TOWARDS INCLUSIVE EDUCATION: EXPLORING POLICY, CONTEXT AND CHANGE THROUGH AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY IN A RURAL CONTEXT IN KWAZULU-NATAL
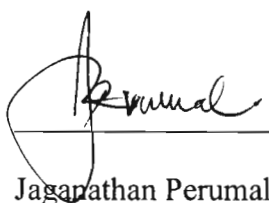
A Thesis Submitted to the

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By

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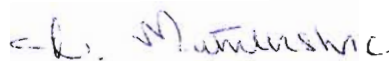
January 2005

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Jaganathan Perumal, declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been previously submitted for any degree at any other University.

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January 2005

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reading for a doctoral degree simultaneously, children sometimes feel the strain and tension. Finally, to my son Strinivasan and daughter Nirvana thank you for allowing us the space to engage in this study, even though it may have impinged on your comforts.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my adorable wife and companion, Krishnee, and my two priceless gifts from God, Strinivasan and Nirvana.

ABSTRACT

This study is an ethnographic enquiry into the experiences of a school and its community as they interface with the implementation of the policy of educational inclusion in a pilot project in a rural school in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Through the lens of critical theory and postmodernism, I critique special education and argue for the discourse of inclusive education to be placed on the broader agenda of social inclusion and exclusion and for its focus to extend beyond a narrow emphasis on special needs education.

The study focuses on the micro-level, the teachers, learners, and parents who act within conflicting discursive spaces. Under scrutiny is context as a discursive field, which includes social, political and cultural factors and practices. The study examines systemic issues related to inclusion and exclusion within situated contexts. On the macro-level it examines discursive forces, including national and global forces that influence the implementation processes.

Ethnography as a methodological tool opened up spaces to interrogate change and reform at the level of the interpersonal in the context of wider social and political power relations. In uncertain and unstable circumstances, an ethnographic approach, with multiple and prolonged data collection strategies, provided me with a fuller picture of the multiple realities within the school.

The concept of a conditional matrix is a useful construct in understanding the multiple interlocking and intersecting influences that impact on the process of policy implementation. In this study, the micropolitical and micro-cultural conditions in the school, the politics of participation of departmental officials in policy implementation, teacher identities, macro-economic policy of the state, globalisation and neo-liberalism and competing policies, impacted on and at times constrained the policy implementation process. Many gains were made in moving towards an inclusive school in this pilot project, but fiscal austerity in a sea of poverty threatened the goals of equity and redress. In understanding the implementation of a generic policy in all schools in a country, the contextual conditions within this conditional matrix need to be understood.

Empirical evidence from this investigation suggests that developing learning schools and communities helps to bring about educational change and build inclusive schools. Collaboration in the form of team teaching, peer coaching, mentor relationships, professional dialogue, action research, and collaborative partnerships with and between members of the community provided a crucial plank in teacher development and school improvement. Using collaborative learning for teacher development transcends personal, individual reflection, or dependence on outside experts, leading to a situation where teachers learn from one other, to share and develop their expertise.

This investigation provides evidence that the accessing and building of human and social capital within the school and the community is one way to implement inclusive education and reduce exclusion in the school and community. Collaborative partnerships with universities, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs),

Community-Based Organizations, Disabled Peoples Organizations (DPOs), and intersectorial networking with government departments, and people from the community, played a major role in the implementation of the policy of inclusive education.

The data suggests that teachers' experiences in professional development can influence their identities for policy change. Changing mental models or deeply established conceptions is essential in developing learning organizations. Critical to this shift of the "mental model' or identity, is how the policy is mediated to the incumbents. This study proposes a tripolar approach to policy implementation, that is, a combination of three dimensions of teacher development: the 'top-down', 'bottom-up' and 'horizontal' dimensions.

While some teachers used constructivist learner centred pedagogy effectively, others grappled with the principles of constructivism. Constructivist approaches to teaching, a learner centred pedagogy, active learning, cooperative learning, curriculum differentiation and multilevel teaching created a pedagogy of possibility for an inclusive curriculum for all learners. Whilst on the other hand the hegemony of traditional practices such as a 'one-size-fits-all' approach, closed up possibilities for some learners to access the curriculum.

Different forms of assessments or a flexible assessment system generates opportunities or possibilities for a more equitable and non-discriminatory assessment procedure. The formative assessment together with alternative forms/techniques of assessment opens up spaces for a more inclusive and equitable system of assessment.

A transformational, democratic style of leadership with shared decision-making, accountability, commitment and risk-taking, are important factors in creating a climate for change in schools. More importantly, the leadership of the principal as an avant-garde for inclusion influenced the change process. Indigenous practices such as the informal open-air meetings and the 'imbiso' or the 'legotla'[1] type of meetings created spaces for effective organizational strategies in the school.

Evidence from the study suggests that the "Institutional Support Team" (IST) as a proposed new structure in schools, opens up possibilities for internal support for the institution rather than a reliance on specialized outside help. Collective problem solving by the IST addressed systemic, social, pedagogical and cultural barriers to learning and development.

Paradoxically, the quest for quality or excellence in education sometimes stymies the goals of equity and redress. The notion that excellence and equity are incompatible or bipolar human values is based on fallacious or binary logic. One of the ways to depolarize the equity/excellence dichotomy is to value both and not privilege any one at the expense of the other.

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[1] imbiso/legotla: Zulu/Soto word for meeting called by the King, traditional leader, chief or the leadership of the land.

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Glossary of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CBR	Community Based Rehabilitation
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DART	Disability Action Research Team
DAS	Development Appraisal System
DICAG	Disabled Childrens Action Group
DoE	Department of Education
DPO	Disabled People's Organization
DPSA	Disability Peoples Organization of South Africa
DST	District Support Team
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EFA	Education for All
EMD	Educational Management Directorate
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESN	Educational Subnormal
GEAR	Growth Economic and Redistribution
HOD	Head of Department
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IST	Institutional Support Team
NATO	National Teachers Union
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
NCSNET	National Commission on Special Needs Education
NCESS	National Committee on Education Support Services
OBE	Outcomes-Based Education
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PADI	People for the Awareness of Disability Issues
PGSES	Psychological, Guidance and Special Education Services

PLA	Participatory Learning Action
PMT	Project Management Team
PST	Project Support Team
RDP	Redistribution and Development Programme
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Developing Countries
SAFCD	South African Federal Council on Disability
SAP	South African Police
SASA	South African Schools Act
SEM	Senior Educational Management
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SGB	School Governing Body
SMT	Senior Management Team
TST	Teacher Support Team
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION: KWAZULU-NATAL

REGION AND DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
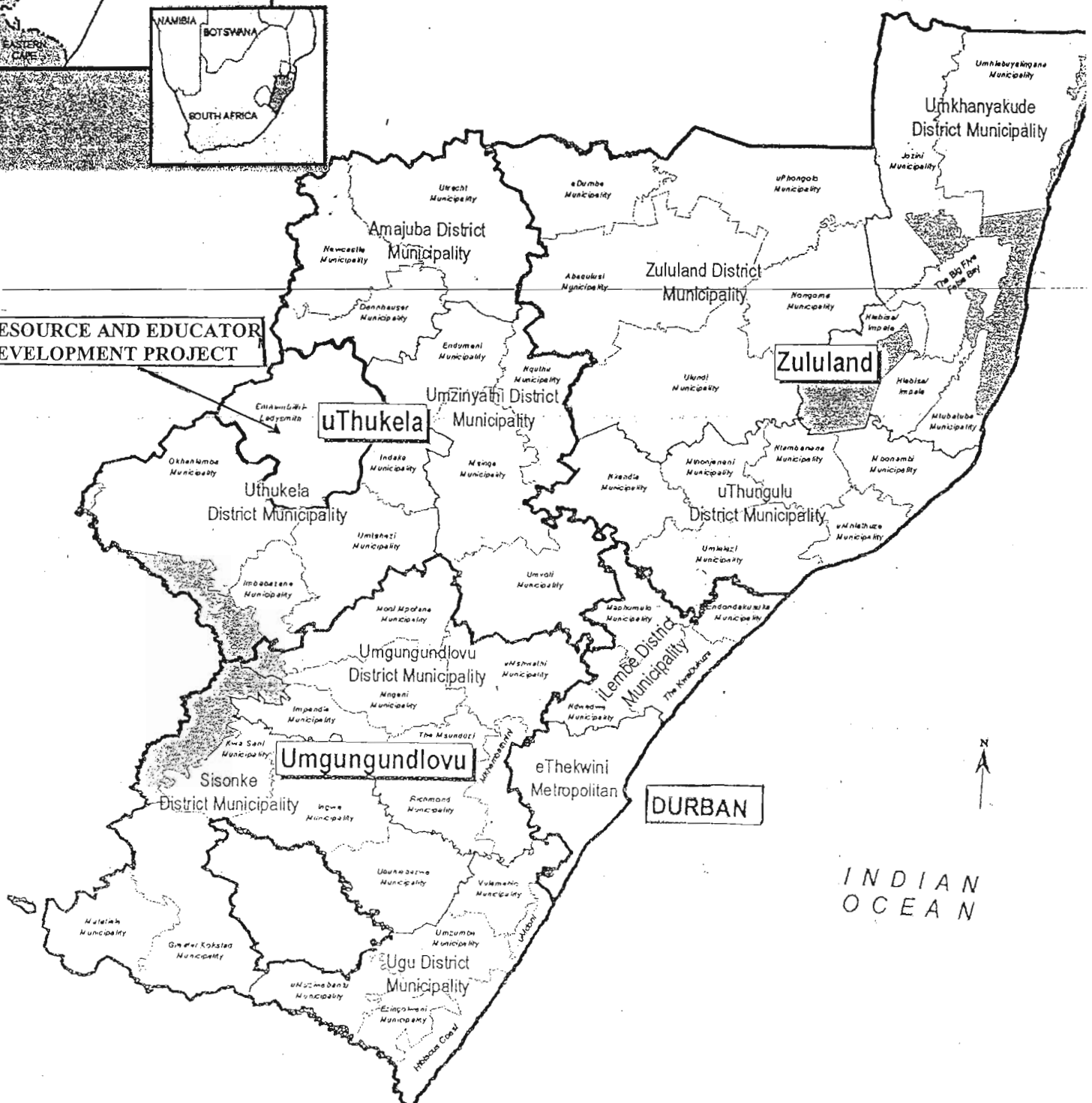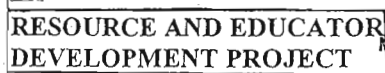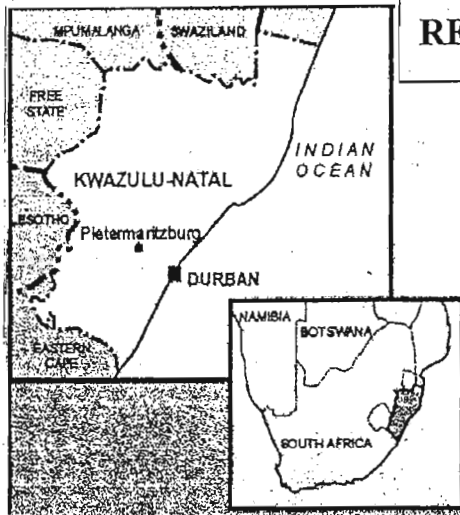
PREFACE

Monday morning. The shrill sound of the buzzer heralds the start of the school day. Pupils scurry to their lines in the assembly area. "Silence please", commands the voice of the principal. Silence enshrouds like a black pall. The beautiful morn turns to moods of grey. The prayer is perfunctorily read. As the principal's voice drones on, the teachers yawn; assistants scowl at pupils who try to whisper. My mind wanders to the lines of Pink Floyd's song, "We don't need no education, we don't need no thought control...Hey teacher, leave them kids alone! All in all you're just another brick in the wall." I begin to reflect on how regimental we are as teachers. "Make a straight line! March to the classroom! Sit! Stand! Don't do that! Stupid boy, not like that!" As teachers, we have become prosaic, so uniform, and endeavour to mould our charges into uniformity, subjecting them to "thought control". I am brought back to terra firma by the commanding voice of the principal, "Turn and lead to your classroom!" Class assistants take their positions at the rear guard and the teachers take their positions at the vanguard and we herd our pupils to our classes.

On entering the class I realized that Devi[2], a new pupil, is not in class. I ask my assistant to search for Devi, as I had seen her alighting from the school bus in the morning. A few minutes later my assistant returns all shaken and distraught with a traumatized and recalcitrant Devi. When I saw Devi's bloodstained dress and bleeding wrist I was horrified. I had to pull myself together and act fast. I quickly called for an assistant who was an ex-nurse. She looked at the cuts on the wrist and assured us that they were superficial lacerations. She rendered first aid and took Devi away to comfort and counsel her. I felt hamstrung in giving Devi help because she hated me as I represented the male species that she vehemently distrusted. Through the intervention of a social worker I discovered Devi's story. Devi had spent most of her primary school years in a special class. She suffered much trauma because of sexual abuse by her father. Her father was taken to court but was found not guilty. When Devi turned thirteen she did not meet the requirements to be promoted to the secondary school. She was diagnosed as 'mildly mentally retarded' (sic) by a

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[2] Devi: A pseudonym is used for ethical reasons.

psychologist. There was no mainstream school that Devi could be sent to, so she was sent to the school at which I taught, which was registered as a school for the severely mentally retarded (sic). Devi hated to come to school because the kids in the neighbourhood taunted her, saying that she was attending a school for 'mad children'. She hated boarding the blue school bus with the big bold name of the school written on it out "_____ SCHOOL FOR THE DISABLED". Against her will and with no school in the neighbourhood willing to admit her, the social worker eventually convinced Devi to remain in our school.

Devi was not the only pupil in the school to feel the sting of the stigma of being in a school for the 'mentally retarded'. Another case was Suresh[3], who refused to take the blue school bus with the big bold writing because his friends would find out which school he was attending. He preferred to walk the distance to school than take the school bus. Suresh had to live with this indignity for many years. He was an intelligent pupil but had a problem with reading. No school would admit him and the only alternative was to be enrolled in a school for the 'severely mentally retarded'. After spending a few months with Suresh I realized the pupil had the potential to do well in the mainstream school providing he was supported in reading, or given alternative forms of assessment. It was the year 1995 and the 'winds of change' were blowing over South Africa then. The year 1994 saw the first democratic election and by 1995 new educational policies were being developed. The tenets of inclusive education, as espoused by the World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and Quality (UNESCO, 1994), were slowly filtering down to our schools. With the limited knowledge I had, I seized on the idea of inclusive education and attempted to get Suresh to the neighbouring school which was about 500 metres away from our school. I tried to arrange with the principal and a grade four teacher for Suresh to receive tuition at their school. I was prepared to formulate the programme, adapt the curriculum and provide support to the teacher so that Suresh could be placed in a school with his friends. However, my bubble burst when the principal quoted regulations and gave me all the reasons why my ideas were not feasible. That put paid to my first attempts at inclusion. Today, Suresh is assisting his brother in a lucrative

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[3] Suresh: A pseudonym is used for ethical reasons.

business. The last time I met him, he was applying for a concession to do an oral exam for his 'learner-driver' licence.

These cases describe the plight of many a student whose voices are not heard. They also highlight issues that affect the lives of many learners in South Africa and other parts of the world. The indignity that Devi and Suresh felt about the label of being in a school for the 'mentally retarded' is felt by others too. There is an intricate web of exclusionary forces that keep pupils out of schools and classrooms. Devi and Suresh were excluded from the mainstream school because the professionals had diagnosed them as having a deficit and not being able to fit into the norms of the school. These are not the only forms of exclusions that pupils experience. When I reflect on my days as a pupil in high school I feel anger at how so many pupils were wronged by the system of streaming of pupils. Many of my colleagues who were relegated to the 'Ordinary Grade' class, are today successful businessmen and women and professionals. Perhaps one of the biggest misjudgments of the twentieth century was when Einstein's teacher told his mum that her son was an addled egg.

When oft on my couch I lie in vacant or in pensive mood, memories of my primary school days flash upon my inward eye that is blight to my solitude (with apologies to the English poet, William Wordsworth). I use the word 'blight' because I can still remember the poverty ravaged faces of my peers waiting in queues during lunch times for a cup of cocoa and two slices of 'jam bread'. With gaunt faces and pain gnawing at their bellies, children waited patiently like Oliver Twist in Charles Dickens's novel for "more gruel". This was a state-aided school and the meals were provided by a charitable organization. Cato Manor in the early sixties was, a vibrant non-racial community plagued by poverty. In my first year at school, one child died of diphtheria and three were sent to a hospital called FOSA (Friends of the Sick Association) to be treated for tuberculosis. Tuberculosis among the poorer sector of the Indian community was a scourge then, as many people were ignorant about treatment and feared stigmatization if the disease was disclosed. Much the same scenario prevails today as some HIV/Aids infected people are excluded from some societies. Hence there is a deafening silence in some communities about the disease. Today poverty still hands down a death sentence to thousands of children through hunger and disease (Vally, 2003).

I now live in a middle class suburb that was once classified an Indian area during the apartheid days. Today the demographics have not changed much, albeit a community of Black people living in informal settlements in the area. Many of the children from the informal settlement and children of domestic workers are refused admission at the local high school because they cannot afford the school fees. The other reason for refusal of admission is that the parents cannot show proof that they live in the area. Those that live in informal settlements do not have street addresses or other documents to verify that they live in the area. The reasons given by the school are against departmental policy but many of the parents do not know their rights and do not take up the issue with the authorities. The Indian children are given first preference and when the school needs more children to keep the numbers at a level so that teachers are not redeployed to other schools, then Black children are admitted. These were some of the many instances in my life that made me question the inequalities in our society, the efficacy of segregated schooling, streaming and categorization, and the governments policy of equity and redress for the 'previously disadvantaged people'. It is within the context of these exclusionary forces in education and society that I took up the cudgels to research educational inclusion and exclusion.

I have used the preface to reflect on my own biographical experiences of the barriers that impinge on children's participation and development in schools and society. Our biographical experiences influence our fluid identities, and what we do and do not do in life. My motivation for this study was thus shaped by my experiences through life's journey.

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXTUALISING THE RESEARCH

There are barriers of religion, of caste of colour,

of party, of nation of province, of language,

of custom, and of rich and poor…

(Jawaharlal Nehru, 1949)

1.1   Introduction

This study is an ethnographic enquiry into the experiences of the school and its community in interfacing with the implementation of the policy of educational inclusion in a rural context. Through the lens of critical theory and postmodernism, I critique special education and argue for the discourse of inclusive education to be placed on the broader agenda of social inclusion and exclusion, and not to focus narrowly on special needs education. I plot the international call for 'Education for All', and South Africa's response to this call. An interrogation of Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System and the discursive influences on implementation of policy are outlined. I excavate the literature on international and local proposals for the reconstruction of schools in moving towards inclusive education. I then present a critical analysis on a pilot project in the policy implementation process in one rural school in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. Finally, using empirical evidence from this study, I extend the debate on educational inclusion and exclusion and its implication for policy implementation.

In this chapter, I map the international and local trends in inclusive education. I contextualise the study and present the rationale, the research question and the significance of the study. Significant concepts are elucidated to unravel the multiplicity of meanings that language creates. The chapter concludes with an overview of the chapters to follow.

1.2 A Global Agenda for Educational Inclusion

1.2.1 Education and Human Rights

The central tenet of education is that education is fundamental to the development of both individuals and societies. The International Commission for the Twenty First Century asserts that education is not simply a mechanism whereby individuals acquire a limited range of basic skills. It is a crucial factor in social and personal development, "an indispensable asset in [humankind's] attempt to attain the ideals of peace, freedom and justice" (Delors, 1996: 11 in UNESCO, 2000: 11). This means, education should not be a privilege for a few but a right for all. More than fifty years ago the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) asserted that education was a basic human right and this right was reaffirmed in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989).

However, international declarations and statements are not enough to urge governments to provide free and basic education for all. This is evident by the number of children who have no access to education in the many developing and poor countries. To realise the rights of the child to free basic education, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (ibid) has started a movement called 'Education for All' (EFA).

1.2.2 Education for All

Trends towards a society that respects diversity emerged strongly in 1990 at the World Conference of 'Education for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs' (UNESCO, 1990). At this conference in Jomtien, Thailand, the commitment to "Education for All by 2000" was adopted. As the name suggests the movement is concerned with ensuring access to basic education for all (UNESCO, 2001). The conference identified three fundamental problems in education: too many people had little or no access to education; basic education was conceived too narrowly in terms of literacy and numeracy, rather than more broadly as a foundation for lifetime learning and citizenship; and certain

marginalized groups, such as disabled people, members of ethnic and linguistic minorities, girls and women and the poor were at particular risk of being excluded from education altogether (UNESCO, 2001).

The clarion call to the tune 'Education for All' (EFA) started in the 1990's in Jomtien, was reiterated in the Salamanca World Conference on Special Needs Education Access and Quality in Spain in 1994 and continued in the Dakar Conference in Senegal in 2000. The emphasis in all three conferences was that the governments of the world must provide free basic education for all learners including learners with 'special needs education' and adult basic education.

