Pietistic movement, that these ideas led to concrete decisions concerning schools for all children. During this time religious thoughts mingled with philosophical as well as educational ideas. The Czech educationalist, Amos Comenius (1592-1670), wrote about the God-given right of every individual to enlightenment and education – in religious as well as secular matters. Comenius was inspired by the philosophy of the British empiricist, Francis Bacon (1551-1627), as well as the French rationalist René Descartes (1596-1650). Comenius, in turn, became a source of inspiration to the German Pietistic, August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), who managed to build a large educational institution in the neighbourhood of the city of Halle. In this way Francke put into reality Comenius' idea about the rights for all children to education. Francke's educational ideas and project was in turn the great model for King Christian VI and the Pietistic theologians in his nearest circle. Together they extended Francke's ideas to what came to be two permanent nation-wide elementary educational programs; one in Denmark, the other in Norway.

Did this early elementary school really welcome all children? What about children who needed special support? This is not an easily answered question. Our knowledge about early school life is scattered and rather unsystematic, and can only serve to give us some glimpses of what really happened. This is certainly the case for the eighteenth century, while an increasing amount of statistical information as well as descriptions are available from later centuries. Amongst available sources, educational texts store relevant and important information about mentality and ideas concerning childhood, about how children learned and also on individual differences and special needs.

On childhood, learning, individual differences and special needs

How do children learn? Was this a matter of concern amongst eighteenth- and nineteenth century educational scholars? In order to connect this

question to the historical context of the early idea of a school for all, history was studied from the following aspects:

- Attitudes towards children and childhood
- Ideas about learning in general
- Ideas on how children learn and on individual differences in learning
- Attitudes towards people with disabilities and children with special learning needs.

I found that ideas about how children learn were described and discussed in the beginning of the eighteenth century - and even long before that. The same applies to individual differences[22].

One of the trusted subjects in King Christian VI's inner circle was Erik Pontoppidan (1698-1764). He translated and adapted what came to be the most applied textbook in Norwegian education ever, the so-called "*Pontoppidan's Explanation*". He also produced other educational texts and, while he was Bishop of Bergen, he founded the first Norwegian teacher training education. In a small study-book for teachers, he gave one of the chapters the following title:

> *"Recalling How Difficult It Is to Talk with Children in accordance with Their Childish Conceptions"* (Pontoppidan 1748/1763:15).

Pontoppidan not only called attention to the fact that a child's cognitive ability is different from grown up thinking: He also described differences and offered advices about how to teach in accordance with this knowledge. His descriptions of different individual learning abilities remind of earlier descriptions by Francke and Vives.

"*Pontoppidan's Explanation*" represents the earliest example of differentiation of content in the Norwegian elementary school for all. The book was expected to be learned by heart by all pupils. In the introductory

[22] One of my favourites is the Renaissance scholar Ludovicus Vives (1492-1540) and his assessment of individual differences in his pupil's learning capacities.

teacher-guide, however, Pontoppidan made several exceptions for children who "did not have sufficient ability or enough time to attend school".

Was there any further awareness of pupils with special needs? Again Pontoppidan serves us with an example, when he tells about a fourteen years old girl who was characterised as a slow learner. The girl's priest[23] worked with her individually, trying different approaches, such as story telling, dialog, use of texts and traditional textbooks together with continuous assessment of the girl's readiness and learning progress. This example illustrates individually adapted teaching in accordance with special needs in regular elementary school.

As shown, Pontoppidan's texts contain examples of differentiation and of individually adapted education. How far did Pontoppidan go in consideration for children with disabilities and special learning needs? The concrete intentions were that the elementary education should prepare for "confirmation" – a religious ceremony with important social consequences. It was the key to acquiring status as a grown up person, with economic responsibility and permission to marriage. The general rule was that the young person had to be able to repeat certain texts by heart and discuss some religious-ethical matters, in order to be "confirmed". In reality several exceptions were made to these demands, as we have already seen from Pontoppidan's texts. No clear criteria for pass and failed are found. What is known, however, is that several young girls and boys did not pass this examination. In this way the new institution, the school for all, together with "the confirmation" created new groups of persons who became outcasts of the society of grown up people – namely those who did not learn to read and did not have a good memory.

From a school for all and everybody to a people's school for those who are able: 1739 - 1889

In the spread and densely populated Norway, it took about a century from the announcement of the law on the school for all, until elementary

[23] According to early school laws the priests were responsible for elementary education in their parish.

education was a reality all over the country. This was not the first elementary education in Norway. In 1739 there already were a few town-schools and residential education for children whose parents could afford to pay. However, during the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth century more than 90 % of the Norwegian population lived in the countryside, where children of priests, landowners and workers, boys and girls, went together to the same school – the one that was founded by King Christian VI.

Education and philosophy were tightly related in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. As epistemology gained increasing interest through philosophers like Decarte, John Locke (1632-1704) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) so did questions about how children learn. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was an outstanding representative for the house tutor tradition. Through his books about the fictive boy, Emile, he described cognitive development and advocated for recognition of individual needs and interests. The specific qualities of childhood and the individual child had caught the attention – but only for the children of the bourgeois.