The year 1990 provided the first signs that the challenge of exclusion from education was being taken seriously by world leaders (UNESCO, 1990). The World Conference in Jomtien, 1990, and the World Summit for Children in New York in 1994 adopted the goal 'Education for All by 2000' (UNESCO, 1994). Although the goals of Jomtien have not been reached as yet, the vision is still pertinent and powerful in that it provides a broad and comprehensive view of education and its critical role in empowering individuals and transforming societies. Its key points and principles include universal access to learning; a focus on equity; emphasis on learning outcomes; broadening the means and the scope of basic education; enhancing the environment for learning; and strengthening partnership (UNESCO, 2000a: 12). The following stark statistics were foregrounded in the Jomtien Conference and governments were implored to adopt a plan of action to redress this situation (ibid):

- *More than 100 million children, including at least 60 million girls, have no access to primary schooling.*

- *More than 600 million adults, two thirds of whom are women, are illiterate.*

- *By the year 2000... there will be 160 million children without access to primary education, simply because of population growth.*

- *UN estimates suggest that of the 600 million disabled people in the world, 150 million are children under 15 years of age. Less than 2 per cent of these children receive any education or training.*

The 'World Conference on Education For All' in 1990 was a turning point in global thinking about the legitimate place of learning and education as a core to all human and social development (UNESCO, 2000a: 30). Jomtien pointed out that the situation was getting worse and that there was a need for a world-wide movement to meet the basic learning needs of all children, youth and adults, and to reverse the serious decline in basic education services in many countries (UNESCO, 2001).

1.2.3 Putting Inclusive Education Centre Stage

In response to the 'Education for All' agenda, UNESCO held a World Conference on "Special Needs Education: Access and Quality" in Salamanca in Spain in 1994. This conference placed special needs education on the international agenda (UNESCO, 1994). At this conference, the Salamanca Statement proposed the concept of an inclusive society. The major emphasis was the restructuring of the school system and it called for nothing less than an inclusion of the entire world's children in schools and the reform of the school system to make this possible (UNESCO, 1994). The declaration, which came to be known as the Salamanca Statement, reports:

> *More than 300 participants representing 92 governments and 25 international organizations met in Salamanca, Spain, from 7 to 10 June 1994 to further the objective of Education for All by considering the fundamental policy shifts required to promote the approach of inclusive education, namely enabling schools to serve all children, particularly those with special educational needs (UNESCO, 1994: iii).*

While the Jomtien Conference of 1990 did not emphasize 'special needs' education, the Salamanca Conference provided a unique opportunity to place special needs education within the framework of 'Education for All'. Although the immediate focus of the conference was special needs education, its conclusion was that:

Special needs education – an issue of equal concern to countries of the North and of the South – cannot advance in isolation. It has to form part of an overall educational strategy and, indeed, of new social and economic policies. It calls for major reform of the ordinary school (UNESCO, 1994, iii-iv).

A significant contribution of the Salamanca Conference was a call for a conceptual shift for special needs education to be widened to include all children who, for whatever reason, are failing to benefit from school. The document states that:

In the past special education was defined in terms of children with a range of physical, sensory, intellectual or emotional difficulties…it has become plain that that the concept of special needs education has to be widened to include all children, who for whatever reason, are failing to benefit from school (UNESCO, 1994).

Another important shift in thinking that the Salamanca Conference highlighted is that the origins of learning difficulties lie not only within the learner but also in the social environment:

It is clear that the origins of learning difficulties lie not just in themselves (learners) but also in the social environment in which they are living. The task of the future is to identify ways in which the school as part of that social environment can create better learning opportunities for all children and by this means to address the challenge that the most pervasive source of learning difficulties is the school system itself (UNESCO, 1994: 15).

The Salamanca document was one of the first documents to make the paradigm shift from looking at deficits within the child to deficits within the education system. It clearly spells out that education for children, youth and adults with special educational needs should be provided within the regular education system (UNESCO, 1994). The document further proclaims that:

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

The Salamanca document also exhorts the governments of the world to give the highest policy and budgetary priority to improve their education systems to include all children regardless of individual differences or difficulties (UNESCO, 1994: 10).

1.2.4   Signposting Education for All

The Dakar Conference in Senegal in April 2000 continued the theme of 'Education for All' (see UNESCO, 2000a). In its assessment, the Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2001) notes that, ten years down the line, the vision of Jomtien had fallen far short. The 'Education for All' 2000 Assessment demonstrates that there has been significant progress in many countries but the document notes that it is unacceptable in the year 2000 that more than 113 million children have no access to primary education, 880 million adults are illiterate, gender discrimination continues to permeate the education system, and the quality of learning and the acquisition of human values and skills fall far short of the aspirations and needs of individuals and societies (UNESCO, 2000a: 8). The document also notes that progress in education has been "most difficult to achieve" in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO, 2000a: 13).

A series of thematic studies were prepared as part of the 'Education for All' assessment for the year 2000. Ten years after the World Conference on 'Education for All', various thematic study groups made assessments of whether some of the objectives of Jomtien were being realized. Some of the specific objectives of Jomtien were universal basic education by 2000; the 1990 level of adult illiteracy to be reduced by half by the year 2000; emphasis on female literacy and the reduction of the gap between male and female literacy (UNESCO, 2000a). Although progress was noted in some countries, in many developing and poor countries economic growth has not kept pace with demographic growth. The world's population has grown rapidly and half of this population is currently under the age of 24 (UNESCO, 2000b). Ninety-seven percent of the world's population increase occurs in the less developed countries, which have the least capacity to meet the challenge (ibid). There is a fairly large negative association between rapid population

growth and per capita output. The predominant view is that slower rates of population growth can give the governments more time to adjust and increase the countries' ability to attack poverty, protect and repair the environment and build the basis for future sustainable development (UNESCO, 2000b). Thus it could be concluded that achieving universal basic education can pose different challenges for different countries, depending on the human and financial national resources that can be mobilized as well as the rate of population growth.

The World Conference at Jomtien in 1990 also focused on health and nutrition as important contributors to the success of the learner and the learning process. Since Jomtien, a significant amount of research has been conducted concerning the effectiveness of school health interventions, and the interrelationships among health, cognition, school participation, and academic achievement (UNESCO, 2000c). There were ten major findings to guide future action: (1) School based nutrition interventions can improve academic performance. (2) Health and nutrition status affect enrolment, retention and absenteeism. (3) Education benefits health. (4) Education can reduce social and gender inequities. (5) Health promotion for teachers benefits their health, morale and quality of instruction. (6) Health promotion and disease prevention programmes are cost effective. (7) Treating youngsters in school can reduce disease in the community. (8) Multiple coordinated strategies produce greater effect than individual strategies, but multiple strategies for any one audience must be selective and targeted. (9) Health education is most effective when using interactive methods in a skills-based approach. (10) Trained teachers produce more significant outcomes in student health knowledge and skills, than untrained teachers (UNESCO, 2000c: 5).

The findings on the interrelationship between health, nutrition and educational attainments are significant for the poor and developing countries. In Sub-Saharan Africa, and other developing and poor countries of Latin America and Asia, poverty and its concomitant psychosocial problems impact on the health and education of the child. This poses challenges to the goal of 'Education for All'. Adding to the burdens of the poor is

the fiscal austerity measures that national governments are forced to adopt because of funding agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In granting loans for development, the World Bank and the IMF insist on countries following specific structural economic reforms such as domestic "austerity programmes and export promotion" (Carnoy, 1986: 201). The implementation of such programmes means the introduction of more regressive taxation policies, drastically reduced public spending in areas such as health, welfare, housing, public transport, food subsidies and public schooling (no decrease in defence spending) (Welch, 2000: 15). These austerity programmes affect the poor and further exclude them from schooling and society.

The Aids pandemic has stimulated new demands and urgency for school health programmes. Children affected by HIV/Aids are at risk as the condition creates fear, discrimination and exclusion. Whether affected or infected, these children and youth are vulnerable, especially in the way they are treated at schools (UNESCO, 2000d). Affected children are forced into phases of non-attendance at school because they have to assume adult responsibilities for family income and childcare. In regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa, HIV/Aids are wiping out all education gains. To address this pandemic nothing less than a massive political will at national and international levels to invest in their people and their well-being, will achieve the objective of social development (ibid).

'The Education for All' 2000 Assessment (UNESCO, 2000e) on textbooks and learning material presents a bleak picture of developing and poor countries in terms of providing textbooks and learning materials. Throughout Africa, and much of Latin America and Asia the provision of textbooks was far below the desirable ratio of one book per pupil in 1990. During the 1990s, the situation improved in some countries because of external funding by international agencies and governments but globally textbooks continued to be in short supply. Textbooks are particularly scarce in rural areas and even if they were available, they were not used effectively. Lack of funding, conflicting government priorities, difficulties in distribution, and lack of trained personnel are some of the main reasons for the lack of learning in these schools (ibid).

From the above assessment, it could be argued that although there has been some progress in the goals set out by the Jomtien Conference in 1990, the primary goal of 'Education for All' by 2000 had not been realized. Some of the reasons for not attaining some of the goals are the following: in many developing and poor countries economic growth has not kept pace with demographic growth; poor health and nutrition because of poverty is keeping children out of schools; lack of textbooks and learning material is affecting the quality of education provided by schools; gender discrimination in certain cultures are keeping females out of school; the Aids pandemic is eroding some of the gains made by some countries; political instability, wars and conflicts have affected the education of children in some countries; unsafe and insecure schools; unqualified and unmotivated teachers; inflexible schedules and irrelevant curriculum.

Drawing from the assessments of the 'Jomtien' decade, the Dakar Conference highlighted the following aspects for redress and attention by world governments: early childhood education, gender inequality, the marginalization of ethnic minorities, life skills programme for young adults, HIV/Aids education, adult literacy, quality and excellence in education (UNESCO, 2000d: 12). In order to redress the above situation the conference set out a framework for action for governments to follow. States were requested to develop or strengthen existing national plans of action by 2002 at the latest. These plans should be integrated into a wider poverty reduction and development framework, and should be developed through more transparent and democratic processes, involving stakeholders, especially peoples' representatives, community leaders, NGOs and civil society. The states' plans should address under-financing of education in their budgets and should reflect a commitment to achieving 'Education for All' goals by 2015. In extending the deadline another 15 years, the conference gave the world more time. This is also an acknowledgement of the world's failure to respect the right of every child to education (UNESCO, 2000d). The new deadline legitimises the loss of another generation.

The international precedents, as discussed above, commits the governments of the world to implement policies that reflect the ideals of EFA: the right to basic education for all children, inclusion of all children, youth and adults within a regular education system, non-discrimination, equity, gender equality, poverty alleviation, HIV/Aids education and adult literacy. In Chapter Two I will examine South Africa's education policies against its national history and international precedents.

However, fourteen years have gone by since the Jomtien Conference and much remains to be done. The Report of the World Education Forum of 2000 (UNESCO, 2001) paints a bleak picture; much more needs to be done to ameliorate the situation. Given that 113 million children in the world are still being excluded from education, it becomes imperative that the countries of the world do more to achieve the goals of 'Education for All'.

1.2.5   South Africa's Response to Education for All

In South Africa various proposals on quality education for all learners have been made in policy documents since 1994 (White Paper on Education and Training, 1995; South African Schools Act, 1996; Report of the National Commission for Special Needs in Education and Training /National Committee for Education Support Services, 1997; White Paper on Integrated Disability Strategy, 1997). In keeping with international trends and the call for 'Education for All' by 2000, the then Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, in July 2001, launched Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (hereafter called White Paper 6), calling for the implementation of the educational inclusion policy (DOE, 2001).

The Education White Paper 6 proposes educational transformation with educational inclusion, equality, equity and redress as its cornerstone (a critical analysis of the policy will be presented in Chapter 3). Samuels (2004: 157) writes that the "Garden of Policy is

littered with fallen fruit...the ideals of policy seldom translate directly into practice". This study is about one of the budding fruits in this garden of policy. Will the main actors: the learners, the educators, the parents and the community be nourished by this fruit or will this fruit end up rotting in an already littered garden?

1.3 Constructing Meaning

1.3.1   Introduction

The terminology I engage with in this study relate to two trends in conceptualizing inclusive education:

- Terminology that emerges from the special education sector: terms such as 'mainstreaming', 'integration' and 'inclusive education'.

- Terminology that places inclusion and exclusion in the in the context of 'Education for All': terms such as 'inclusion/exclusion', 'social justice', 'equity' and 'inclusive schooling'.

1.3.2   From Mainstreaming to Inclusion

At this juncture, it is useful to clarify certain terms used in this study. Words are value-laden and people may construct meaning or perceive words differently. There are many different definitions and understandings of these terms. The terms that I use are "highly debatable and ill-defined in a range of cultures and contexts" (Stubbs, 1997: 10). If they sound too simplistic in this study I make no apology because I am using a language within the context of my study, while I take cognizance that the language is presently in a state of flux and debate. I would not want to be prescriptive in my definition but would rather opt to give a description of the variety of ways terms are used. Booth (1998: 79) contends that there is an absence of agreement about what constitutes 'special education' though how the subject is defined is rarely specified. Some assume special education to

be primarily concerned with issues of disability, while others see it as organizational and classroom responses to diversity. The absence of definition, according to Booth (1998), is a striking omission. However, even in the absence of a clearly defined field and in the context of shifting debates, I offer some descriptions culled from the literature.

The term 'special education' is based on the assumption that there are children who have 'special educational needs' (SEN). The term 'special' is used to refer to children who have some physical or behavioural or mental or sensory difference from a locally and culturally perceived norm (Stubbs, 1997: 10). A 'special educational need' is a loose term, which is defined in relation to arbitrary concepts of what is normal and acceptable. The term SEN was originally devised to prevent labelling of individual children, and instead draws attention to particular needs in an educational environment, which any child could have for any amount of time. In the course of time, this term came to be used as a fixed characteristic of the child, that is, a 'special needs child'. The second assumption of this definition is that these children form a distinct group. This is a false assumption because this group includes children with physical, mental and sensory impairments who are all very different. The third assumption in this definition is that these special children, need special teachers, special resources special methodologies, and often, special environments. According to Stubbs (1997: 10), the problem with this definition is that it is based on false or unsubstantiated assumptions. The following arguments substantiate this claim:

- Children are all different and there are many types of difference.

- So-called 'special methods' are often no more than good child focused teaching practice, which would benefit all children.

- All children experience difficulty in learning, and need support.

- Children learn through interaction with and from the examples of their peers. This is reason enough not to exclude children who have difficulty in learning socially appropriate behaviour from the mainstream environment.

Muthukrishna and Schoeman (2000: 33) drawing from the work of National Commission on Special Needs Education and Training (NCSNET)[4] and the National Committee on Education support Services (NCESS) challenge the notion of 'special educational needs' in the South African context. They express concern that the term has become the "catch phrase for all categories of learners who for various reasons do not fit into the system". They argue that the term 'special needs' highlights the "personal inadequacies in individuals rather than challenges of social inadequacies in the system" (ibid). The term 'barriers to learning', which replaced SEN, was adopted by the NCSNET and NCESS to shift the focus to systemic impediments to learning. The term will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

Booth (2003) calls for a redefinition of the field of 'special education' and rejects the terms 'special education', 'special educational needs' (SEN) and 'students with learning difficulties' (Booth, 2003: 1). He calls for a new language in the field. Booth argues in his paper that the language of special education occupies a central place in maintaining the hegemony of the deficit or pathological model. Since Salamanca, the debate has shifted the emphasis to a social rights focus which views inclusion as a vehicle to achieve education for all and move practice from an assimilationist to a transformative approach to education.

1.3.3 Mainstreaming and Integration

The terms 'integration' and 'mainstreaming' in education are terms that also need clarification. According to Lomofsky and Lazarus (2001: 306), in most countries of the North since the 1980s, there has been a movement towards integrating 'special education' into the mainstream. The terms 'integration' and 'mainstreaming' have been used interchangeably in the North (ibid). The term 'mainstreaming' is particularly used in the

[4]NCSNET & NCESS: National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training and the National Committee on Education Support Services were appointed by the Minister of Education in S.A. to investigate all aspects of special needs and support services in S.A. The final report was completed in November 1997.

USA (Stubbs, 1997: 11). The terms 'mainstreaming' and 'integration' are commonly used to describe the process of bringing children with disabilities into the mainstream school. These terms also have strong connotations of the pathological or deficit model. The major criticism of this concept is that it merely implies a placement or change of location from the segregated special schools to mainstream schools without regard to the quality of the placement. Often the underlying philosophy is similar to that of 'special education'. The problem is located in the child, and the child must change or be ready to fit into the existing system. The resources, methods and approaches are used to prepare and support the child so that the child is able to fit the system.

The notion of integration took root in Britain after the 'Warnock Report' (Tillstone, 1998), which encapsulated the government's proposals to integrate mainstream and special education. This report described the process of integration as locational, social or functional. Locational integration refers to sharing the site by special/ordinary pupils in ordinary school provision, social integration refers to out of classroom activities and functional integration refers to joint participation in educational programmes. The critics of the Warnock Report view this attempt at integration as the 'normalisation' of those with disabilities. In other words, the purpose of integration is for the pupils with disabilities to become like the others (normal). This so-called normalization process is the denial of differences and the concept itself contributes to the devaluing of people who are different (Peters, 1995 cited in Tillstone et al, 1998). The term 'integration' is also used to refer to the system of having small segregated units of pupils with 'special educational needs' within a mainstream school, but it is often segregation in another form (Stubbs, 1997: 11). In other words it is not locational integration but locational segregation.

1.3.4 Inclusive Education

Many notions of 'inclusive education' have emerged within the field of special education in response to the Salamanca Statement (Clark, Dyson & Millward, 1995). In the

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Northern countries inclusive education was initially seen as an innovation within special education but is now viewed within a broader context (Carrington, 1999). There has been a tendency to think of inclusive education as being concerned with only students with disabilities or others categorized as having special educational needs. In many countries of the world 'inclusion' has been seen as a movement of students from special to mainstream schools, with the implication that they are included once they are there. Inclusion policies and practices in many parts of the world are still located within the medical/deficit model of assimilating children with disabilities into the mainstream school, much like the integration movement of the past (Dyson, 1999). However, more recently, inclusive education is seen internationally as being based on a value system that recognizes and "celebrates diversity arising from gender, nationality, race, language of origin, social background and level of education achievement or disability" (Mittler, 2000: 10). The emphasis has shifted from issues of disability to social rights issues, which locates 'inclusion' as a vehicle to achieve education for all. This description of inclusive education resonates with the description in NCSNET and NCESS report in South Africa, which locates inclusive education as a moral issue of human rights and values. The NCSNET and NCESS report views inclusion as a never ending process, dependent on continuous pedagogical and organizational development within the system rather than a simple state (DoE, 1997).

In Education White Paper 6 of South Africa, the concept of inclusion is not confined to including / excluding people with disabilities, but it encompasses all barriers to learning such as, disease, poverty, language, age gender, ethnicity, class, HIV status (DoE, 2001). The report of the National Commission on Special Needs Education (NCSNET) and the National Committee on Education Support Services (NCESS) (DoE, 1997) made an important shift from the idea of "special needs education" to focusing on barriers to learning and development (more details Chapter 3). The report of the commission asserted that there are various factors such as social, political and economic factors that prevent a large number of learners from learning effectively. Therefore to categorize a small group of learners according to their deficits becomes a problem. The South African notion of inclusion as espoused in the executive summary of Education White Paper 6

(DoE, 2001) goes beyond the Northern notion of inclusion, in that it does not confine its definition to disabilities (the S.A. policy will be discussed in detail in the next chapter).

Sayed (2003) increases the scope of the inclusion debate to encompass all forms of social exclusion, including globalisation and marketisation issues. According to Sayed, the concepts 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' are clearly juxtaposed in that social inclusion of certain persons or groups imply the exclusion of others. It is simplistic to assume that social inclusion and exclusion are merely opposing terms. Such usage would fail to account for the process through which people become either included or excluded. Sayed argues that a significant problem with the notion of inclusive education is that the theory is being posited in a society (South Africa and India), which is based on inequality. While there are sites that offer the space for teachers and students to challenge and transform social practices there are other social structures that perpetuate exclusion from schools. For example, in South Africa, structures that perpetuate exclusion from schools and the curricula are race, social class, poverty and hegemony of language in schools. Newly integrated Black students in previously White schools may well be included or remain outsiders because they cannot access the curriculum due to language barriers. Sayed argues that a further problem with the debate is that inclusion is generally discussed in relation to disabled students. Firstly, he states that discrimination or inequality is not about physical or mental disability. Secondly, the issue of educational inclusion is not about special education, it is an issue for 'regular' schools, which have to consider their cultures and practices in terms of how they foster exclusion.

1.3.5   Barriers to Learning and Development

The term 'barriers to learning and development' is a South African concept that is now used internationally. In introducing the concept 'learners who experience barriers to learning and development, the NCSNET and NCESS locate two distinct categories of learners: the majority being those with 'ordinary needs' and the minority group being

those with 'special needs' (DoE, 1997: 13). This minority group has historically been relegated to the periphery of the education system, and provision for them has been inadequate. During the apartheid regime in South Africa, many of these pupils were mainstreamed by default because there were few specials schools for black children. The Report points out that the notion of 'special needs' has become a catch phrase for all those learners who somehow do not "fit into" the system, and often failed to describe the nature of the need which is regarded as 'special' (DoE, 1997: 13). It provides no insight into what causes learning breakdown and why such learners are excluded from the system. It tended to ignore the fact that it may be the nature of the system that has failed the learners. The Report stresses that it is imperative that the education system not only prevents learning breakdown and exclusion, but that it is also able to create equal opportunities for effective learning by all learners. It argues that it is when the education system fails to provide for and accommodate diversity that learning breakdown occurs, and learners are excluded. The Report identifies the following key barriers to learning and development within the South African context: socio-economic, poverty and underdevelopment, attitudes, inflexible curriculum, language and communication, inaccessible and unsafe and built environment, inadequate support services, lack of enabling legislation, lack of parental involvement, disability, lack of human resources (DoE, 1997: 13-19). This is a clear indication that the theoretical basis of the Report is firmly rooted in the sociological model of exclusion and inclusion as it raises issues of human rights, inequalities and equity.

From the above discussion, it is clear that we have quite divergent views on inclusion and it can be stated that the meaning of inclusive education is contextual i.e. it takes on different forms in different places, in different countries and even within countries and local areas, depending on the situation. Vlachou (1997: 36) argues that the notion of inclusion does not have a common meaning among different groups of people nor does it have a single definition. Its meaning reflects the experiences, practices, ideologies and interests of particular groups within asymmetrical power relationships. Inclusion is a social process and as such it has educational, political, moral, theoretical and practical implications. As Vlachou (1997: 12) puts it, "pedagogical principles, humanitarian

ideologies, theories of normalization, sociopolitical and medical approaches to education are being used in a conflicting way in the cultural struggle of different interest groups". This aspect will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter Two.

In this study, educational inclusion is located within the discourse of social inclusion and exclusion. In my examination of the concepts thus far I have touched on some of the theoretical debates in the field. An interrogation of the theories will follow in Chapter Two.

1.4 Context of this Study

As I write the script for this thesis, I am subliminally conscious of all the celebrations, the reviews, the evaluations and the politics that surround the year 2004: the tenth year since we as South Africans marched triumphally and peacefully from an apartheid[5] government to democracy. The legacy of apartheid has left a sea of inequalities in all spheres of life. Much has been written about South Africa's achievements and non-achievements in this decade of social, political, economic and educational transformation. Since 1994, there has been a plethora of educational policies with transformation as the cornerstone, and equality, equity and redress as the ideals of policy. In South Africa and other parts of the world, children experiencing poverty, the ravages of HIV/ Aids and other diseases, street children and Black children with disability live on the margins of society and receive little or no education. To address these issues, there are initiatives in South Africa to reform the education system to cater for all learners in an inclusive system.

In attempting to implement the policy of inclusive education the National Department of Education in partnership with a Consortium, which included universities, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and

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[5] Apartheid: A system of government based on the segregation of the races and discrimination according to skin colour. Only the minority whites were given the franchise and elected to government

Disability Peoples' Organizations (DPOs) conducted pilot projects in three provinces in South Africa: Eastern Cape, North West Province and KwaZulu-Natal. My investigation was conducted in one school in the KwaZulu-Natal pilot project.

This study examines the experiences of those at the interface of the pilot project in the building of an Inclusive Education and Training system. It focuses on the micro-level, that is, the teachers, learners, and parents who act within conflicting discursive spaces. Under scrutiny in this study is context as a discursive field, which includes the social, political and cultural factors and practices. The study examines systemic issues related to inclusion and exclusion within situated contexts. The study also examines the discursive forces at the macro-level, including national and global forces that influence implementation processes at the micro-level.

The call for inclusive education first emanated from the special education agenda, which focused on the inclusion of learners with disability or special educational needs in mainstream schools but recently the discussion has focused on inclusion and exclusion and providing quality education for all learners. There is a body of literature that raises issues of social justice and equity, the hegemony of class, the hidden curriculum and student failure in schools (see, Giroux, 1983; Apple, 1990; McLaren, 1995). Authors such as Ainscow (1999), Barton (1999), Booth (1999) and Slee (2001), argue for the inclusion debate to be placed within the agenda of 'quality education for all' and the reconstruction of schooling to address this agenda. My study is located within this dialogue of social inclusion and exclusion and education for all.

1.5 Critical Question

The major objectives of this research are:

- To examine the theoretical foundations on which inclusive education is based.
- To provide a nuanced account of the experiences of the various components of the school community in the implementation of the policy of inclusion education.

Arising out of the objectives of my study and my literature review, I posit the following critical question:

> *How does a school community in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, experience the implementation of the policy of inclusive education?*

1.6 Rationale for the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the implementation of educational inclusion policy in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. In the preface, I alluded to the motivation for this study. My personal encounter with discrimination and the exclusionary forces in education despite progressive educational policies since 1994, have imbued in me a search for practices that support the participation of all learners in an enabling, non-discriminatory, and democratic learning environment. Moreover, policy development in South Africa reflects a philosophy of basic education for all, equity, redress for the iniquities of apartheid, and education under one unified system of education.

However, the literature has shown that policy development and legislation does not necessarily translate into practice. Much attention has been devoted to the formulation of education policy, but limited attention has been paid to how policies are implemented and received (Sayed, Soudien & Carrim, 2003). The extent of the 'policy gap' between intention and practice is acknowledged (Sayed & Jansen, 2000) and requires scrutiny (Sayed, Soudien & Carrim, 2003). Effective access to education, especially at the lower levels, depends on how policies are implemented and received at the institutional/community/individual levels (Sayed, 2003). Sayed et al (2003), who are currently engaged in a joint research project on social inclusion and exclusion in South Africa and India, have found that studying how excluded groups experience specific inclusion policies could complement existing research in both countries. Gauging from

the literature in South Africa, it could be concluded that there is a need for research into the experiences of people at the institution, community and individual levels in the policy implementation process. Another rationale for this study is that the literature indicates that philosophical thought and changes in the theoretical landscape of inclusive education have outpaced practice. Hence a search for educational practices that seek to reflect the theoretical basis of educational inclusion is vital.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The following are reasons indicate that this research will make a contribution to education:

- Both nationally and internationally, much attention has been devoted to the formulation of education policy, but limited attention has been paid to how policies are implemented and received.

- To a large extent, research on educational inclusion has been conducted in developed countries. More research needs to be done in more developing countries.

- More significantly, this study aims to contribute to the limited body of research that focuses on the micro-level, that is, the school community (teachers, learners, parents), which acts within conflicting discursive spaces. Context as a discursive field, which includes, social, political and cultural factors and practices is under scrutiny in this study. The study is located within the situated contexts in which systemic issues related to inclusion and exclusion are examined and interrogated.

I am convinced that since educational inclusion is a transforming process, my research will promote further investigation.

1.8 Overview of Chapters

Chapter One: This chapter presents the focus, rationale and significance of the study. Language and concepts that are significant to this study are elucidated.

Chapter Two: In Chapter Two, I surf the theoretical landscape to provide a roadmap for this study. I also navigate through literature to examine international trends in the practice of inclusive education.

Chapter Three: In this chapter, I critically examine the South African policy shifts in respect of inclusive education. I also present an analytical framework for interpreting and analyzing the policy.

Chapter Four: This chapter examines the methodology that I used in this study. I first give a critical exposition of the naturalistic mode of enquiry, and then focus on ethnography as a method for my investigation.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven: In these chapters I give a detailed analysis of the data and present the emerging themes.

Chapter Eight: In this final chapter, I present the conclusions from the research, methodological and theoretical reflections, the link between theory and practice and implications for policy implementation.

CHAPTER TWO
EXCAVATING THE LITERATURE

2.1   Introduction

I commence this chapter by examining the theoretical critique on special education, as the debate on change towards an inclusive education system emerged from this sector. I use the critical and postmodern gaze to examine the issues of social justice, equity, inequalities, and power relations, to argue for the debate on inclusion to be shifted from focusing on disabilities and special needs to all forms of social exclusion. I then examine international and local trends in inclusive education. I round up the chapter by arguing that certain proposals by the research genres of the learning schools, effective schools, school improvement and human and social capital development, are useful in developing inclusive schools.

2.2   From Special Education to Inclusive Education

2.2.1   Introduction

In the introduction to their book "Theorizing Special Education", Clark, Dyson and Millward (1998) make a critical observation that the "state of theorizing in special education was complex, not to say confused". There are a multiplicity of positions ranging from the powerful advocacy of new approaches to differences based on commitment to principles of equity and inclusion to subtle deconstruction of special education based on theories of organizational types, or of professional learning, and social interests. Using the social constructivist position, I argue that a multiplicity of positions on a discipline does not reflect confusion but the construction of meaning in different social contexts. Clark, Dyson and Millward (1998: 2) ask the question, "Do we need a theory of special education?" My view is that to call for a theory of special education will shift the discourse away from 'education for all' and create the perception that there are two discrete fields of study: special education and mainstream education.

What is needed rather is a theory on the radical transformation of education to address all forms of exclusion from schools. Slee and Weiner (2001) claim that within the broad church of inclusive education research there are two groups: those who see it as a technical problem and those who see it as cultural politics. The former (those that view it as a technical problem) accept the way things are in special education and attempt to make things work through marginal reforms. The latter (those that see it as cultural politics) call for educational reconstruction consistent with new forms of thinking about education and social issues. In other words, one trend in inclusive education sees inclusive education in terms of reforming special education and the other sees inclusive education in terms of education for all and creating inclusive schools and cultures (see, Ainscow, 1999; Booth, 1999; Slee & Weiner, 2001).

In the next section I will examine the theoretical critique of special education to understand if there is need for the transformation of special education.

2.2.2 Theorising Special Education: A Critique

2.2.2.1 Discourses that Shape Special Needs Education

There have been major shifts internationally on how disability and special needs education has been constructed. These shifts reflect a change from a medical discourse to a rights discourse. Understanding the nature of discourse is important because it frames the way we know and act within contested spaces (Allan, 1989). Discourses are about what can be said and thought, and also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority (Ball, 1995: 21). Using Foucault's notion of discourse, Ball (1995: 22) states that discourse cannot be reduced to speech and language; it is more than that, it is linked to power and knowledge. We are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge and the power relations that a discourse constructs (ibid). According to Fulcher (1989), discourses have uses rather than inherent meaning, that is, they serve particular interests. Based on the above conceptions of discourse, I examine the discourses that shaped and are still shaping special education. There is an overwhelming body of knowledge that

concurs that the medical and psychological perspectives have dominated and shaped special education up until the 1980's (Tomlinson, 1992; Booth & Ainscow, 1998; Armstrong, 2000).

Riddle's (1996: 84-92) five perspectives in special education can be used to organize the changing discourses in special education over the years. Similar to Fulcher's (1989) four discourses, Riddle (1996) presents five perspectives that have constructed special education. Riddle (1996), like Fulcher (1989), in attempting to bring some order over the competing perspectives on disability, suggests five organizing groups. According to Slee (1998: 128), Riddle's work is a reconfiguration of Fulcher's (1989) four discourses on disability: medical discourse; lay discourse; charity discourse and rights discourse. The following are Riddle's (1996: 84-92), list of perspectives in special education: the essentialist, social constructionist, materialist, post-modernist and the disabilist movement perspectives.

The essentialist perspective is akin to the Fulcher's (1989) medical model perspective, which locates disability or deficiencies in the individual. The essentialist perspective has established its dominance over taken for granted assumptions in special education, which proceeds from diagnosis of individual and defect as the baseline for intervention and remediation. The aim is to minimize difference or to normalize the individual. Regular education is accepted and special education is seen as assisting in the identification and treatment of those pathologies, which exclude students from regular schools.

The social constructionist perspective presents disability as an oppressive and normative construct used against those of different class, race, gender, language, disability, which enforce social marginalisation.

The materialist perspective also rejects the reductionist tendency to locate disability within individual pathology and social attitudes. Stories are then produced to explain disability as personal tragedy or a medical problem to be managed in the health system in

order to locate and keep disabled people out of the labour market as dependent consumers.

The postmodernist perspective points to the limitations of the class struggle and the capitalist production narratives as an explanation of the complex and fragmented experiences of disability across a range of identities. The postmodernist perspective provides space for other voices and expressions in describing and analyzing disability. The disability movement perspective does not spend too much attention on theoretical explanations. The disability movement uses an eclectic approach in their quest for social change and disability rights in the mainstream political agenda (Riddle, 1996: 84-92).

Riddle's (1996) schemata help in organizing the competing perspectives in special education. I will now examine some of these perspectives in greater detail. Commentators within the post-positivist paradigm seem to concur that the early history of special education was dominated by the psycho-medical paradigm (Ainscow, 1994; Clark, Dyson & Millward, 1995; Skrtic, 1995; Norwich, 1996). Individuals are defined according to their disability or impairment rather than external factors. Medical discourse through its language of "body, patient, help, need, cure, rehabilitation and its politics that the doctor knows best" has dominated special education practice (Fulcher, 1989: 27). Students are constructed as disabled and the disability is conceived as an objective attribute and not a social construct (Naicker, 1999). According to Ainscow (1994), this remains the dominant perspective in the special needs field, where the nature of the educational difficulties is explained in terms of particular disabilities, social background and or psychological attributes. Individual programmes are chosen to support the child in order to facilitate his or her participation in schooling. Usually interventions have taken the form of removing the child from the mainstream curriculum for specialist help. In more recent times, intervention programmes have allowed help to be provided in the context of the mainstream class.

No one would argue that some of the disabilities have an observable biological basis but the critiques of special education argue that these are low incidence disabilities. A further

concern is whether these pathological distinctions are of any use in designing effective instructional interventions.

Skrtic's (1995) critique on special education is rooted in functionalism. The dominant mode of social and educational theorizing of the modern era has been functionalism. He explains functionalism and its assumptions as follows. Functionalism is grounded in the sociology of regulation and approaches social science from an objectivist point of view. It assumes a single social reality to which humans merely react mechanistically. Given its positivist epistemology and preference for nomothetic methodologies, it assumes that employing the methods of the physical sciences, social science can discover objective truth. Because functionalism presupposes that social reality is objective, inherently orderly and rational, it assumes that social and human problems are pathological. School failure is reframed as two interrelated problems: inefficient (non-rational) organization and defective (pathological) students. Slee (1998: 130) also views the 'essentialist' position as being functionalist. Defect is located in the individual who becomes subject to classification, regulation and treatment. It should be noted that the commentators and researchers differ in their detail of how the social processes construct special education but there is agreement that special educational needs cannot be understood simply in terms of the characteristics of individual learners. Special needs arise out of social contexts and society determines what constitutes a need and what needs would be considered special. Thus special needs is not objectively real but is socially produced. Dyson (1998 cited in Clark et al, 1998) notes that the corollary of the above is that in changed social circumstances (different discourses, different sorts of schools, different social structures), special needs might simply disappear.

Akin to the position that special education is a social product is Skrtic's (1995) view that special education is non-rational. Skrtic, points out that within the psycho-medical paradigm special education could be seen as a rational response to the needs of the children where professionals use the so called scientific guided means to meet the "really existing" needs of learners. But needs are socially produced and special education is part of the process of social production which creates arrangements to sustain power and

privileges of those who benefit from those arrangements. Thus special education enables schools and education systems to maintain the status quo (ibid).

The following summary highlights the main criticisms of the essentialist or psycho medical paradigm:

- An essentially positivist view of the world, in which differences between students were taken to be objectively "real" and susceptible to investigation using the methods of natural sciences.
- A concern with those differences which were held to take the form of deficits and difficulties and which were understood largely through the disciplines of medicine and, increasingly educational psychology.
- And essentially functionalist view of special education as a rational response to these difficulties and deficits, developed on the basis of scientific inquiry and offering scientifically proven interventions leading to cure and amelioration.

2.2.2.2 Special Educational Needs as Social Product

Whereas the psychomedical paradigm saw special needs as arising out of real characteristics of children, critical theorists or those using the constructivist position see special needs as being the product of social processes. While the deficit or the medical perspective see the child as deficient and not the system, critical theory asserts that attention should be focused on the social and structural process, which construct the special needs child. There is a catalogue of indictments made by critical theorists on special education. The following are some of the indictments noted by Gibson (1986: 140-141): 'Special needs' are largely socially constructed (they are not simply there); the special child is produced, not discovered. Certain professional groups have vested interests in the growth of numbers of children classified as being in need of special education. The history of special education is better understood in terms of such interests rather than in terms of spontaneous, charitable benevolence. Special education is a covert

form of social control; it is a political issue, to be understood in the context of society, not solely schooling which is characterized by secrecy, an obsession with measurement, and a high level of surveillance. Low status social groups are over-represented in certain categories of special need. I will now elaborate on the above catalogue of indictments.

Tomlinson (1981: 2) investigated the process by which forty children became classified as 'educationally subnormal' (ESN). She found that educational subnormality:

> *...is socially constructed by the judgments and decisions about children, rather than being an innate quality within children, and that the category may have less to do with education than with other activities demonstrated by the children and their families.*

Tomlinson's (ibid) conclusion is that the category 'educationally subnormal' (ESN) was created by the decisions made by professionals, and that different professionals had different perceptions of the ESN child. She questions the objective nature of those judgments arguing that they were not based solely on the educational performance or potential of the children but were influenced by their professional beliefs about behaviour, family, class and racial characteristics of the children. Moreover, there was no consensus among the professionals.

The social constructionists using the construct 'labeling' criticise traditional services as based on ideology (Soder, 1992). Traditional services such as segregated schools confirm a status of incompetence and dependency for persons with disabilities (ibid). Professionals have also been targeted for criticism. It is claimed that professionals have the prerogative to define disability and thus wield power and control over human beings. Professionals have self-interest in this labeling process because their continued existence depends on keeping others in a dependent position. Certain groups have vested interests in the expansion of special needs. Through this industry the child with special educational needs is socially constructed. There is,

> *... a 'backwardness' or remedial industry. There are academics, publishers, child guidance centres, psychological testing centres, school departments and many teachers who exist only because backwardness exists, and whose interests,*

career-wise it is to discover more and more backward children (Squibb, 1977: 86).

Thus, the psychomedical approach in special education is seen as an ideology that is "misleading, distortive and, for all its benign intentions, potentially oppressive" (Gibson, 1986: 143). Educators have developed categories and modes of perception which 'reify or thingify' individuals so that they (educators) can confront students as institutional abstractions rather than as persons who they have real ties in the process of cultural and economic reproduction (Apple, 1990: 133). Educators like other professionals have the power to impose these social constructions on others. Educators differentiate between 'smart' children and 'stupid children, 'academic' areas and non-academic areas, play activity and learning activity. They may define a learner as 'slow learner' or 'discipline problem'. These labels seem as common sense constructions but they grow out of the nature of existing institutions (ibid: 134). The categories themselves are based upon institutionally defined abstractions (the commonsense equivalent of statistical averages). Thus they must be treated as historically conditioned data and not as absolutes. However, this is not to deny that students do experience educational difficulties. The point is it is necessary to understand that these categories developed out of specific social and historical situations, which conform to a specific framework of assumptions and institutions.

One significant means by which pupils are culturally and economically stratified is through the application of values and categories to them. Certain types of cultural capital, for example, types of performances, knowledge, dispositions, achievements, and propensities, are not necessarily good in and of themselves but rather are made so by the taken for granted assumptions (Apple, 1990: 130). These assumptions are often historically and ideologically conditioned. The categories of success or failure that we employ as educators are involved in a process of social valuing. The guiding principles that we use to plan order and evaluate our activity, conceptions of achievement, success and failure, of good and bad students are social and economic constructs (ibid). They do not automatically exist within individuals or groups but are instances of the application of identifiable social rules about what is to be considered to be good or bad performance.

Hence the very language we use is indicative of the mechanisms through which dominant ideologies operate.

The structural aspect of critical theory focuses on special education as being a form of social control (Gibson, 1986: 143). Pupils who are deemed as needing special education are viewed as being troublesome and do not fit the conventional expectations for 'normal' pupils. The professionals who categorise these pupils act as legitimating agents of society. The education system legitimizes power, and control relationships. The power, of the category 'special needs', excludes children from "normal experience" and is a "powerful agent of social control as it certifies certain pupils as special" (Tomlinson, 1981: 18).

The argument that special education is a social product can be summarized as follows:

- Concepts and categories of need are socially constructed within social discourses.
- The way social institutions function (schools or education systems as a whole) generate failure and develop special need provision as a means of managing that failure.
- Structural, social and socio-economic processes systemically disadvantage and marginalise some groups.

I use the theoretical critique of special education to argue that special education is an ideology that reproduces inequalities, marginalises learners and is flawed. Therefore a paradigm shift to inclusive education should explore a system of schooling that addresses all forms of social exclusion.

2.2.3 Paradigm shift to Inclusive Education

Thus far I have examined the theoretical critique of special education. There is widespread agreement that traditional special education is flawed on moral, practical and

epistemological grounds (Booth, 1999). Special education serves to exclude and devalue students, misrepresent the problems of learning and teaching as the problem of individual students. There has been a paradigm shift internationally from special education to inclusive education. The inclusion of pupils in ordinary schools and classrooms is part of a large worldwide human rights movement, which calls for the inclusion of all people in all aspects of life. The concept of inclusive education has been enjoying a high profile around the world, as it has been incorporated into the policy documents of numerous international organisations, most notably the UN (Florian, 1999: 13). Inclusive education was initially seen as an innovation in special education but now is viewed within a broader context (Carrington, 1999).

As noted in Chapter One, the concept of inclusive education is contextual in that it varies from country to country and also within countries. However, it could be said that in broad terms, inclusive education has come to refer to a philosophy of education that promotes the education of all pupils in mainstream schools. Florian (1999: 13-14) articulates the principles of this philosophy as follows:

- *All children have the right to learn and play together.*
- *Children should not be devalued or discriminated against by being excluded or sent away because of their disability or learning difficulty.*
- *There are no legitimate reasons to separate children for the duration of their schooling. They belong together rather than need to be protected from one another.*

While the above principles focus on disabilities, it should be noted that the debates around inclusive education have shifted considerably from the early days of the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) where the focus was on special needs education. Currently the discourses have shifted to social inclusion and exclusion. Slee, (2001a: 168) argues that inclusive education is about all students. Inclusion is an aspiration for a democratic education. Therefore any project on inclusion should address the experiences

of all students. Inclusion should address a diversity of issues, such as class, gender, sexuality, race and cultural diversity and should not focus on disability alone.