In the middle of the nineteenth century educational issues concerning the great mass of poor children had caught attention in official debate in most European countries. However, knowledge about tutoring needs and individual differences fell in the shadow of ideas about how to teach the maximum number of pupils for the minimum of costs. Concrete training programs based on this ideology gained great popularity, like the two slightly different monitoring programs adapted by the two Englishmen Andrew Bell (1757-1832) and Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838). Symptomatic for the intentions behind programs of this kind was the title of a book by Lancaster, translated into German, with the title: "*Ein Schulmeister unter 1000 Kindern*" (One schoolmaster and 1000 children).
In the eighteen fifties Norwegian cultural and political "nation-building" flowered, after centuries of autocratic ruling and decades with economical difficulties. European cultural and educational ideas mixed with historical traditions and future hopes in the creation of a Norwegian national self-image. Enlightenment and education became central issues in a rapidly

accelerating public debate. The old elementary school became arena for socialization of the new independent Norwegian citizen. The content of the elementary school needed extension. Several new disciplines and themes were added to the old syllabus through a number of new laws. At the turn of the century (1889) the school was titled “the People’s School” (folkeskolen).

From the first law on elementary education for all in 1739, the school had grown into a permanent institution in every municipality. But had it become a school for all? The debate on elementary education in this period of one hundred and fifty years show that little attention had been given to education for children with disabilities and special needs. On the contrary, in spite of some known examples of special needs considerations in the early elementary school, as the intended learning content grew in quantity, the attitude seemed to gain recognition, that some children were not fit for this school. In the laws of “the people’s school” following groups were explicitly excluded:

- Children who are not able to follow teaching because of mental or physical defects
- Children with contagious diseases
- Children with bad behaviour

Thus it was established by law that “the people’s school” was a school for those children who were able to keep pace with the teaching offered by the school. This principle had negative consequences for further development of the schools ability to teach in accordance with individual and special needs.

Emerging interest in impairments

Interest in impairments came from another direction than the elementary school movement. Contemporary to Pontoppidan, Paris was a centre for philosophical discussions along with the emergence of a number of new independent scientific disciplines. John Locke’s focus on the senses as important parts of cognition opened up for philosophical curiosity concerning deafness and blindness – followed by educational and medical discussions and experiments concerning different kinds of impairments.

Curiosity and optimism characterised this first scientific boom in the field of impairments and special needs. From Paris these activities spread to other European countries and to the newly independent United States of America. Special institutions and schools were created. The first special school for deaf in Norway was founded in 1827, followed by special schools for blind and developmentally disabled, and by the first special educational law in 1881. The development of special schools, special classes and special institutions was begun. In Norway it lasted until 1975, when the third and last special school law was abolished and all special needs education was integrated into regular school law (Johnsen 2000). The revitalisation of the principle of the school for all was started.

So, from its foundation in 1739 the elementary school may be said to have developed through the following steps:

- A school with diffuse intentions of being a school for all and everybody
- A unified or unitary school including pupils regardless of sex, geographical placement, social or economical status
- From 1975 on a school also explicitly including pupils regardless of ability
- Today also including pupils regardless of ethnic belonging and mother tongue.

In principle – and by law – to day our school includes all children regardless of ability and special needs in the local school and the regular classroom. The important question is - How inclusive is the school in reality?

From early history to future education

Can history help us understand our own time, and can it help us making priorities for the future? One of the assumptions I started out with, was that traditions and ideas are important underlying factors in making educational priorities. This presentation is limited to two aspects.

- To give examples of how the main idea of a school for all came into being and changed in early elementary school history
- Illustrate examples from the same period, of knowledge about individual learning differences and special needs, and contrasting

these to the general development of mentality towards "exceptional" children

What has not been discussed here are factors concerning the inner activity in the elementary school, like frame factors, aims and goals, content and inner organisation, assessment and evaluation, and last but not least, communication and care in the classroom. Ideas and traditions concerning these educational commonplaces are of essential importance as encouragement or as obstacles to the development of quality education for all in the inclusive school.

Early history has shown that it may take years, even centuries for intentions pronounced in laws to be implemented, as with the realisation of elementary education all over the Norwegian countryside. It also has shown that educational ideas are fragile, and under steadily pressure from competing and even contradictory ideas and traditions. There is no straight line from bad to better, as advocates of enlightenment so firmly believed. It will always be necessary to defend and develop further important educational ideas.

This presentation focuses on how the ambitious elementary education project started up with intentions of developing "a school for all and everybody", and then little by little was turned into a school for those children only who were able to fulfil the school's demands. This change of direction had serious consequences. Further debate and development of aims and goals, content, organisation and evaluation were based on the assumption that the school was for the children that coped with its standards.

Today the principle of the inclusive school for all is explicitly formulated in Norwegian law, as well as in laws of a number of other countries and in international agreements. This represents a fundamental turning point in educational policy. The question is, however, whether the revitalisation of this main principle of the school for all has led to a thorough analysis of all educational and curricular principles guiding the inner activity in the school and the classroom. Or could it be that the activity proceeds in the

footsteps of the old “people’s school», while a minority of the pupils who are not able to learn in traditional ways, are being adapted to this school through special plans and special programs?

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