Most debates about inclusive education were dominated by ideas within countries of the North. The situation for learners with disabilities as well as for other learners has been different in the countries of the North and the South. For many years in the North, disabled learners enjoyed the right to education even if this was in special education centres. Thus the implementation of inclusive education in the North was concerned more with the reduction or ending segregated practices. However, in many of the countries of the South, the inclusion of disabled learners involves the double shift of overcoming the economic, legal, and cultural barriers creating their exclusion. Moreover, in the South, disabled learners are part of a much larger group of learners excluded from education. In South Africa, the term 'barriers to learning' is used, which indicates that inclusive education does not focus on deficits within the individual but to wider socially constructed disadvantage. Inclusive education is not viewed in the parochial sense as in many countries in the North but is located within the wider social and political context of society (Muthukrishna, 2002: 7). Muthukrishna explains that social exclusion implies a denial of social rights and is seen as a process of long term non-participation in any social, political, economic systems that integrate the society in which the individual resides.

Barton argues for the placement of the issue of disability alongside all forms of oppression in a human rights framework (Barton, 1999: 58). In this way, it is argued that societies would address the needs of all citizens. Inclusive education is therefore viewed as an agenda, which aims at fundamental educational transformation with a view of developing an equitable education system (Dyson, 1999: 40). Slee (2001b: 115) argues that the discussion ought not to start from the premise on how to include special needs students in regular schools, it must question the very basis on which these are regarded as regular.

Sayed (2003) argues that inclusion and exclusion are not simply bipolar concepts. The concept of inclusion itself presents problems of cooption and control and does not imply that people are not excluded. Sayed (2003) cautions that being included does not guarantee that there will not be other forms of exclusions. For example, in South Africa, some newly integrated Black students in formerly all White schools who were formally segregated according to race may be well integrated and may help to positively transform and reshape the educational environment or they may remain outsiders, "no longer looking in from the outside, but looking out from the inside". Institutional access or the creation of physical space or locational inclusion does not answer the call for educational inclusion. Issues such as affordability, language, cultural and political environments and practices, both within and outside of educational institutions may perpetuate exclusion even after students have been technically placed.

2.3   The Inclusion Debate in the Context of Education for All

2.3.1   Introduction

The emphasis in this study is education for all in the context of social inclusion and exclusion and does not take a narrow deficit focus. Therefore an interrogation of issues of social justice, equity, inequalities in society, power relations and sociopolitical issues such as poverty becomes necessary. Using the framework of critical theory, I highlight the ideological and hegemonic forces within the culture and institutions of society that create inequalities, inequity and injustices. Highlighting these issues is important to understand what needs to be transformed to address these exclusionary forces.

2.3.2   Social Justice and Equity in Education

Before delving into inequalities and exclusionary forces in education, I will elucidate the concepts 'justice', 'equality' and 'equity', as an understanding of these concepts are important in terms of the transformative agenda of the inclusive education project that I

investigated. The terms equity and equality are underpinned by a competing understanding of justice (Sayed, 2001). These terms are often conflated or confused.

The term justice is used as fairness in distribution for which the normal criterion is equality (Connel, 1993: 16). The aim of justice is to produce and preserve the happiness of the social and political community (ibid). It is the good of others that is sought through justice. There are two standards for justice: justice in relation to the law and justice in relation to one's fair share. Rawls (1972) posits two principles of justice. The first looks at justice as equal distribution of goods and services in society. The second allows for a deviation from the first principle of justice as 'fair treatment' on the grounds that unequal distribution might be to the advantage of the less powerful in society. This is akin to the notion of affirmative action or positive discrimination.

It is important to distinguish between the terms 'equality' and 'equity' as these terms are sometimes conflated. Equity is often mistakenly measured in terms equality such as input resources (expenditure) or educational outcomes, also referred to as achievement scores (Fry, 1991/1992 cited in Soudien, 1998: 127). The term 'equality' means 'sameness' while equity means 'fairness or the recourse to the principles of justice' (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 2003). Fry (1991/1992 cited in Soudien, 1998: 127) elucidates the concept further:

> *Equity transcends the notion of equality by focusing the qualitative value of justice. Central as the movement towards racial equality may be in reforms presently under consideration in South Africa, the question remains whether these reforms will also address inequities which stem from class, gender and so on, and therefore meet the criteria of justice.*

In South Africa equality in terms of the law is a right of every citizen. But equal treatment in all cases in a country that suffered racial discrimination for many decades may not bring about equity or may even cause further inequity. Treating everyone equally or the same may not amount to fairness or justice. Therefore in trying to redress the imbalances or inequalities that were created by the racist policies of the former apartheid government in South Africa, the present government adopted a policy of affirmative

action or preferential treatment in that schools that were previously disadvantaged are provided with more funding and resources. As Apple (1990: 12) puts it, for a society to be just it must "contribute most to the advantage of the least advantaged". Thus equity can mean equal treatment or unequal (preferential) treatment.

I find that much of the criticism of inequalities in education has its roots in critical theory. According to Gibson (1986: 44), critical theorists have three things in common. Firstly, critical theorists highlight the inequalities and injustices in education. Secondly, they claim to trace those inequalities and injustices to their source, showing the educational processes and structures by which they are maintained. Thirdly, they seek to propose remedies to these injustices. Critical theory has a transformative agenda and seeks to be emancipatory. A fourth aspect of critical theory that Gibson (1986) has omitted is that of power relations in education.

The criticism that is mounted on education is that it contains the elements of 'inequalities', and 'asymmetrical power relations'. Critical theorists focus on the inequalities in education and take this as injustices and bad practices in the educational system (see Giroux, 1983; Gibson, 1986; Darder, Baltodano & Torres, 2003; McLaren, 2003). To substantiate this assertion they question why certain minority groups perform less well educationally than middle class pupils or mainstream groups. These inequalities seem to persist over time. Critical theorists also focus on the inequalities of wealth, power, income, prestige and opportunities in society at large (Gibson, 1986; Giroux, 1998; McLaren 2003). In this tradition, schooling is examined as a form of cultural politics. It represents forms of social life and is implicated in relations of power, social practice, and the privileging of forms of knowledge that supports a specific vision of the past, present and future. The cultural politics of the school "historically and culturally inculcate a meritocratic, professional ideology, rationalizing knowledge into class-divided tiers; reproduce inequality, racism, and sexism; and fragment democratic social relations through an emphasis of competitiveness, androcentrism and cultural ethnocentrism" (McLaren, 1995: 30).

Theorists within the critical tradition blame the failure of the liberal ideology for the persistence of inequalities in society and education. Liberal ideology is premised on the assumption that education is not only a good thing in itself, but it will work positively for the eradication of inequalities in society. Critical theorists challenge this so-called common sense assumption on the grounds that the persistence of inequalities in society and in education is an indication that these promises cannot be fulfilled.

In recent times the globalisation of labour and capital underpinned by neo-liberalism, together with technological innovations, the advent of the internet and cheap satellite communications, have deepened inequalities between rich and poor countries, and within countries. McLaren (2003: 152) describes the phenomenon of globalisation as the "cannibalisation of the social and the political by the economy". The dictatorship of the free market ensures that corporate risk is protected (through public subsidization for private wealth) while benefits are privatized (through the accumulation of personal assets). Welfare for the poor (oppressed) has been replaced by subsidies to capital. The political ideology of neo-liberalism legitimizes the suppression of labour income and has diluted the power of labour unions in different parts of the world. Another phenomenon of globalisation is the casualisation of labour, resulting in lack of health care and pension benefits. The poor are dehumanized, and sleeping in cardboard boxes and eating from dumps have become a part of the global landscape (ibid). Poverty has become one of the main exclusionary factors in the education of learners especially in the poor and developing countries.

Another concern of critical theorists is to show how the education system maintains and reinforces inequalities (Gibson, 1986: 46). The causes of failure and under-achievement are blamed on the system and not located within the victim. The root causes are held to be matters of social structure and processes rather than individual psychology or genetic inheritance (Fulcher, 1989).

This catalogue of indictments may anger or frustrate many in the education profession who are committed to good practice and goodwill to their students. There is no doubt that

many in the education profession are committed to good practice and goodwill to their students. But 'good practice' is culturally constructed and could be embedded in an ideology that may not be of benefit to certain learners. Critical pedagogy endeavours to uncover these ideologies and is thus committed to the development and evolution of a culture of schooling that supports the culturally marginalised and economically disenfranchised (Darder et al, 2003). This pedagogical perspective seeks to help transform those classroom structures and practices that perpetuate undemocratic life.

The concepts of ideology and hegemony are important concepts in critical theory and need explanation at this juncture. Why are these concepts important to this study? The notion of ideology provides a means of critiquing educational policy, curricula, texts, and practices and the ethics that inform their production. Moreover, as a pedagogical tool, ideology can be used to interrogate the contradictions that exist between the mainstream culture of the school and the lived experiences and knowledge that students use to mediate the reality of school life.

Ideology can be understood as the framework of thought that is used in society to give order and meaning to the social and political world in which we live (Apple, 1990; McLaren, 2003). In other words ideology can be described as the production of sense and meaning or as a way of viewing the world. Ideology refers to the production and representation of ideas, values, beliefs and fundamental commitments or values about reality and the manner in which they are expressed and lived out by both individuals and groups. It is to be understood as existing at the deep, embedded psychological structures of the personality (McLaren, 2003: 79). Ideology can also take the form of various types of social practices, rituals and representations that we come to accept as natural and common sense.

According to Apple (1990: 21), ideology has three distinctive features. For the purposes of this study I will examine two of the three distinctive features, namely, 'legitimation' and 'power conflict'. These two features of ideology can be used as tools for analyzing inequalities in this study. Ideology is concerned with legitimation, which means the

justification of group action and its social acceptance. This is seen when people try to rationalize about their vested interests or attempt to maintain a particular social role or defend or justify a particular belief. Ideology can be linked to conflicts between people holding or seeking power. Power conflict is always involved in ideological disputes whether or not those involved acknowledge that dimension.

The Gramscian concept, hegemony refers to the process of social control that is carried out through the moral and intellectual leadership of a dominant sociocultural class over subordinate groups (McLaren, 2003). Hegemony refers to the maintenance of dominance not by the "exercise of force but primarily through consensual social practice, social forms, and social structures produced in specific sites such as the church, state, the school, the mass media, the political system, and the family" (McLaren, 2003: 76). Social practices refers to what people say and do e.g. words, gestures, signs and rituals, and social forms refers to the principles that provide and give legitimacy to specific social practices. Social structures refer to the constraints that limit the individual's life and appear to be beyond the individual's control. The source of this control resides in the power relations that govern society. Hegemony is the struggle in which the powerful win the consent of those who are oppressed, with the oppressed unknowingly participating in their own oppression. Hegemony is prevalent in many classrooms where students do not question the values, attitudes, and social practices of the teacher who may hail from the dominant class. The teacher does not teach the students to question the dominant practices of the teacher. Schools act as agents of cultural and ideological hegemony (Apple, 1990: 6). The dominant culture ensures that subordinated groups who fail at school or who don't make it into the world of the 'rich and famous' will view such failure in terms of personal inadequacy or the 'luck of the draw' (McLaren, 2003: 76). The oppressed blame themselves for school failure, a failure that can certainly be additionally attributed to the structuring effects of the economy and the class-based division of labour (McLaren, 2003: 77).

The hegemony of globalisation and its impact on economic and educational policy in South Africa will be examined in the next chapter. In Section 2.3.3 I provide evidence

from literature that shows how the school and the curriculum of the dominant class construct inequalities.

2.3.3 Should Experts have the Power to Categorise or Construct?

In the above discussion I used the critical lens to examine inequalities in education. I now endeavour to use the postmodern notions of discourse, power and knowledge to examine how individuals are constructed as social subjects and categorized as deviants. The postmodern lens also helped me to understand the ambiguities, dualities complexities and uncertainties that emerged in my fieldwork and data analysis. According to Lather (1991: 23), the movement that debunked the myths on truth, objectivity and certainty and replaced these concepts with 'regimes of truth' and the deconstruction of the binary, linear logics of Western rationality, and a foregrounding of ambiguity, openness and contingency, came to be characterized with the term 'postmodern' in the United States and 'poststructural' more globally. According to Moss (2000: 2) poststructuralism is linked to the French philosophers Derrida and Foucault whilst postmodernism draws from the works of Lyotard and the sociologist Baudrillard. To endeavour to define postmodernism is a 'slippery business' given the postmodern tenet that any effort at definition is not so much description as inscription (Lather, 1991: 19). Postmodernism encompasses various positions and perhaps it is more accurate to talk of postmodernisms rather than postmodernism. Postmodernisms are responses to the contemporary crisis of representation, the uncertainty about what constitutes an adequate depiction of social reality (ibid: 21). The essence of postmodern argument is that dualisms, which continue to dominate Western thought, are inadequate for understanding a world of multiple causes and effects interacting in complex non-linear ways, all of which are rooted in historical and cultural specificities.

Foucault demonstrates how individuals are constructed as social subjects, knowable through disciplines and discourses (Allan, Brown & Riddle, 1998). Discourses construct individuals in two senses: as subject to someone else, through control and restraint and as a subject tied to their own identity by their self-knowledge (ibid: 26). Embedded within

discourses are complex power/knowledge relationships and a disciplinary technique, for example the medical gaze, which serves to construct the patient or the madman. This medical gaze can be seen operating in the context of the child with 'special educational needs'. The gaze or surveillance is everywhere. One of the mechanisms of surveillance is hierarchical observation, which "constructs a perfect gaze making it possible to see everything perfectly" (Allan et al, 1998: 26). Children experiencing disability or educational failure are under constant surveillance by professionals who have the power to categorise the individual and attach him/her to his/her own identity and impose a law of truth on him/her. This power subjugates the individual (Allan et al, 1998: 27). However, Foucault's use of power and knowledge extends the notion of power and knowledge beyond its conventional use by social theorists (McLaren, 2003). For Foucault, power comes from everywhere, from above and below and is inextricably embedded in the microrelations of dominance and resistance (Mclaren, 2003: 83). Thus even the subjugated have the agency (power) to resist. This last point has tremendous value for pedagogy as through human agency transformation in the classroom can be accomplished.

According to Rossouw (1995: 50), Foucault's main contribution is his analysis of normalizing tendencies in modern democracies. One effect of normalization is that it produces the abnormal, the other, or that which does not fit. People who do not fit the norm are regarded as something to be corrected, eliminated, punished or integrated. The multidisciplinary assessment or examination allows professionals to differentiate or judge the children. It classifies them as cases, which may be trained or corrected, classified, normalized or excluded (Allan et al, 1998: 27).

2.4 Trends in Inclusive Education Provisioning: Locally and Internationally

The reform proposals expounded by the inclusion proponents vary according to the positions they take on the issues of inclusion. Skrtic (1995) has identified four types of reform proposals in the USA. According to Skrtic all four groups have similarities and differences in their proposals. Their points of agreement are as follows:

- *The scrapping of all classification systems and pull-out approach associated with the mainstreaming model.*
- *Restructuring the general and special education systems into a new system in which students who need help in schools are provided with in class assistance.*
- *This restructured system is flexible, supple and responsive.*
- *A totally adaptive system in which professionals personalize instruction through group problem solving, shared responsibility and negotiation.*

Pigl, Meijer and Hegarty (1997) identified three models of special needs education in the eight Northern countries they studied:

- *The two-track countries that segregate special needs children from mainstream children (Belgium, West Germany and Netherlands).*
- *The one-track countries that emphasizes education for all students in regular classrooms (Italy and Sweden).*
- *The countries that offer a flexible system of education to special needs students where financial support is given in separate or integrated situations (Denmark and USA with England, representing a mixture of one track and two track systems).*

In looking at educational provisioning in different countries of the North, it could be said that only Sweden and Italy follow a single education system for all students in the regular classroom. The other countries either follow a dual system or flexible system. Although there is a strong theoretical argument for inclusive education and the concept has been around for almost twenty years, countries have still opted for a dual or flexible model of education. It seems that philosophical thought has outpaced practice.

Proponents of inclusive education also differ as to what should be merged or integrated. There seems to be two major camps in this regard: those that call for the merger of

special and regular education as one unified system providing education for all pupils and providing the same curriculum for all pupils, while the other camp calls for the merger of all resources and support systems to support special needs students in the regular school, where support can be given to the child within the regular class or outside the regular class. I have placed these proposals in two broad categories but the details and nuts and bolts of how they operate differ from country to country and within countries.

Slee & Weiner (2001: 94) are critical of researchers and practitioners who assume the discourses and sites of inclusive education but still sustain old assumptions about students' 'pathological defects', models of professional practice, and see the necessity of enabling 'defective individuals' to be supported in existing school structures. These inclusionists accept the artifacts of measurable intelligence and describe educational failure in terms of individual shortcomings. Their main aim is to support 'special needs' learners as they struggle to adapt to the demands of traditional schools. According to Slee and Weiner (ibid), this group of researchers or practitioners are on a quest for normalization of students which is an assimilationists imperative.

Some researchers on the other hand have refuted the epistemological foundations of special education as it struggles for new arrangements for educational provisioning (Barton 1997; Ainscow, 1999; Slee, 2000). The challenge for these researchers is to suggest new approaches to curriculum, pedagogy, and school organization consistent with an education designed for all learners.

Thus far I have explored educational reform in the countries of the North. I will now explore inclusive education initiatives in a few Southern African countries. I draw extensively from a UNESCO report (2002). During 5-9 November 2001, UNESCO conducted a sub-region workshop on inclusive education for Southern African states. Eight Southern African countries (Botswana, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe) participated in this workshop. One of the objectives of the workshop was the sharing of experiences, of how countries were responding to diversity and by sharing these experiences to see what lessons could be

learnt. The presentation of the UNESCO framework of inclusive education posed participants with a challenging view of the concept, which goes beyond the discourse of 'special needs education' to a wider definition within the framework of social inclusion (UNESCO, 2002: 12).

From the reports presented by the eight Southern African countries, it seems that there is a wide range in their conception of inclusive education. Some countries still see inclusive education in terms of special needs education. For example, Namibia and Zimbabwe's reports reflect a segregated education system for learners with 'special needs' (see UNESCO, Harare, 2002). In contrast, the report presented by South Africa reflects a conception of inclusive education in the broader sphere of education for diversity or 'education for all'. According to the South African report, inclusive education is located in the dialogue of social inclusion and exclusion (ibid). The South African education policy as enunciated in Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System, will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

According to the report (UNESCO, 2002), several issues related to policy formulation, implementation and practice emerged from the workshop: Structural problems seem to hinder the development of inclusive education in several countries. Poverty, social problems, lack of resources or limited resources has hindered the implementation of policies to include all learners. One of the greatest challenges in Southern Africa is the shortage of resources especially in the rural areas where unemployment and poverty are perennial problems. Many in the rural areas have limited access to quality education. Poverty and health related issues appear to hinder participation in schooling.

With respect to resources, it was noted that resources per se would not change the system. Participants suggested that one of the ways of addressing the problem of resources is for schools to share existing resources. The idea of resource centres and full service schools where resources and expertise are centralized in focal points of access for surrounding schools was discussed by participants.

The role of educators in implementing inclusive education is a key factor. In terms of human resources, large numbers of educators are under-qualified or unqualified. Those educators that are qualified require in-service training to enhance their skills to respond to the increasing diversity of learners. Pre-service education and training of teachers to develop their repertoire of skills to effectively teach the wide diversity of learners has to be addressed.

It was found that emerging knowledge from the pilot projects on inclusive education in Southern Africa could be used to inform the transformation to inclusive schools.

The findings from the workshops indicate that despite good intentions and political will, there is still a lot of work to be done at grassroots level to empower educators and communities to accept responsibility of educational change. The lesson learnt is that in order to achieve sustainable change, countries have to invest in human capital development through capacity building, training and support for educators, learners and communities. Moreover, educators need to become reflective practitioners and shift from the view that teaching is simply a transmission of knowledge. The idea of being reflective practitioners is also relevant to understand the nature of diversity and the extent to which one's own values, traditions and beliefs may facilitate or hinder the inclusion of learners in the classroom.

Despite consensus on rights and entitlement provided by legislation, discriminatory attitudes still exclude certain groups of learners. Educational inclusion of marginalized groups has become a priority in the Southern African countries. However, it was found that countries have to reconceptualise their policy and practice in order to cater for diversity in the classroom.

Reflecting on and examining practice was found to be a way of changing attitudes and understanding and valuing diversity. Much needs to be done in raising awareness of children's rights and involving all stakeholders in education. Children's lives in the sub-region are still affected by political, social and economic factors, which may act as

exclusionary mechanisms. In this regard, the role of government is seen as critical in promoting awareness of children's rights.

The issue of accountability of educators was examined to make educators more aware of their role in the process of inclusion and exclusion of learners. It was noted that in most Southern African countries, access to quality education is limited, by geographical location. In most rural areas and distant locations where resources are limited learners have to walk great distances to school. Educators in these areas are isolated from support and have to make many decisions or do what they feel is appropriate for the learners. In some instances these decisions may not be appropriate for their learners. Educational systems should therefore promote strategies to raise the awareness of educators of their crucial role in their school communities. The role of governing bodies and the community was raised as a way of making teachers more accountable and uplifting schools.

An important issue that was raised was the use of discriminatory language and terminology that are used by some educators. Categories and labels are still being used to classify learners. The use of a language that values diversity was considered as an important way forward towards achieving greater inclusion in the Southern African countries. In searching for a local language of inclusion, participants suggested that discussions should be promoted around what inclusive education means to the local communities. In this way an agreed understanding and meaning can be reached in line with local norms and tradition and current international developments.

It was found that a great barrier to inclusion appears to be rigid curricula, which are prescriptive in nature and based heavily on content. To address the needs of a diverse group of learners, the curricula ought to be flexible in terms of outcomes, content, differentiation and objectives. The curriculum needs to be made relevant to the learner and the community. Also, teachers need to use a child-centered approach in their teaching methodology to meet the needs of all learners.

Gauging from this UNESCO (2002) report it could be concluded that although the Southern African countries have made some progress towards inclusive education there are enormous challenges facing these countries. Poverty, lack of resources, human capital development and discriminatory attitudes are huge challenges facing these countries. Political will and the collaboration of all stakeholders in education could help to reduce the exclusion of learners from education.

Having briefly explored developments towards inclusive educational systems in the North and the South, I will attempt to now explore practices and ideas that seem to promote the transformation of schools towards increasing inclusion and decreasing exclusion.

2.5 Inclusion and Reconstructing Schooling

Slee (2001a), Ainscow (1999), and Booth (1998) argue that the inclusion agenda should seek to reform or improve schools to provide quality education for all learners. Inclusion is a movement towards a democratic education and as such the project of inclusion addresses the experiences of all students at school (Slee, 2001a: 168). In line with this thinking, I examine how schools can be changed or improved or made more effective to provide quality education for all learners. The notions of the 'school as a learning organization literature', 'school effectiveness', 'school improvement', 'building social and human capital' and 'a curriculum for all' will be examined as ways of changing schools.

2.5.1 Inclusive Schools as Learning Organizations

2.5.1.1 Introduction

What kinds of organizations survive or thrive in conditions of extreme complexity, uncertainty and constant change? What kinds of organizations survive when roles are

blurred, where there is constant movement of personnel, where there is staff rationalization because of fiscal austerity, where the impact of globalisation has reduced government social spending and consequently increased poverty? I pose these questions because these are some of the issues that emerged in the 'project' that I investigated. Hargreaves (1994: 64) provides possible answers to these questions. He states that the postmodern organization is characterized by networks, alliances, tasks and projects rather than by relatively stable roles and responsibilities, which are assigned by function and department, and regulated by hierarchical supervision. The kinds of organizations most likely to prosper in postindustrial, postmodern world, it is argued, are ones that are characterized by flexibility, adaptability, creativity, collaboration, continuous improvement, a positive orientation towards problem solving, and commitment to maximizing their capacity to learn about their environment and themselves (ibid, 63). The 'learning organization' is perhaps one of the organizational types that can adapt to the demands of the postmodern world.

According to Datnow, Hubbard and Mehan (1998: 2), who write in the context of California, USA; organizational models of school improvement that developed in reaction to the technical-rational models do not suffice in providing an understanding of school reform implementation. Because their focus is on school-level strategies for self-renewal and improvement, organizational models downplay the actions that initiated the reform and governmental, community, and district actions that occurred away from the school before it attempted the rejuvenation and renewal. This criticism is acknowledged if studies of school reform or transformation focus only on the school and exclude the impact of outside forces on the school. This study examines the school as an organization but also examines outside forces, for example, the District, Provincial and National Departments of Education, the school community, and the psychosocial and socio-economic forces that impact on the school.

2.5.1.2 The Learning School

Learning is a lifelong "disposition to dialogue...with [our] human, social, biological and physical environment" (Visser, 2001: 4). The word dialogue is important as it involves a two way rather than an individualistic process of learning. As individuals as well as a collective in society, we engage in that dialogue to allow us to interact constructively with change. The definition that Visser offers, transcends individual learning and includes the social in that it does not focus on learning by isolated individuals. Moreover, learning as a "disposition to dialogue" indicates a conscious effort to engage constructively in ones changing environment. Visser's definition of learning is useful for this study as I examine the learning school and learning communities within the context of collaborative learning and collaborative partnerships as they engage with changing contexts (ibid).

One of the ways to bring about change in schools is to develop schools as learning organizations (Senge, 1990; Davidoff & Lazarus 1997; Clarke, 2000). Learning organizations are organizations where people continually expand their capacity to create results they truly desire; new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured; collective aspirations are set free; where people are continually learning together (Senge, 1999: 33; Stoll & Fink, 1999: 150-151). In other words a learning organization is an organization that learns or an organization that encourages learning in its people (Handy, 1991).

Senge (1990) locates five disciplines that are essential to the understanding of organizations. Discipline in this sense means a body of theory and technique that must be studied, and mastered and put into practice (Senge, 1999: 37). To practise a discipline is to be a lifelong learner. The pace at which the world environment is changing necessitates that everyone at any age, is in need of learning and continuous development of the capacity to learn (Visser, 2001). Learning organizations never arrive, they are always in the process of learning (Senge, 1999: 37). Senge's, (1999) five disciplines are: systemic thinking, personal mastery, changing mental models, development of a common vision, and team learning. Systemic thinking is the key discipline. It helps us to

understand things in context, to understand the whole pattern and not just the parts of the whole. One has to see the whole picture, not just parts of the picture.

Senge (1990) sees the development of the person or personal mastery as a prerequisite for the development of a sound organization. Personal mastery is the development of the ability to clarify and broaden one's vision, focus one's energy, develop patience and take an objective look at reality. His concept of personal mastery seems to suggest a closed or finite set of skills that one should develop in order to contribute effectively in an organization. From a postmodern perspective, one would ask if it is possible to look at reality objectively. A much broader notion is that of 'teachers as learners' (see Stoll & Fink, 1999). This notion suggests an ongoing process of learning or lifelong learning. A crucial contributor to pupils' learning is teacher learning. According to Stoll and Fink (1999: 152) when teachers are professionally fulfilled, demonstrate job satisfaction, skills and knowledge and are confident about their practice, they are more likely to motivate pupils to want to learn. The teachers' professional growth impact on pupils' learning. Life long learning among teachers is essential in creating schools as learning organizations. Senge's (1990) notion of personal mastery is similar to the notion of capacity building or human resource development; the idea is that personal or individual development will benefit the development of the whole organization or community.

Mental models or images are deeply established conceptions, generalizations, hypotheses and assumptions that we have which colour our understanding of the world. These mental models influence our way of thinking and can hinder us from, for example, choosing new alternatives for development. Changing mental models is no easy task and failure to change can create obstacles for growth and development of the organization. The concept of changing mental models or changing attitudes is important for this study as this study is concerned with systemic transformation. In order to effect systemic transformation, mental models or established conceptions, fixed attitudes and assumptions need to be changed.

The development of a common vision is seen as essential for the success of organizations (Senge, 1990). Working together in developing a common integrated goal or image for the future in an open transparent manner is important for the organization. As will be discussed later, working together or collaboratively is not easy.

Team learning is another discipline that Senge (199:36) recommends for building effective organizations. The concept of team learning is the same as working collaboratively or cooperatively. Team learning involves members of a team casting aside their own mental images and to think together. Free exchange of opinions in group work enables the group to discover new insights that no individual acting alone could achieve. As will be revealed in my data analysis, team work or working collaboratively in partnerships is an effective way of developing inclusive schools and communities.

According to Dalin (1998), Senge's recommendations are not based on empirical evidence (despite the fact that he provides many examples from companies). Some of Senge's (1990) concepts seem contradictory. He talks of all of us having mental models (subjective perceptions of reality), while he advocates that one should take an objective look at reality in order to make the organization successful. However, some of Senge's concepts resonate with the concepts of collaborative teaching, personal or staff development, having shared vision for the success of the school, changing attitudes to embrace change, and the whole being more than the sum of its parts.

Using the notion of 'the school as a learning organization', Davidoff and Lazarus (1997) take the perspective that schools are living systems that are made of interdependent parts and that a problem in one aspect of the organization will affect the entire organization. Organizations are not static but have a life of their own and change must involve whole school development. Using the cultural frame, they see many invisible dynamics that occur below the surface, like differing perceptions and conflicts. If people in the schools do not shift their attitudes and behaviours very little change can be anticipated (Davidoff & Lazarus, 1997: xviii). However, they hasten to add that changing people is not enough; the structures inside and outside the school need to change in order to support the people

within the schools. They declare that change is non-linear; it takes time, is unpredictable and can be very threatening for some people.

2.5.1.3 The Adhocratic school

Skrtic (1995) is critical of the new movements in school reform in that they seem to adopt, a monological perspective frame of reference. Educational difficulty is treated as a technical issue, and consequently methodological and mechanistic solutions are formulated to deal with issues of learning difficulty and exclusion (Skrtic, 1995; Ainscow, 1998). Contextual realities are not taken into account, while a search is made for the right teaching methods, strategies or packaged material. Ainscow (1998) acknowledges that appropriate teaching methods or strategies are useful, but argues that systematic use of particular methods in themselves will not generate successful learning, especially when one considers the historically disadvantaged and those who were excluded from school. Both these authors use the structural and cultural frames of reference to deconstruct schools as an organization and make recommendations (see Skrtic, 1995; Ainscow, 1998). Both authors argue that schools become problem solving institutions to meet the demands of diversity.

Skrtic (1995: 763) finds that both the proponents and opponents of the inclusion debate are at odds over an appropriate course of ameliorative action because they disagree about 'special education' and progress. This disagreement stems from the fact that the field of 'special education' is still grounded in the functionalist theory of organizational rationality. Although inclusionists reject functionalism, they still retain the assumptions that schools operate as rational organizations. If we premise change in schools on the assumption that schools operate as professional bureaucracies, then no meaningful change will occur because professional bureaucracies operate on the principal of standardization. In other words, professionals will continue to use standardized practice for new or unusual situations. Skrtic proposes that schools become adhocracies. Adhocracies are premised on the principle of innovation rather than standardization and they invent new practices. They are organizational forms that configure itself around

work that is ambiguous and uncertain, and that initially the knowledge and skills for doing it are completely unknown.

At the outset, no one can be sure exactly what needs to be done. That knowledge develops as the work unfolds... [And so] the success of the undertaking depends primarily on the ability of the [workers] to adapt to each other along their uncharted route (Mintzberg, 1979: 3 cited in Skrtic, 1995).

Mintzberg (ibid) goes on to explain that these organizations are described as organic structures because they operate in dynamic environments and uncertain conditions in which innovation and adaptation are necessary for survival. These organizations configure themselves as the inverse to the bureaucratic form. During times of uncertainty, workers set aside specialization and professionalisation and work as a team to invent practices or solutions to problems on an ad hoc basis. Division of labour is premised on collaboration and mutual adjustment. Collaboration, teamwork and communication and co-operation become necessary to find solutions to problems. However, once problems are solved, methods and practices become standardized and adhocracies transform into professional bureaucracies. The difference between the two is that the adhocracy endeavours to find novel solutions to problems while the professional bureaucracy sticks to standardized practices and pigeonholes problems to fit known practices (Mintzberg, 1979 cited in Skrtic, 1995).

Clark et al (1998: 164) criticise Skrtic's notion of the adhocratic school as having no empirical base as there are no studies of actual schools that use this method to become inclusive. They criticise him on the grounds that he uses a logical "*tour de force*" to explain the notion of bureaucracy and equity and not through the actual study of schools (ibid). They go on to assert that his arguments are not that adhocratic schools are in practice equitable but they must by definition be so. Clark et al (1998: 165) are also critical of the notion of practitioner and organizational problem solving. They claim that there is no empirical evidence that practitioners who work together in a collaborative way will escape their preconceptions and solve the problems at schools. In addition they seem to hold the view that some problems are fundamentally unsolvable. Another point of

criticism is that those working within the organizational paradigm offer solutions and proposals that are not clearly located within specific contexts (Clark et al, 1998: 165). I find this last criticism unfounded as both Skrtic (1995) and Ainscow (1998) make reference to the cultural frame of reference to emphasise the need to take into consideration cultural and local contexts.

Skrtic's notion of the adhocratic school can be placed in the category of the 'learning school' as learning schools are problem solving schools. However, the difference is that while the adhocratic school solves problems on an ad hoc basis the learning school seeks continuous development and innovations. How do I see this notion of the adhocratic school in helping to bring about educational change? There is a worldwide call for educational institutions to include a diverse group of students in regular schools, as reflected in the Salamanca Statement. This has caused turbulence in schools where teachers and educational authorities grapple on how to support diversity. Old standardized methods and school structures seem inadequate in these dynamic times. Do we continue to use the standardized methods of professional bureaucracies or do we opt for innovative practices? Perhaps the organizational paradigm may not be a panacea to address all the problems in implementing inclusive education in schools, but it can go a long way in tackling many of the issues concerning diversity.

2.5.2 Inclusion, Effective Schools and School Improvement

I use the school effectiveness and school improvement research to argue that findings from these genres can contribute towards developing inclusive schools and cultures. I acknowledge the criticisms mounted on the school effectiveness research. In this section, I first present what is meant by school effectiveness. I then give reasons why there is a call for a merger of the school effectiveness and school improvement research genres. I present the criticisms of the school effectiveness research and finally I use findings from the school effectiveness and school improvement research to argue that these findings can be used to improve or develop inclusive schools.

What is meant by school effectiveness? According to OECD reports, there is no common definition of school effectiveness across member countries (Stoll & Fink, 1999: 26). One simplistic definition of effectiveness is the production of a desired outcome or result. The question is, desired by whom? What educators perceive as important outcomes for a school may differ from what pupils, parents or the community perceive as desired outcomes. There may also be differing views on effectiveness. If a shared definition cannot be achieved, how can effectiveness be determined?

School effectiveness researchers aim to find out whether differences in resources, processes and organizational arrangements affect pupil outcomes, and if so in what way. School effectiveness is not simply defined in terms of the quality in outcomes. According to Stoll and Fink (1999: 27) some researchers blend quality and equity in their descriptions of school effectiveness. An underlying belief of the school effectiveness movement is that all children can learn. This is where I see the link with this movement and the inclusion agenda. The notion that the school must change or be improved or be made more effective so that all learners can learn, is the point at which the inclusion movement, the school effectiveness and the school improvement movement intersect. Findings from these studies can inform my study of how schools engage with educational change to a new policy of inclusive education.

Winch (1997) argues that what constitutes the effective school is not sufficiently theorized. School effectiveness research seems to have not engaged sufficiently on the controversies about education policies that shape school processes and outcomes. For example, if students do well in paper and pencil tests in English, Mathematics and Reasoning skills then we can safely announce that this is an effective school. Slee and Weiner (2001:89) claim that what constitutes knowledge and the instruments used to measure children's achievements is a site for cultural politics within the school effectiveness genre.

Ball (1998: 74) argues that school effectiveness research is epistemologically situated within a management discourse, takes the notion of 'effective' as a given and fails to acknowledge its ideological commitment to the status quo:

Management theories as modes of objectification place human beings as subjects to be managed. This is a "discourse of right" which legitimates the exercise of authority. Its primary instrument is a hierarchy of continuous and functional surveillance.

School effectiveness research has placed the school as a primary cause of student outcomes and this has provided a basis for criticism and inspection of schools. This research has developed a taxonomy of about eleven or twelve characteristics of school effectiveness (Slee & Weiner, 2001). This taxonomy of characteristics is often used for school inspections and evaluations. The major criticism of this taxonomy is that it is applied as generic to all schools with little regard for gender, race, social class, disadvantaged schools and schools in poorer areas (Morley & Rassool, 1999).

While many of these criticisms are valid, I nonetheless explored some of the findings of this genre of research in the school that I investigated. This school was one of thirteen in a development project for the implementation of inclusive education. The question I pondered on was what made this school show more possibilities for educational change than other schools in the project. However, I wish to state that there are no simple solutions to the complexities within schools and I used the findings selectively, taking cognizance of local contexts.

Reynolds and Stoll (1997) argue for a merger of 'school effectiveness' and 'school improvement' research. Their rationale is that school effectiveness research can inform school improvement. The findings from both paradigms can be used to empower and support teachers in their growth towards effectiveness. From my study of the literature, I gleaned that there are certain common findings from both the school effectiveness research and school improvement research. These are discussed later in the chapter.

Researchers of the 'effective schools' literature as well as the 'school improvement' literature have identified certain conditions that promote reform or change in schools (see Caldwell & Spinks, 1993; Levin & Lockheed, 1993; Reynolds & Stoll, 1997; Stoll & Fink, 1999). The following conditions, among others, are important in fostering school effectiveness, development and change:

- Effective leadership, not only by the head teacher but spread through out the school.
- Involvement of staff, students and community in school policies and decisions.
- A commitment to collaborative planning.
- Effective co-ordination strategies.
- Attention to the potential benefits of enquiry and reflection.
- A policy of staff development (ibid).

Davidoff and Lazarus (1997), who have also been engaged in school improvement in South African schools, have identified similar conditions that promote whole school development and change. They add that there is no blueprint for change but stress the need for local contexts to be considered. Change is a journey, not a blueprint (Fullan & Miles, 1999: 79). Restructuring and reforms are multifaceted and complex and solutions for particular contexts cannot be known in advance. Thus a journey to the partially known or unknown is an apt metaphor to describe educational change. In the next section I examine in greater detail the conditions (noted above) that promote reform or change in schools.

2.5.2.1 Leadership

There is considerable evidence that leadership in schools is the key element in bringing about changes in school policy (see Fullan, 1992; Caldwell, 1993, Levin & Lockheed, 1993; Ainscow, 1995 & 1997; Davidoff & Lazarus, 1997; 1999; Wolger, 1999). However, Leithwood et al (1999: 4) caution that there is no final word on what is good leadership, as we are trying to hit a moving target. As contexts and times change, there

are different demands on leadership. Hence new forms of leadership evolve. Also, in different countries there are different leadership challenges. For example, Sterling and Davidoff (2000: 3-4) state that there are various challenges to those in leadership positions in many South African schools. These schools are in the process of reconstruction and change after decades of apartheid rule. There is a lot of despondency, frustration and demotivation among teachers. The socio-economic conditions in South Africa impact in various ways on the school. Poverty and its concomitant social problems in some areas add to the teaching load. For people in leadership positions, these conditions pose enormous challenges.

Currently, as schools are more complex and experience constant change, there is a call for a change in leadership style from a "transactional" approach, which maintains traditional (bureaucratic) concepts of hierarchy and control to a "transformational approach", which distributes power and empowers people. Transformational leadership is a leadership style of choice in unstable and uncertain times (Stoll & Fink, 1999: 106). This leadership style is more concerned with gaining cooperation and participation by members than being task oriented. Effective leadership requires an approach to transform the feelings, attitudes, and beliefs of their followers. According to Leithwood et al (1999: 9), transformational leadership assumes that the central focus of leadership ought to be the commitments and capacities of organizational members. Higher commitment to organizational goals and greater capacities for reaching these goals are assumed to result in greater productivity. The following are key aspects of leadership roles that are gleaned from the authors mentioned.

The leadership within the school should understand that leadership is not the sole prerogative of the senior management. Leadership functions should be shared through out the staff. Leaders should establish a clear vision for the school and the individuality of all persons should be respected and encouraged. The vision should be a shared vision developed with and by the staff.

The knowledge, skills and experience of staff should be well harnessed and the best team for the job should be utilized even though this goes against traditional hierarchy. The point made here is that leadership that stems from knowledge and experience is far more successful than leadership that stems from authority.

The way leadership is used in the group and team meetings for problem solving is important. Leadership should guard against over-cohesiveness (groupthink) at the expense of individual critical thinking.

Good leaders need to have passion, enthusiasm and commitment (Davidoff & Lazarus, 1999: 64). They need to be perceptive so that they need to know "when to push, when to hold back; when to direct, when to let go; when to confront and when to leave the situation unchallenged" (ibid). To be perceptive means to be sensitive to the moods of others, to their needs and to organizational priorities.

Self-awareness is an important characteristic of good leaders. It indicates the ability to appreciate one's own limitations while recognizing one's strengths, so that one can draw upon one's own resources while giving others the opportunity to use their abilities (Novotny & Tye, 1973 in Dalin, 1998: 81).

Other characteristics gleaned from the literature include the following: creating a productive school culture; building school vision; establishing school goals and, developing structures to foster participation in decision making (Davidoff & Lazarus, 1997, 1999; Fullan, 1992; Hopkins et al 1996; Leithwood et al, 1999).

Since the transformational leadership style requires a common vision, empowering all members of the organization, fostering participation and sharing decision making, working collaboratively and fostering collaboration among all members of the organization becomes a necessity. In the following section I examine the notions collaboration and collegiality and their role in school effectiveness and improvement.

2.5.2.2 Collaboration/Cooperation/ Learning Together/ Collegiality

Individualism, isolation or privatism, was traditionally the culture of teaching in the modern world. In the fields of school improvement, staff development and educational change, individualism has come to be regarded as heresy (Hargreaves, 1994: 164). The qualities and characteristics that fall under the label individualism, isolation and privatism are widely perceived as threats to professional development, the implementation of change and the development of shared educational goals. Hargreaves points out that individualism is not always negative: in some groups the word can connote the autonomy of the teacher. What one group might regard as teacher isolation, another might regard as teacher autonomy, teacher privacy or self-development. However, in terms of having a shared vision, working towards a common goal, working towards change or school improvement, collaboration or collegiality is important. Visser (2001) argues for a balance between individuality and social connectedness. He observes that in the past century the focus on intellectual development was on the lone seeker of knowledge. He contends that the shift in focus in the twenty first century calls for learning around the notions of sustained collaboration and dynamically evolving dialectic relationships between individuals and communities.

Collaboration and collegiality can take the form of, *inter alia*, team teaching, collaborative planning, peer coaching, mentor relationships, professional dialogue and action research. More informally they can take the form of staff room talk, conversations outside the classroom, help and advice, and sharing of resources. All these activities involve working together and talking together. Collaboration and collegiality have been criticised because they can take on different forms with different meanings according to different people. On the flip side they also have been presented as having many benefits. Collaboration, it is argued, takes teacher development beyond personal, individual reflection, or the dependence on outside experts, to a situation where teachers learn from one another, and share and develop their expertise (Hargreaves, 1994: 186). The sharing and support that comes with collaboration and collegiality fosters confidence among colleagues and leads to a greater willingness to experiment and take risks. This is a

crucial plank that could be used in teacher development and school improvement. Collaboration is not only seen as important for internally generated school improvement but also as a way of implementing externally generated change (see, Hopkins, Ainscow & West, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994; Stoll & Fink, 1999). Thus the concept can be used for policy implementation from the outside and at the same improve schools from within.

Research by Ainscow (1995), Udvari-Solner et al (1995) and Daniel et al (2000), indicate that collaborative planning and team teaching in schools support inclusive practices and problem solving. From the literature it seems that collaboration/cooperation/peer coaching among teachers are similar concepts with similar goals. These concepts are used for the professional development of teachers and problem solving. Peer coaching is a process of teachers helping teachers to reflect on present practices, learn new skills and solve classroom-related problems through mutual goal setting, classroom observation and feedback sessions (Dalton & Moir, 1991; Galbraith & Aniston, 1995; Ainscow, 1999).

Lam, Yim and Lam (2002: 183) state that in the past fifteen years literature from the West has been advocating collaboration, peer coaching, collegiality, partnerships and similar approaches. The authors, drawing from their research in Hong Kong, caution against the optimism attached to collaboration. The criticism is that induced or contrived collaboration may not work because it is not a naturally occurring process. Many teachers work in a culture of isolation. To change this culture of isolation, collaboration should not be contrived. Hargreaves (1994) distinguishes contrived collegiality from collaborative cultures. Contrived collegiality is administratively regulated, compulsory, implementation-oriented, fixed in time and place, and predictable. In contrast collaborative cultures are spontaneous, voluntary, development oriented, pervasive in time and space and unpredictable whilst contrived collegiality, could be seen by teachers as an imposition from the top, which can lead to resistance.

In advocating collaboration and collegiality for school improvement or change, one should not overlook the micropolitical dynamics in the school. The cultural perspective on collaboration emphasises consensus, shared values, norms and beliefs, whereas the

micropolitical perspective looks at power relations and collaboration as resulting from organizational power wielded by control conscious administrators (Hargreaves, 1994). Hence, if teachers view collaboration as being imposed from the outside or a ploy for administrative control of constraint, then this can serve as a barrier to working together. Also power relations among teachers, the formation of cliques and the lack of trust can militate against collaborative cultures. Hargreaves (1994) uses the construct 'balkanization' to show how collaborative cultures can connect and also divide. In some high schools, teachers form subcultures into subject grouping; in the primary schools, they interact or collaborate according to junior and senior primary or special class teachers and mainstream teachers. Working in small groups per se is not the problem but when these groups form subcultures and do not collaborate as a school, then divisions can occur. People then identify with the subgroup rather than the school as a whole. These balkanized cultures develop a political complexion in that some groups acquire a higher status than others, for example, teachers teaching the senior students are rated higher and stand a better chance of promotion than the younger teachers who teach the junior classes.

Most of the criticism of collaboration has focused on the difficulties of implementation. The issue of not finding time to plan or work together in an overcrowded and full timetable is one of the biggest complaints in this regard. However, this criticism on collaboration is of a very technical or managerial nature and can be addressed by creative management plans.

Daniel et al (2000: 173) advocate the formation of teacher support teams (TST) as one of the collaborative ways in which teachers find solutions to problems internally: "A TST is an organized system of peer support which consists of a small group of teachers who take referrals from individual teachers on a voluntary basis. The referring teacher brings concerns about classes, groups or individuals in order to discuss and problem solve with their peers". All matters are dealt with confidentially. The TST is a fairly new concept and a novel mode of school-based development, which can help individual teachers and the staff as a whole. This concept involves the sharing of expertise among colleagues

where no one plays the expert. This support for teachers indirectly helps the students. Group problem solving is a way of helping the development of policy and practice. The role of a collaborative professional culture in bringing about school effectiveness is under researched. Daniel's (2000) literature search shows that professional interaction and sharing of knowledge has positive outcomes (ibid). Research by Norwich and Daniels (Daniels et al, 2000) on the effectiveness of TST in eight primary schools showed that the teachers' professional development was enhanced.

However, there are some forces that militate against a collaborative professional culture in schools. Professional individualism and the organization of a school are among the obstacles to collaboration among teachers. The organization of a school, especially the high school, is structured around specialization with timetables that constrain teachers from undertaking collaborative practices such as team teaching or teacher support within the classroom. Perhaps if the school management team allowed timetables to be more flexible and allow two teachers to team teach in a class while a person from management takes on one of the teacher's classes then collaboration at the class level can be possible. Other possibilities are if support services such as inclusive education coordinators, speech therapists, occupational therapists and other support personnel can get involved in collaborative work with teachers. Unfortunately these resources are not available in developing countries.

Evans et al (1999) conducted a national survey of collaboration between groups of schools in England. The survey looked at a sample of clusters of schools and their collaborative practices. The survey found that collaboration between schools benefited schools in the following ways (Evans et al, 1999: 35):

- The provision of mutual support to school staff.
- The coordination and development of policy and practice.
- The exchange of expertise.
- The management of resources.
- The creation of a focus for external services.

- The enhancement of resources.
- The establishment of a means of representation or negotiation.

The researchers also found that collaboration among cluster schools not only developed effective schools, but also supported inclusive schools. According to Evans et al (1999), collaboration among schools is one way of discouraging competition, improving school development and also encouraging the inclusion of all pupils.

2.5.2.3 Staff development for School Improvement

Professional learning is essential to improvement and time should be allocated for staff development activities. What is the theoretical basis for staff development? If the reason for staff development is merely increasing the technical competence of teachers, then addressing educational change will run into problems (see Pink & Hyde, 1992; Skrtic, 1995; Ainscow, 1999). Staff development that is rooted in the positivist paradigm that improving the technical competence of teachers will necessarily bring about educational change has not brought about the desired change towards inclusive schools. Pink and Hyde (1992) suggest that educators must begin to use a variety of perspectives on staff development. For example, by employing the ecological or interpretative paradigm teachers will begin to examine the taken for granted assumptions of "teachers and administrators concerning learning, students, and interpersonal relations as well as the cultural context of the school, that guide the actions of educators" (Pink & Hyde, 1992:8). There are various theories on staff development. For the purposes of this study I engage the organizational and cultural frames to explore staff development. I use the cultural perspective to examine the values, beliefs, customs, and ways of seeing the world that are shared by groups in school settings. Organizational theories question various factors within the school and school districts e.g. size, intra-organizational relations, commitment, capacity, institutional complexity and, schools as rational organizations (ibid: 17).

Planning is important for staff development. Plans should be linked to an overall vision of the school in the future and one should recognize that planning is as important as plans. Learning organizations are dynamic and in a continuous state of learning. Therefore plans need to be regularly modified and updated.

Effective methods of communication within the school and between the school and its outside community are important for the coordination of activities, programmes and decisions taken. Collaborative ways of working, without reducing teacher discretion create better team spirit and problem solving opportunities. Fostering dialogue about teaching and learning encourages the development of practice.

Reflecting on teaching practice is one way to encourage the development of practice. Information collection is useful to inform decision-making. The school needs to establish strategies for reviewing the progress and impact of school policies and initiatives. Staff should be encouraged to get involved in the process of data collection and analysis.

The effective schools and school improvement literature also speak of building partnerships or including other role players such as parents, community, other institutions or organizations such as universities and other government departments, as a resource for school improvement or educational change. To avoid repetition, I would examine the notion of partnerships/networks under the rubric social and human capital development.

In concluding this section, it could be stated that the findings from the school effectiveness and school improvement literature supports the view that giving attention to barriers to learning can also be viewed as school improvement.

2.5.3   Drawing from Human and Social Capital Theory

How are members of society or a school community equipped to meet new demands or keep pace with an ever-changing world? What role can human and social capital development play in building inclusive schools and communities in a rural context? In

examining the interface of policy and implementation, it is important to examine the processes involved in how the school and its community are developed. The school that I studied was part of a national pilot project for teacher development in inclusive education. School and community based human resource development was part of the process of equipping the teachers and the school community for educational change. What lens did I use to analyse this process of educational change? As I indicated, I chose to use eclectic lenses to understand the process of educational change. I now use the human and social capital theory derived from sociology and economics to explore whether the theory has value for reconstructing schooling for educational change. There is a growing body of research that seems to suggest that building human and social capital through lifelong learning can contribute to overcoming social exclusion.

Human resource development is the basis of building human capital (Nair, 2002). Human resource development may be defined as the development of skills, knowledge and capacity of members of a society in order to equip them to keep pace with a changing world. Coleman (1988: 100) is of the view that, just as physical capital is created by changes in the material to form tools that facilitate production, human capital is created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them act in new ways. Coleman seems to differentiate between financial capital (wealth) and human capital (education). In this sense, human resource development and human capital are linked to lifelong learning (Nair, 2002). However, human resource development has its critics. Hoppers (2001) is critical of how globalisation and its partner, neoliberalism, have taken out the 'human' factor from 'human resource' as human labour has become de-personalised and de-socialised. Human labour is considered a resource and no longer a social subject. It is organized by capital enterprise to make the greatest contribution at the least possible expense. Positioned at the struggle between total productivity and total quality, human resource development or human capital is "organized, managed, upgraded, downgraded, recycled, and above all abandoned by the enterprise whenever deemed expedient" (Hoppers, 2001: 29). In viewing human resource development from this perspective one becomes skeptical of the agenda behind education departments or

governments quest for human resource development. Is there an economic or political motive?

The proponents of human capital development see 'human capital' as referring to knowledge, skills and competencies, acquired by individuals which facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well being (Cote, 2001; Piachaud, 2002: 11). At community or national level, this comprises the aggregate of individual human capital (Piachaud, 2002:11). Social capital can be defined in terms of trust, norms, networks and values, and the ways these allow individual and institutions to become more effective in achieving common objectives (Putman, 1995; Piachaud, 2002: 12; Coleman, 1998 cited in Muthukrishna, 2002: 3). Whereas human capital resides in individuals, social capital resides in relationships (Woolcock, 2001: 12). Human and social capital, complement each other where literate and informed citizens are better able to organize and evaluate conflicting information in a constructive way. Muthukrishna (2002: 4) argues that the analysis of human and social capital and the culture of institutions need to be broadened to explore the interaction between human capital, social capital and the culture of institutions and their communities. Human and social capital is embedded in and works within institutions and their communities and these components are inextricably intertwined (ibid). Muthukrishna (2002) argues further that one way to address social exclusion in schools is to build human and social capital. Human and social capital need to be seen as complex, complementary factors in explaining and understanding economic growth, social development and other aspects of well being in a society (ibid).

Although social capital is a disputed concept with a number of divergent definitions (Woolcock, 2001; Muthukrishna, 2002; Thomas, 2002), it generally refers to "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995). Different definitions place emphasis on different components of social capital (Thomas, 2002). Social capital is informally referred to as "the glue that holds societies together" and is seen as a resource which if nurtured can be of benefit to all. It is seen as both a public and a private good, ranging in

scale and benefit from the nation, city, and neighbourhood to the family and individual. Some of the benefits of social capital are identified as improved information sharing, less opportunistic behaviours and improved collective decision making. Strong social capital can develop community access to resources and decision makers, reduced crime/violence and community cohesion (Thomas, 2002). It can also lead to personal benefits, such as social support and social networks. One of my criticisms of some of the concepts of social capital theory, such as trust, bonding, bridging and linkages is that too little focus is placed on the micropolitical processes of power relations. What are the politics within these partnerships? The assumption that people join groups or partnerships because of trust is contentious. Moreover, Putman's claim that highly educated people are more likely to be joiners and trusters is not borne out by empirical evidence (Putman, 2001).

Some of the key concepts in social capital theory are bonding, bridging and linkage (Putnam, 2000). Thomas (2002) explains that bonding capital results in social cohesion and the sense of belonging, which can underpin stability in a community. Bonding capital is associated with social support and reciprocity. Woolcock (2001) explains bridging capital as a horizontal metaphor implying connections between people who share broadly similar demographic characteristics. The vertical dimension of social capital is called "linkages" (Woolcock, 2001). The ability to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community is a key function of linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001). Woolcock argues that a multi-dimensional approach suggests that the different combinations of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital are responsible for attaining desired outcomes. The theory is that through the building of "trust, networks and shared values' people and organizational learning is developed and this benefits the people and the wider community (Balati & Falk, 2002: 282).

Welch (2000: 17) criticises human capital theory that the World Bank adopts. He asserts that the dominant rationale for education within the theory of human capital development is finance, efficiency, effectiveness and costs. The investment in human development is what rate of return this investment can yield. The non-economic dimension of education or other forms of scholarship are not acknowledged. From a critical perspective Welch's

criticism of the World Bank's adoption of human capital theory is valid. Piachaud (2002: 6) concurs that the World Bank's World Development Report of 2002 was entirely concerned with building institutions for markets, but he states that the focus of attention has changed over time and that many components of social capital theory are important. He goes on to explain that from entirely different directions, primarily sociological and political ideas have developed of 'social capital'. Social capital is quite distinct from physical (land, properties, factories) or human capital (skills, education training) but it overlaps with ideas of trust and aspects of endogenous growth theory. It thus focuses on norms, values, networks and trust - aspects that are beneficial to any community or society. In this study social and human capital are not seen in terms of the market as in the World Bank notion.

Is there empirical evidence of the efficacy of social capital theory? Thomas (2001), who has examined the usefulness of social capital theory in benefiting women in an informal settlement in South Africa, has found that limited work on social capital has been done in South Africa.

Muthukrishna (2002) uses social and human capital theory to explain how the principles of this theory can be used in the educational and social development of the school and its community in moving towards an inclusive society. These are the non-economic benefits of social and human capital development. Muthukrishna (2002) uses evidence from a national pilot project on inclusive education in KwaZulu - Natal, South Africa to argue that one of the ways to addressing social exclusion is to build human and social capital. The programme is aimed at the implementation of Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training Programme (DoE, 2001). This resource and educator development project involves two clusters of centres of learning in a rural part of the Estcourt district in the Ladysmith region: eight primary schools, one special school, two Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres and two high schools. The main focus of the project was the restructuring and reculturing of the schools (Muthukrishna, 2002). Restructuring refers to changes in the structure, roles and related formal elements of the school as an organization, whereas reculturing refers to the process of developing new

values, beliefs and norms (Fullan, 1996 cited in Muthukrishna, 2002). According to Fullan restructuring is relatively easier to do than reculturing. While restructuring can be legislated, it can make no difference to the quality of the school as an organization.

According to Muthukrishna (2002), developments in this national pilot project seem to suggest that addressing issues of inclusion and exclusion may be a powerful generator of human and social capital within schools and their communities. There are indications that norms and values as enunciated in the policy of inclusive education (Education White Paper 6, Department of Education, 2001) create conditions to support collective action and strengthen community networks. Muthukrishna (2002) postulates from emerging trends in the project that human capital works more effectively when interacting with social capital and institutions and that perhaps these elements cannot work in isolation. She adds that interaction can enable a community to mobilize more effectively on networks and partnerships that have the advantage of fostering risk taking which is a crucial element in change.

The concepts of networks, bonding, bridging, linkages, are embedded in the notion of 'partnerships'. Building partnerships seem to develop social capital. Both the school improvement and school effective research seem to suggest that building partnerships improves school effectiveness (see Reynolds et al, 1996; Stoll & Fink, 1999).

Schools exist within the context of parents, community, school districts, other educational organizations and institutions, and other government departments. Each of these institutions or groups has its own agenda or self-interest but can contribute tremendously in supporting and developing the school. Schools can isolate themselves to avoid criticism and interference from the outside or they can harness the wealth of resources from the outside. Studies are now showing that building partnerships enhances school improvement (see Ainscow, 1995, 1997; Hopkins, et al, 1996; Stoll & Fink, 1999; Fullan, 2003). Creating policies for involving pupils, parents and the wider community, including all role players, is important for school development. Encouraging overall access to the

school through the creation of an open climate builds an inclusive climate, which develops teaching practices that facilitate the participation of pupils during lessons.

Many reform efforts have placed heavy emphasis on parental and community involvement in schools. In countries such as South Africa, parents have been given governance roles (DoE, 1996). However, mandated changes do not guarantee parental participation in schools; schools need to actively build relationships with parents and the community. Building partnership with parents is based on the premise that involved and interested parents contribute significantly to a pupil's success in school (Stoll & Fink, 1999: 134). Parents and teachers need to be 'reading from the same page' to promote pupil learning and development (ibid). Schools need to communicate meaningfully with parents on a range of issues not only on the progress of their children but also on curriculum matters, and make inputs on the educative process. However, for various reasons, in developing countries like South Africa, getting parental involvement in the school is not always successful. Illiteracy, unemployment, and the constant movement of people make it difficult for parents to elicit such involvement.

Stoll and Fink (1999) found that the school and university partnership help in the professional development of teachers for lifelong learning. The role of universities in initial teacher education has shifted in some countries. Partnerships between schools, districts and universities have increased as universities get involved in school improvement through action research projects. The authors caution that there should be mutual respect for each other's needs and strengths and clarification of principles between role players.

2.5.4   A Curriculum for All

In this section I examine curriculum issues according to two strands of thought. In the first part I examine the curriculum in terms of inequalities and social justice issues under the rubric of 'education for all'. In the second part I examine the curriculum in terms of

what commentators in the 'special needs' and disability sector say about an inclusive curriculum.

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned that knowledge is socially constructed. So too is the organization of knowledge into a school curriculum. The organization of knowledge into a curriculum is created by particular social processes and by particular people with particular points of view (Connell, 1993). What knowledge is of 'more worth'; what are 'basic skills'; what are the 'core areas of knowledge'; and how knowledge itself is divided, are products of politics shaped by the wider distribution of social power (Connel, 1993: 31). From the perspective of critical theorists, curriculum represents more than a programme of study, a classroom text or a course syllabus (Apple, 1990; Mclaren, 1995; McLaren, 2003). It represents the introduction to a particular form of life; it serves in part to prepare students for dominant or subordinate positions in society (McLaren, 1995: 86). The curriculum favours certain forms of knowledge over others and is often discriminatory on the basis of race, class and gender. The impact of the dominant society and culture is inscribed in a whole range of school practices, for example, the official language, school rules, classroom social relations, the selection and presentation of school knowledge and, the exclusion of certain cultural capital (Giroux, 1983: 66).

Schools can be sites where students are culturally and economically stratified through the application of values and categories to them (Apple, 1990: 130). Certain types of cultural capital, for example, types of performance, knowledge, dispositions, achievements, and propensities are valued more than others. These types of cultural capital are based on taken for granted assumptions, which are often historically and ideologically conditioned (ibid). The guiding principles that educators use to plan, order and evaluate conceptions of achievement, of success and failure, of good or bad students are social and economic constructs (ibid). Often these constructs, which emanate from the dominant Anglo Western culture are used to label students in categories of 'slow learner', in need of 'remediation', having 'discipline problem' or 'deviant' (Apple, 1990).

Critical theorists often use the concept of the 'hidden curriculum' to uncover how descriptions, discussions and representations in textbooks, curriculum materials, course content, and social relations embodied in classroom practice benefit dominant groups and exclude subordinate groups (ibid). The hidden curriculum refers to the unintended outcomes of the schooling process. Schools shape students both through standardised learning situations and other agendas including rules of conduct, classroom organization and the informal pedagogical procedures used by teachers with specific groups of students. The hidden curriculum is also the tacit ways in which knowledge and behaviour is constructed outside the formal learning and teaching situation during lessons. The school bureaucracy, routines and ethos are also part of the hidden curriculum. Is the ethos of the schools welcoming? How do the principal and staff deal with discipline? Do the administration and the teachers show respect for one another and the students? Answers to these questions help define the hidden curriculum of a school.

The above description is a traditional perspective of the hidden curriculum (Giroux, 1983: 60-64). This perspective is reductionist in that human actors are deemed to be passive; it does not take into account human agency and resistance in schools. Schools should be viewed as social sites in which human actors are both constrained and mobilized. Schooling must be analysed as a societal process, one in which different social groups both accept and reject the complex mediation of culture, knowledge and power that give form and meaning to the process of schooling (ibid). The notion of human agency and resistance in schooling is important for this study, as the policy implementation process at the site of my study had a transformative agenda. Also, the notion of human agency allows the space for a pedagogy of possibility in this study (see Giroux, 1983; McLaren, 1995). I use the term pedagogy of possibility as an ideology for educational change to reduce inequalities and exclusionary forces in education. In the next paragraph I explore evidence of the construction of inequalities in the school and the classroom.

It is argued that students from working class or ethnic minority backgrounds are more likely to be placed in lower status groups, that is, in lower streams, bands and sets, in

non-examination groups, on vocational rather than academic courses, and in special units (see Hargreaves, 1967; Ball, 1981; Tomlinson, 1981). Being allocated to low level courses largely determines students' subsequent careers in secondary schools and affects the number and level of examinations for which they are entered, thereby restricting achievement in terms of educational outcomes (Ball, 1981; 1986). It is sometimes argued, that the stigma of being allocated to low status courses has a negative effect on students attitudes and their motivation in school and consequently, their educational achievement (Hargreaves, 1967; Ball, 1981). Thus selection into different courses increases the existing differences in achievement. It is claimed that the concept of ability underlying allocation to higher or lower level courses derive from middle class or white culture rather than universally appropriate standard of selection (Foster, Gomm & Hammersley, 1996: 69). This discriminates against working class or black students.

In the area of gender, a number of studies have pointed out that where subject specialisation occurs, boys tend to predominate in some subjects like mathematics, physics, technology and computer studies and girls in courses such as, art, languages, social sciences and home/parent craft (ibid). These studies argue that schools channel students in so called 'gender appropriate' courses directly or indirectly.

Another claim of inequality in the classroom is that female, working class or ethnic-minority students receive a smaller amount of teacher time and attention than their male, middle class or ethnic-majority peers (Foster et al, 1996). Also, working class or Black students receive less praise and encouragement and more reprimands than their middle class or white counterparts. It was found that high levels of criticism and low levels of praise affect the self-esteem negatively.

The competitive academic curriculum, which is used in many parts of the world, is accompanied by an equally competitive assessment system (Connell, 1993: 76). The assessment system is designed to measure the appropriation of pieces of knowledge and skills. Judgment by assessors places each individual learner in a hierarchy against a background of other individual learners. This is done in the form of examinations, class

tests or standardized tests. These assessment practices are used for the purposes of surveillance, selection and credentialing and have been integral to the educational exclusion of the poor (ibid, 77). Most research has shown a positive correlation of test results with socio-economic status. This is not surprising as testing is a form of social judgment and the correlation with social class is intended. The contents of the tests, which presuppose vocabulary and information among others, are more likely prevalent in middle or upper class homes than in working class homes (ibid).

A factor that impedes inclusive practices in countries such as England is the notion of school success in terms of the national curriculum (see Florian, 1999; Rose, 1999; Millbourne, 2002; Booth et al, 2003). Politicians have made wide calls for schools to produce good results and even league tables of school results are published in the media. Inclusion is impeded in England by the 'standards agenda', which is an ideological framework that concentrates on outcomes, rather than on the conditions for learning including the quality of relationships in schools (Booth et al, 2003: 36). Schools gear their work in preparation for inspections from the Education Department and become obsessed in meeting centrally set targets (ibid). Thus preparing for tests become the main focus of the school. Teachers and schools are devoting more energy and resources to obtain good passes to meet league table targets, devoting less time to pupils who have much greater difficulties in learning or who present challenging behaviour (Millbourne, 2002: 332). This is resulting in increased exclusions and schools refusing admission to pupils experiencing learning difficulties. Thus the clash of values between equity and excellence seem to impede inclusive practices. According to Booth et al (2003) the standards agenda ignores the significance of values in education and building community relationships. These reforms reduce education to technology and teachers to operatives in a system designed by others. These attempts at reform are also reflective of using market principles in education, which may not be beneficial to education. This phenomenon is also catching on in South Africa with our minister of education threatening to close down schools that do not produce good matric results and publishing the names of the top schools. I elaborate and show the contradictions within the equity/excellence agenda in South Africa in Chapter Three and Seven.

Goodwin (1997: xiv) notes that in the United States of America, assessments, defined primarily as standardized testing, have had a deleterious effect on schools, on instructions, and particularly on children who are poor or who are members of dominated groups. Standardized tests assess low level, decontextualised facts, and are often used as the sole measure of achievement and capability, despite the fact that they provide a fragmented picture of the learner. The results of these tests frequently drive curriculum and instruction in poor and low achieving districts. Instead of engaging with enriched programmes, children are subjected to drill designed to improve their standardized scores. Goodwin (ibid) calls for an alternative to this restrictive method of evaluation. Hall (2003), in proposing an alternative form of assessment in England, writes that there is a paradigm shift in educational assessment. She explains that the new assessment paradigm seeks to give pupils a real chance to demonstrate what they know, understand and can do. It does this by giving them more guidance, by telling them the criteria against which their work is judged and by making the tests more in line with real life or more like classroom tasks (ibid). This reflects a shift from testing to an educational assessment culture where there is a wider range of assessment modes, *inter alia*, coursework, examinations, records of achievement, portfolios and standard tests. We also see this shift in the South African context where the new Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2003) talks of diversity in the types of assessment: baseline, diagnostic, formative, summative and systemic. The emphasis in this revised curriculum is formative assessment, which seeks to base assessment on the continuous performance of the child. According to Hall (2003: 3), formative assessment is the kind of assessment that is necessary for learning. Formative assessment is designed specifically to promote learning and this is what distinguishes it from other types of assessments. Formative assessment is continuous and is about closing the gap between what learners know and need to know, what they do and need to be able to do (ibid). In formative assessment, information is fed back to the learner to close the gap. While summative assessment provides information about where the learner is and may indicate where the learners needs to go, it does not tell the learner how to get there. According to Hall (2003: 4), there is compelling evidence that formative assessment is a kind of assessment that raises standards and motivates learners. There is also evidence that that formative assessment helps low attainers more

than others, and so reduces the range of attainments while raising overall attainment (ibid). One of the reasons for this is that in formative assessment the learners are given clear guidance on the criteria for success.

Thus far I examined the construction of inequalities in the school and the classroom under the rubric of 'education for all'. I will now examine the curriculum in terms of what commentators in the 'special needs' and disability sector say about an inclusive curriculum.

According to Rose (1999: 28), "It is now more than ten years since the introduction of the national curriculum in England and Wales, and still the debate surrounding its appropriateness and accessibility for pupils with special educational needs continues". In his exposition of the appropriateness of the curriculum for inclusion, he provides no explanation for this continuing lack of consensus on what an inclusive curriculum should look like. Gough's (2001) comments on an integrated curriculum have been quite illuminating. He uses the term 'integrated' in an American sense of the term as being synonymous with inclusive education. Gough states that it may be easy to reach consensus on what the goals of an integrated curriculum for the special needs learner in a mainstream should be, but it will be difficult to reach agreement on what the integrated curriculum would look like. If one envisages an integrated curriculum as one which specifies supplementary arrangements for the special needs of some children, then this is not an integrated curriculum, as all children's needs should be supported in the mainstream curriculum. There are some pertinent points in this statement. Firstly, having consensus on the goals of integration does not necessarily translate to agreement on an integrated curriculum. Secondly, I concur with Gough that no one child's needs could be considered 'special', in fact all children have individual needs sometime in their school life. It is my observation from the literature that countries are still grappling with the issues of curricula for diversity.

Ainscow (1998: 8) defines three overall perspectives in curriculum organization in special education. The first perspective attempts to explain educational difficulties in

terms of the characteristics of individual pupils where the individual had to be remedied to fit the curriculum.

The second perspective explains educational difficulties in terms of a mismatch between the characteristics of particular children and the organization and or curriculum arrangements made for them. Here the demands and expectations of the system are assumed to be fixed or unchangeable and the child is supported to meet these demands and expectations. Interventions may also be directed towards modifying the system in order that a greater range of pupils is accommodated. The current "state of the art" responses (e.g. whole school approaches, differentiation) are informed by this perspective (Ainscow, 1998: 9). This perspective arose out of the dissatisfaction with the first perspective that is seen as a deficit model. This interactive perspective once again focuses on individual pupils but this time is concerned with the way they interact with particular contexts and individuals. Proponents of this perspective have recently argued for "individual needs" rather than "special needs" (ibid). Intervention procedures in this perspective include curriculum adaptation, alternative materials for pupils or extra support in the classroom. Some proponents in this perspective also see these intervention measures as being of benefit to pupils other than those designated as having special needs.

The third perspective explains educational difficulty in terms of curriculum limitations. The term curriculum is used in this perspective to include all the planned and unplanned experiences offered to pupils. Its proponents argue that what can be learnt from the difficulties experienced by some children about the limitations of provision can be used for the benefit of all pupils. Those using this perspective criticise the use of the individual frame of reference. They argue that a wider frame is needed focusing on organization and practice as currently provided for all pupils. In other words, education for all pupils should be seen holistically as an on going improvement of the system with difficulties acting as an indicator of how improvements might be achieved. Ainscow (1998: 9) explains that although the adoption of a certain perspective may influence the choice of certain organizational and curriculum responses, responses are not confined to a

particular perspective. For example support teaching, can be used in any one of the three perspectives, those using the deficit model may use support teaching to provide the individual with extra teaching in a mainstream classroom whereas those following the interactive perspective may look at support teaching as a way of making modifications to existing arrangements, in order to accommodate certain pupils experiencing difficulties.

Many attempts to improve special education using the deficit perspective have treated learning difficulty as primarily a technical issue. Consequently, when failure, underachievement or exclusion occur, methodological and mechanistic solutions are sought without much cognizance being given to the wider contextual realities that may have shaped them (Ainscow, 1998). The right teaching method, strategy or packaged material is sought to fit the needs of the child experiencing difficulties. Essentially there is nothing wrong in looking for useful strategies or methods but the over emphasis on searching for effective methods distracts attention from the more significant question as to why certain pupils fail to learn in a particular society or school. Ainscow (1998) advocates a shift from this narrow and mechanistic view of educational difficulties to a broader view that takes into account wider contextual factors including cultural and structural dimensions. Ainscow adds, "by freeing ourselves from the uncritical adoption of so-called effective strategies, we can begin the reflective process that leads to reflection and reinvention of teaching methods and material in response to the reactions and feedback of children" (ibid: 11).

Although the interactive perspective, is a more liberal approach, it is a concealed form of the deficit model. Despite its move towards integration, its emphasis on curriculum differentiation, additional adult support in the classroom and the view that special children are in need of special teaching that other children do not need, is evidence of the deficit orientation towards differences. Many proponents of the inclusion movement and South Africa's White paper 6 (DoE: 2001) acknowledge the need for additional support and curriculum adaptation in the implementation of inclusive education.

However, it could be said that many proponents of inclusive education argue for a common curriculum for all students (see Ainscow, 1999; Rose, 1999). There is agreement that the curriculum has to be adapted and made accessible to meet the needs of all learners. A one-size-fits-all curriculum or teaching strategy will not work in a classroom with a diverse student population. This was also the finding at the UNESCO (2002) workshop, which was discussed earlier in the chapter. A rigid national curriculum can inhibit the flexibility that is required for inclusive practices (Rose, 1999). Rose (ibid) asserts that in England, introducing the national curriculum to pupils with special education needs has brought many advantages. Previously pupils who were given the narrowest of curricula were now showing their abilities to assimilate knowledge and apply their skills (ibid). However, he cautions that schools need to examine the content of each subject to match this with care to the needs of each pupil. Carpenter (1995 cited in Rose, 1999) argues that meeting the needs of individual pupils through the process of curriculum delivery holds the key to successful inclusion. In a lesson the targeted outcome for pupils may differ. Rose (1999: 33) takes the cases of the science and art lessons to illustrate this point, for example, in a science lesson the learning outcome for a pupil may be working collaboratively within a group. In an art lesson the outcome for a pupil may be developing fine motor control. This does not in any way suggest that teachers should not challenge pupils in relation to the subject content or lower the standards for certain pupils. The skilled teacher has to make careful decisions about the educational needs of pupils and careful planning is crucial. The crucial role of classroom teaching is very cogently stated by Sebba & Sachdev (1997 cited in Rose, 1999), "Classroom teaching is at the heart of inclusive practice as it directly impinges on every pupil". Having looked at arguments for a common curriculum for all I wish to express a caveat for this argument. Farrel, (1997 cited in Florian, 1999), who has studied research on inclusion of pupils with severe learning difficulties, found that some form of segregated provision would always be necessary. He does not argue for continued segregation of pupils in special schools but points out the extent to which the curriculum can be differentiated and relevant. He states that full functional integration cannot be a viable option for all pupils with severe learning difficulties throughout their school lives (Farrel, 1997 cited in Florian, 1999: 21). He argues that a relevant curriculum for a child

with profound and multiple learning difficulties, for example, will require subjects not included in the national curriculum. Farrel proposes a resource based model of integration where mainstream schools offer fulltime integration for some children while providing segregated education with opportunities for social integration for children with profound and multiple difficulties.

Most countries prescribe a national core curriculum to ensure that the curriculum achieves national goals, that it applies to all students and that no one is excluded from it (UNESCO, 2001: 99). However, the more fully the curriculum is prescribed at the centre, the more important it becomes to take account of the differences between students and the needs of particular communities, and to develop strategies to address these. Making the curriculum flexible and adapting the curriculum is important in catering for the diverse needs of students in an inclusive classroom. In South Africa, a new curriculum was introduced which is underpinned by the principles of Outcomes Based Education (OBE). Outcomes Based Education allows for flexibility, which is learner-based and learner-paced. This aspect will be examined in more detail in the next chapter.

Another aspect of curriculum delivery that has been the focus of debate is teacher support. Ainscow (1999) is of the view that teacher aides can impede rather than improve inclusion of students in schools. He reports a case where the teacher aide completed a pupil's class work even though the pupil was absent for the day. Even in social situations the presence of an adult creates an artificial situation and may not facilitate socialization. In his review Farrel found the role of the support staff to be complex and crucial (Farrel, 1997 cited in Rose, 1999). If the support staff concentrates only on the student's individual education plan (IEP) then opportunities for social interaction may be reduced. Yet if the worker devotes more time to foster social interaction this may leave less time for individual teaching. If a child with severe learning difficulties is placed in a group of mainstream children, he or she may be ignored and if the support worker joins in then this may seem unnatural. It can thus be seen that the role of the support worker is rather complex.

Another important aspect of classroom teaching is the attitude of the teacher. The importance of the attitude of teachers in inclusion and exclusion was also discussed earlier in the chapter. An individual teacher who is not committed to the principles of inclusive education can undermine the progress towards inclusion in the whole school (Rose, 1999: 30). Attitudes are difficult to change. The whole school climate and culture needs to change in order to achieve success in inclusion.

2.6 Summary and Conclusion

I commenced this chapter by critiquing special education. Special education is viewed as rooted in the psycho-medical paradigm, which is a positivist view of the world. Difference is held as deficits and difficulties, which are understood largely through the discipline of medicine and psychology. Embedded in functionalism, special education takes a rationalist response to cure or ameliorate 'deficits and difficulties'.

Using the lens of critical and postmodernist theory, 'special educational needs' is viewed as a social product. The way social institutions function (schools or educations systems as a whole) generate failure and develop special needs provision as a means of managing that failure. Structural, social and socio-economic processes systemically disadvantage and marginalise some groups.

In tracing the paradigm shift from special education to inclusive education, I noted that within the broad church of inclusive education research, there are two groups: those who see it as a technical problem and those who see it as cultural politics. The former, those that see it as a technical problem, accept the way things are in special education and attempt to make things work through marginal reforms. The latter, those who see it as cultural politics, call for educational reconstruction consistent with new forms of thinking about education and social issues.

Using the critical and postmodern critique, I argue that political, social, and economic forces together with ideologies and asymmetrical power relations in society create

inequalities, injustices and inequities in society and education. Using the social rights discourse as a cornerstone, I argue that the inclusion discourse should focus on the reconstruction of schools to cater for diversity rather than narrowly focusing on disability and 'special needs' issues. Hence, this study is located in the broader discourse of social inclusion and exclusion.

In delving into school reconstruction or reform, the literature: on 'schools as learning organizations', 'effective schools', 'school improvement' and 'building human and social capital' provided some convincing proposals. The notions of changing mental models, team learning, systemic thinking, adhocratic schools, lifelong learning and, in developing learning schools were explored. The effective schools and school improvement literature proposed the following for school improvement or reform: effective leadership, collaborative learning, staff development, planning, enquiry and reflection. Human and social capital theory provided useful constructs such as bonding, bridging, linking and collaboration to forms networks and partnerships to access resources and build human and social capital.

In the next chapter I explore the methodology to be used and argue for an ethnographic mode of enquiry in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

POLICY REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1994

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the examination of Education White Paper 6, Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (DoE, 2001) in particular, and other educational policies that preceded it. I critically analyse the various influences that shaped the policy. I examine contextual forces that have impacted on the implementation of educational policies since 1994. I analyse the constraints on education policy implementation and question the extent to which polices are being implemented at the school level.

In my interrogation of White Paper 6 I also examine the policy and its implementation in relation to the broader context of policy development in education. Finally, the issues of policy implementation and practice are examined.

I commence the chapter by presenting my framework for policy analysis.

3.2 Analytic Framework

What framework do I use to analyse policy development in South Africa? I borrow from Sayed (2001: 250-261) who offers a useful meta approach in analysing post apartheid education policy development. For the purposes of my analysis I use four of the five frameworks that Sayed uses. The frameworks are not discrete but interrelated and often intersect with each other.

3.2.1   The Framework of History

This focuses on the historical antecedents that have shaped post apartheid educational development and the constraints the government has inherited from the previous regime.

3.2.2 The Framework of Equity and Justice

Rooted in the past, this framework seeks to locate educational policy in the context of future planning which overcomes a specific history of inequity, imbalance and justice. Are the ideals of equity, redress and justice as espoused in the policies being realised?

3.2.3 The Framework of Freedom and Democracy

This framework raises questions about the nature of the state and citizens, and the continual battle between individual freedom and collective vision in determining educational policy. To what extent is the quest for freedom and democracy being realized in policy implementation?

3.2.4 The Framework of the Economy and Global Order

This framework discusses the ways in which the new South African state attempts to make sense of the processes of increasing globalisation and fundamental economic transformation in restructuring the education system. What is the impact of globalisation on South Africa's economic policy and how does it affect education?

Sayed (2001: 51) cautions that this framework has its limitations since it abstracts and extrapolates tendencies, whilst reality is more complex, nuanced and diverse. Throughout this thesis I have used what Skrtic's (1995: 739) calls a dialogical approach, that is, a multiple perspective approach to educational change. However, much of this chapter is located within the critical tradition.

3.3 The Historical Policy Landscape

In order to understand the transformation process in education, one has to delve into the past. Prior to 1994, the apartheid regime used legislation and policy to entrench segregation of races and inequality. People were classified in terms of race: the four

major race groups being Whites, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds. Educational provision was grossly inequitable between White and Black learners (see Nicolaou, 2001: 56) with White learners getting the lion's share of the budget (R4448 per learner in 1991/92) and the Black learner getting a pittance (R1248 per learner). The Department of Education's Schools Register of Needs Survey (DoE, 2001) estimated that 27% of schools have no running water; 43% have no electricity; and 80% have no libraries. Only about 8 000 out of 27 000 schools in South Africa have flush sewer toilets while about 12 300 schools have pit latrines and 2 500 schools have no toilets at all. In schools that have toilets, 15.5% are not in working order. Schools requiring additional classrooms number over 10700. Such is the backlog and inequities in education that the present government has inherited. The human rights approach to education implies that educational institutions and programmes should have buildings to afford protection from the elements, adequate sanitation facilities, clean drinking water, trained teachers, teaching material and libraries (Vally, 2003).

Policy and legislation in the past separated 'ordinary' learners from those categorized as having 'special needs'. Special needs and support services for the Whites and Indians were highly specialized with little or no provision for the Black learners with special needs. Thus highly specialized services were provided to a limited number of learners (See DoE, NCSNET NCESS, 1997). These learners were segregated from mainstream learners and relegated to a second system of education (Nicolaou, 2001). The medical model was and is still being used for the diagnosis and treatment of 'learner deficits', which has led to exclusionary practices towards learners with disabilities and those experiencing learning difficulties (ibid). These inequities can be directly attributed to the social, economic and political factors, which characterised South African society during the dark days of apartheid.

Before the second half of the nineteenth century there was no provision for 'special needs' among learners in South Africa (NCSNET, NCESS, 1997: 22). As in other parts of the world disability was regarded with superstition as "divine displeasure". Such was

the intolerance that people with disabilities were exterminated, chained or put in prison (ibid).

In South Africa the first schools for learners with disabilities were schools set up by churches. There was no state funding for these schools. The state's involvement in what was termed 'specialised' education began in 1900 when the Cape Education Department recognized the existence of White church-run schools (ibid). Later legislation was passed by the central government to set up vocational and special schools for White learners. The state's racist policy contributed to the increased deprivation of learners with special needs. The churches and other private institutions began providing support for Black learners with special needs.

The inequities of educational provisioning became even more accentuated in 1948 with the National Party's policy of separate development (ibid). The institutionalization of apartheid in every facet of South African life had a significant impact on special needs education. The setting up of the homelands policy, the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act (1953), the Indian Education Act (1965), and the Coloured Persons Education Act (1963) entrenched racial disparities and created massive inequalities in educational provisioning. Special needs education for Black learners suffered double discrimination: firstly, on racial grounds, and secondly, along the lines of being separated as 'ordinary' learners in mainstream schools and 'special needs' learners in special schools. Because of these inequities about 280 000 learners with disabilities are out of school (DoE, 2001). There are many more children who are out of schools for various reasons, including poverty, drug abuse, being affected or infected by HIV/Aids, delinquency and other psychosocial problems. Education White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) makes policy pronouncements to redress the inequities of the past and plans to establish a single system of education for all learners.

From this discussion it can be discerned that the new democratic government in 1994 inherited huge backlogs, imbalances and inequities in education. The Black people looked to the new government to bring about redress, equity and justice, not only in

education, but also in all aspects of their lives. Almost all the new education policies in the past ten years of democracy encapsulated the ideals of equity, human rights, redress and justice. Are these policy pronouncements being actualized? The next section examines the ideals of equity and justice in some of the policies since 1994.

3.4 Reconstructing Policy: Post 1994

3.4.1 From Apartheid to the Ideals of Equity and Justice

Before critiquing educational policies post 1994 using the frameworks mentioned above, I first present pertinent policy pronouncements. In Chapter Two (section: 2.3.2) I elucidated the concepts of justice, equity and equality, which I use in this chapter as a tool to analyse policy. To emphasize these issues, I reiterate the meanings of the above terms. Equity transcends the notion of equality by focusing on the qualitative value of justice. The term equality means 'sameness', whereas equity means 'fairness or the recourse to the principles of justice' (Oxford Dictionary, 2003). In order to redress the imbalances or injustices of the past, equity can take the form of equal treatment or unequal (preferential) treatment. In the post apartheid South African sense, justice means the distribution of goods and services to contribute most to the advantage of the least advantaged.

Since 1994 a plethora of legislation and policies have been developed and enacted. The cornerstone of most of these policies and legislations are the principles of democracy, equality, equity, human dignity, freedom and security, redress and human and social rights and justice for all. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 sets out a Bill of Rights, which entrenches these principles. Section 9 of the S.A. Constitution (1996) makes special reference to the issues of equality of rights and Section 9(1-4) of commits the government to ensure that all individuals have the right to "equal benefit and protection of the law" (Muthukrishna & Schoeman, 2000: 318). Of particular significance to the proponents of social inclusion is the anti-discrimination clause of Section 9(3), which encapsulates the state's position on unfair discrimination:

The State may not unfairly discriminate against anyone on one or more grounds including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief culture, language and birth.

Section (10) of the Constitution (1996) states: 'Everyone has inherent dignity and right to have that dignity respected and protected'. Muthukrishna and Schoeman (2000: 318) claim that this clause is particularly significant for all children as it recognizes that the issue of rights is inherent in the human dignity of the individual and is necessary for his or her full development. Disrespect for human dignity is a violation of human rights.

The rights related to education are set out in section 29(1) of the Constitution (1996): Everyone has the right,

(a) to basic education, including adult basic education; and
(b) to further education which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.

The South African Schools Act (SASA) further espouses the principles of human and social rights, the need for the redress of past injustices, the provision of high quality education, the democratic transformation of society, the combating of racism and sexism, the eradication of poverty and the upholding of the rights of all learners, parents and educators. The preamble to the South African Schools Act reads (DoE, 1996):

Whereas this country requires a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners... advance the democratic transformation of society, combat racism and sexism...contribute to the eradication of poverty and the economic well-being of society, protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages, uphold the rights of all learners, parents and educators...

The language of the South African Constitution and the SASA depict a commitment to eradicate the legacy of discrimination, marginalization and neglect of different sectors of the population and a move toward redress.

Since 1994, the principles of human rights, non-discrimination, social justice, equality, equity and redress have been embedded in the Constitution of South Africa and the educational policies. The White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995: 21) and the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) encapsulate these principles. The following paragraph in the Education White Paper (1995:21) highlights human rights and non-discrimination:

> *Education and training are basic human rights. The State has an obligation to protect and advance these rights, so that all citizens irrespective of race, class, gender, creed or age, have the opportunity to develop their capacities and potential, and make their full contribution to society.*

The principle of non-discrimination is endorsed by the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996):

> *A public school must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way.*

The principles of equity and quality education and redress are enunciated in the following paragraphs of the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995):

> *The paramount task (of government) is to build a just and equitable system which provides good quality education and training to learners young and old throughout the country. There must be special emphasis on the redress of educational inequalities among those sections of our people who have suffered particular disadvantages, or who are especially vulnerable, including street children, out of school youth, the disabled and citizens with special educational needs, illiterate women, rural communities, squatter communities and communities damaged by violence.*

The White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy (DoE, 1997) stresses that:

> *Every learner has unique interests, abilities, and learning needs and respect for diversity should be promoted. Curriculum development to ensure flexibility, addition, and adaptation...*

The flurry of education policies documents since 1994 depicts an intention to address issues of equity, equality, basic human rights, quality education for all, redress,

curriculum entitlement and the rights of parents. Whether this zeal and commitment is reflected in the implementation is a hotly a debated issue (more of this will be discussed later in the chapter). The following education policy documents purport to entrench basic human rights for all: The White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), White Paper on an Integrated Disability Strategy (DoE, 1997) and the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996). All these policies are forerunners to Education White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001), in that they encapsulate a vision to cater for diversity in education. The White Paper on Education and Training (1995) highlights these diversities, inequalities and the ravages of apartheid:

> *There must be special emphasis on educational inequalities among those section of our people who have suffered particular disadvantages, or who are specially vulnerable, including street children, out of school youth, the disabled and citizens with special educational needs, illiterate women, rural communities, squatter communities, and communities damaged by violence.*

Although all policies discussed thus far encapsulate the principles of equity, equality, non-discrimination, human and social rights and redress of educational inequalities, the policies have not moved away from a dual system of education namely special and regular education, which was based on the deficit or medical model of education. In 1996 the Minister of Education appointed the National Commission on Special Needs and Training (NCSNET) and the National Committee for Education Support Services (NCESS) to investigate and make recommendations on all aspects of 'special needs' education and training in South Africa (DoE, 1997). The joint report made a paradigm shift to a social rights model of education. According to this perspective, disability is no longer considered innate but is a socially constructed and historically mediated category. Obstacles to education exist not because of inherent incapacities but because of attitudinal barriers that are socially and politically constructed. The report rejects the focus on deficit in favour of an emphasis on abilities (DoE, 1997). It acknowledges the international call for 'Education for All' as enunciated in the Jomtien Conference (UNESCO, 1990), the Dakar Conference (UNESCO, 2000), and the recommendation of the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994), for governments to move towards inclusive education.

The report introduces the concept of 'learners who experience barriers to learning and development' (DoE, 1997: 8). It indicates two distinct categories of learners: the majority being those with 'ordinary needs' and the minority being those with 'special needs'. This minority has been historically relegated to the periphery of the education system and provision for them has been inadequate. The report stresses that the notion of 'special needs' has become a platitude for all those learners who somehow do not 'fit into' the system, and often failed to describe the nature of the need, which is regarded as 'special' (ibid). It provided no insight to what has caused the learning breakdown and why such learners have been excluded from the system. It has also tended to ignore the fact it may have been the nature of the system that has failed learners, and the education system that was not challenged. The report emphasises that the education system not only prevents learning breakdown and exclusion, but that it should also create equal opportunities for effective learning by all learners. The report argues that it is when the system fails to accommodate diversity that learning breakdown and exclusion occurs (ibid). The Report shows that a relationship exists between the learner, the centre of learning, the broader education system, and the social, political, and economic context of which they are all a part. Hence the term barriers to learning is a shift from the deficit model which sees the child as a problem, to recognising that the child's environment could be the problem in causing a barrier to learning.

Many of the recommendations of the Commission and the Committee appear in Education White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001). However, as will be pointed out later in the chapter, some of the recommendations of the Commission and Committee do not appear in White Paper 6.

The above discussion served to highlight the policy pronouncements of the principles of democracy, equality, equity, human dignity, freedom and security, redress and human and social rights and justice for all. In the next section I analyse the tensions and contradictions in the implementation of these ideals.

3.4.2 Tensions and Contradictions in Education Policy

I use the framework of equity and justice to examine whether the education policy addresses the issues of equity and justice as espoused in the Constitution of South Africa. I also use the framework of the economy and global order to examine how globalisation impacts on the macro-economic policy of South Africa and how the macro-economic policy in turn constrains or thwarts education policies. The framework of freedom and democracy is used to examine to what extent the ideals of freedom and democracy are achieved by the new school governance policy. I wish to reiterate that these frameworks cannot be seen as discrete analytical tools as the frameworks intersect with each other in many ways, for example, globalisation and the South African macro-economic policy impact on the issues of equity, redress and justice as espoused in the Constitution.

In the introduction to Education White Paper 6 on Inclusive Education, the Ministry of Education states that the constitution commits and obliges the state to the achievement of equality, non-discrimination, equity and redress. The following are excerpts from the document (DoE, 2001: 11):

- *Our constitution (Act 108 of 1996) founded our democratic state and common citizenship on the values of human rights and freedoms (Section 1A).*
- *...we carry the responsibility to implement these values and to ensure that all learners with or without disabilities, pursue their learning potential to the fullest.*
- *This fundamental right to basic education... commits the state to the achievement of equality... non-discrimination... protecting all learners whether disabled or not.*
- *...that a new unified education and training system must be based on equity, on redressing past imbalances and on progressively raising the quality of education and training.*
- *... This policy framework outlines the ministry's commitment to the provision of educational opportunities in particular to those learners who experience or have experienced barriers to learning and development or who have dropped out of learning because of the inability of the education and training system to accommodate diversity of learning needs, and those learners who continue to be excluded from it.*

Are the commitments enunciated above merely rhetoric or an authentic commitment to reform and redress? There are a growing number of authors within South Africa who claim that the country's fiscal policy, globalisation and other contextual forces such as past imbalances and the negotiated settlements with the past government, are constraining the goals of reform, redress equity and equality in education. (see Kraak & Young, 2001; Motala & Pampallis, 2001; Sayed & Jansen, 2001). Sayed and Jansen (2001:1) make a vital observation that in their election campaign in 1999, the African National Congress (ANC) campaigned on the platform of 'delivery' and 'speeding up change'. When the Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal took office in 1999 he was acutely aware of the dire need for delivery in education:

> *I was told by everyone I met that we have created a set of policies and laws in education and training that are at least equal to the best in the world...[Yet] The public believes that we have a crisis in our hands...The people of this country gave the national and provincial governments both a mandate and a responsibility to accelerate delivery of basic services that will improve their quality of life. The people are entitled to a better education service and they must have it (Asmal, 1999 cited by Sayed & Jansen, 2001: 1).*

The situation looked bleak in 1999 with declining matric pass rates, violence in schools and hiccups in the implementation of Curriculum 2005. According to Sayed and Jansen (2001: 1), South Africa has an "impressive compendium of education policies which were widely acclaimed throughout the world" yet there is a "considerable distance between policy... and practice". There is a growing scepticism regarding policy developments in South Africa with critics claiming that much has been done to formulate policies but with little accomplished in transforming practices and institutions (see Motala & Pampallis, 2001; Sayed & Jansen, 2001). There is little doubt that South Africa's education policies are more than adequate. Where in lies the problem?

Oldfield (2001: 32) argues that the state's role in development and transformation "has rotated in orientation" in that the state's development agenda has changed from one of prioritizing reconstruction and redistribution through state intervention to one of facilitating the delivery of social services. This change in orientation can be attributed to

global forces. The author explains that the international discourse on state theory revolves around 'hollowing out' or 'rolling back' of the state in terms of cutting back in welfare services. This has led to the downsizing of the welfare system in North America and Europe, indicating that the state is reducing its role as a player in services such as health care and national education. This approach follows the 'logic of rationality' of the free market and modernisation theories of development, which dictate that the state not intervene in economic, social and political spheres (Oldfield, 2001: 34). The reorientation of economic policy to global markets through trade and capital liberalisation has led to the concomitant cutbacks and devolution in social services and investments such as education systems. McLaren (2003: 153) makes a crucial statement that in this era of globalisation and neo-liberalism the markets remain 'free' and people must submit to the dictates of the 'self-correcting' markets. The 'free' markets have not corrected the inequalities in society.

Oldfield (2001: 34) argues that this dominant discourse of the North has impacted on the countries of the South, or third world countries. This is evidenced by the stringent demands that the World Bank makes when granting loans to the third world states. The World Bank promotes decentralization and privatization of national duties and functions. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the USA treasury impose forced austerity terms such as cutting wages and public spending and raising interest rates on poor countries so that banks can fix their balance sheets (McLaren, 2003: 153). The global restructuring of industries and work organization has had devastating consequences for developing and poor countries. The IMF wants poor countries to improve their balance-of-payments positions by liberalisisng their economies, devaluing their currencies, and increasing imports in proportion to exports. This has caused wide scale unemployment and poverty in the poor countries in Africa, Latin America and South East Asia.

The tentacles of globalisation have definitely crept into the South African economic policy, which has impacted on all spheres of South African life. The privatization of state assets, even in the face of mass unemployment and the fiscal austerity of the macro economic policy is a clear indication of the influence of globalisation and the World

Bank. The Growth, Economic and Redistribution (GEAR) policy, the key macro economic policy of South Africa, has replaced the Redistribution and Development Programme (RDP). This policy is strongly opposed by the ANC's alliance partners, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) because of the government's rolling back on social services, the increase in unemployment and the privatization programme. The neo-liberal leaning of GEAR is a far cry from the promises of the ANC's RDP programme pre-1994. The economic policy of neo-liberalism is the belief in an "unfettered free market" which stems from the political ideology that the state should not interfere or intervene in individual lives (Ozga, 2000: 59). It is believed that the free market system will eventually benefit all. Those who adopt this agenda in education strive to remove costs and responsibilities from the state while simultaneously improving efficiency and raising of standards of individuals and institutions. Improving standards and raising efficiency levels is commendable, but cost cutting and downsizing an education system that is so unequal with such vast disparities, is thwarting the goals of the South African Constitution and education reform policies.

Commenting on the effects of globalisation on national states, Motala and Pampallis (2001: 2) state that global change has had a pervasive effect on the policies of national states and have been driven by the imperatives of market forces. The GEAR policy is intended to rejuvenate the economy, provide a stable environment for long term growth and development (Motala & Pampallis, 2001: 21). GEAR is premised on the assumption that high levels of growth are essential for the delivery of social services and equity. High levels of growth are supposed to address the problems of unemployment. However, the cry of the unions as well as the South African Communist Party (SACP) and other organs of civil society have been critical of the policy for not fulfilling the promises of growth and providing employment for the masses. In reality, unemployment has increased. According to Vally (1997: 82, cited in Motala & Pampallis, 2001: 28), calls by the union movement to redress historical imbalances and eliminate inequalities through a policy of 'growth through redistribution' have been replaced by a trickled down version of an export oriented 'growth first redistribution later strategy'. The focus of the RDP was

redistribution first and then development whereas GEAR focuses on growth first and redistribution later. There has been rapid downsizing, or in South African "speak" rightsizing, in all government departments including education. The state has used scarce resources and fiscal constraints to explain national cutbacks or lack of service delivery in education and other spheres of South African life (Oldfield, 2001: 26).

Hickling-Hudson (2000: 194) explains how the developed countries maintain the power hierarchy of world capitalism. The developed countries control the new high tech industries, devolving the older heavy industries as well as the onerous aspects of the high tech productions to newly industrializing countries and relegating the light industries to the underdeveloped countries. Many governments of the underdeveloped countries are desperate to decrease unemployment that threatens their countries. Thus they compete with each other in offering the multinational companies cheaper labour, deunionised labour, captive labour, female and child labour. Multinational companies are becoming stronger rather than weaker in their ability to exploit cheap labour. In this situation, poverty and dependence are likely to increase, which creates further challenges to the countries of the South.

Vally and Tleane (2001: 178-201) use the teacher rationalization and redeployment process as a case in point to show how South Africa's fiscal policy has stymied the goals of equity in education. Ostensibly the teacher redeployment process was meant to move teachers from advantaged schools (rich schools), where the teacher pupil ratios were low to disadvantaged schools (poor schools) where the teacher pupil ratios were high. The policy was directed at shifting resources from schools previously defined as White, Indian and Coloured to Black schools (ibid). The assumption was that additional income would not be necessary to fund the process, as it will merely require the movement of excess teachers from the advantaged to the disadvantaged schools. The Education Department proposed a teacher pupil ratio of 40:1, in primary schools and 35: I, in high schools. This teacher pupil ratio was extrapolated from research done by the World Bank. The World Bank research has been criticised as flawed by many analysts (see Vally & Tleane, 2001). In practice it was found that the actual pupil teacher ratio moved up to

46:1 as principals, deputy principals and heads of departments do not have the same teaching loads as ordinary teachers.

It was found that a policy that was intended to save costs actually incurred greater costs (ibid). About 15 241 voluntary severance packages were approved by the state at a cost of about R1 billion. Many experienced teachers in senior and middle management posts and science and mathematics teachers left the system. Research by Vally and Tleane (2001) showed that the redeployment and rationalization process had failed, as there were no significant gains for the beneficiaries (Black schools). It is not within the scope of this research to go into details of all the reasons why the process failed (see Vally & Tleane, 2001). However, it should be stated that the original intention of bringing about equity in the schooling system was "subverted by the imperatives of budgetary constraints linked to macro-economic policies (Chisholm et al, 1997 cited in Vally & Tleane, 2001: 179).

In South Africa, three of the most commonly stated goals of the post 1994 reforms in educational governance have been those of increasing democratic participation in decision-making, creating an equitable system of education and improving the quality of educational provision (Karlsson, Mcpherson & Pampallis, 2001). I now examine the intentions of the South African Schools Act of 1996 under the intersecting frameworks of the democracy and freedom, equity and justice.

Decentralization of school governance is often associated with greater democracy because it allows decisions to be closer to the people or because power is more diffuse. However, experiences in South Africa after the promulgation of the South African Schools Act in 1996 does not seem to suggest that the policy intentions are being realized. The school governing bodies have been given considerable power but in many schools especially in poor and rural areas, the communities lack the skills necessary to exercise them effectively. The South African Schools Act obliges the provinces to provide capacity training to overcome this problem but in practice the programmes are not offered because of a lack of funds (ibid). Schools and communities are given the added responsibility of managing their local schools but are not given the enabling

conditions such as adequate funding, or facilitated support to do so (UNESCO, 2000d). Rich communities can afford to raise the funds for resources and to employ more teachers. Hence the creation of better resourced schools for the middle class. Clearly decentralization of power is creating inequity rather than fostering equity.

The South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) allows schools to charge school fees. Although provision is made for poor parents to apply for an exemption from fees, many parents lack the capacity to ask for this exemption. Many middle class parents can afford to pay exorbitant fees to send their children to well-resourced schools. Instead of bringing about equity the Act is creating inequalities in that only the rich can send their children to better resourced schools.

Jansen (1998: 102) in interrogating the politics of diversity after the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) was passed found that while many Black students successfully enter white schools, they encounter a hostile, anticultural environment in which assumptions are fixed as to what constitutes good schooling, appropriate language policy and the like. Such conditions inflict severe damage to the Black children's self-esteem and self-confidence. In such schools children learn that English has greater currency than IsiZulu; that good teachers and role models are White; that appropriate history is European and that failure happens to Non-White children or that Black children come with deficits (ibid). These exclusionary forces or hegemony of race and class are created because of culture, staffing and curriculum (including the hidden curriculum) of the school. Although many former exclusively White schools have majority Black students, the staff complement of these schools are mainly White. The language of learning and teaching is English with little or no indigenous languages being taught or given status. The basically White staff choose the curriculum of the school with little or no consultation with Black parents. The composition of the school governing is mainly White, and if there is Black representation it is more often than not, tokenism. The status quo remains and thus White privilege is retained (ibid, 104).

Jansen (1998, 102) goes on to argue that in dealing with diversity such schools segregate learners according to ability groupings, and it is not uncommon to find that classrooms are racially segregated. While the school is racially integrated, classrooms are segregated. The schools justification for that is that the rationale is ability and not colour.

The scenarios depicted above raises many moral and political issues. Who has the right to decide and represent issues of curriculum diversity within integrated schools? Can a school governing body, which is predominantly White, in a school that is predominantly Black, decide on the educational experience of the child?

In the above analysis I highlighted the discursive influences on policies preceding White Paper 6. In the next section I use the same frameworks to interrogate White Paper 6.

3.4.3   Education White Paper 6: From Special Needs to Inclusion

3.4.3.1 Introduction

The discussion thus far shows the contradictions and tensions between policy pronouncements and the implementation process and also how global and national economic policies can subvert policy intentions. My intention in highlighting parallel policy developments is to show that White Paper 6 is embedded in similar tensions, contradictions and fiscal constraints that may hinder the implementation of inclusive education in South Africa.

White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) provides a framework for establishing an inclusive education and training system, gives details of a funding strategy, and lists the key steps to be taken in establishing such a system in South Africa. According to the executive summary, in October 1996 the Ministry of Education appointed the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (NCSNET) and the National Committee on Education Support Services (NCESS) to investigate and make recommendations on all aspects of special needs and support services in education and training in South Africa. The

commission and committee comprised members nominated by organizations, persons and societies. This joint body also used the recommendations from public hearings and written submissions to inform the final report to the Minister of Education. In the light of its findings, the joint report of the two bodies recommended that the education and training system should promote education for all and foster the development of inclusive and supportive centres of learning that would enable all learners to participate actively in the education process so that they could develop and extend their potential and participate as equal members of society (DoE, 2001: 5). The document goes on to explain that the principles guiding the broad strategies to achieve this vision included:

> *Acceptance of the principles and values contained in the Constitution and White Papers on Education and Training; human rights and social justice for all learners; participation and social integration; equal access to a single, inclusive education system; access to the curriculum, equity and redress; community responsiveness; and cost effectiveness* (DoE, 2001: 5).

Based on the recommendations of the joint reports, the ministry released a consultative paper on August 30, 1999 for the public to make comments and submissions (DoE, Consultative Paper No. 1 on Special Education, 1999). The White Paper 6 states that the submissions and feedback of social partners and the wider public were collated and have informed the writing of this White Paper (DoE, 2001:6). Evaluating this policy making process against Sayed's (2001: 250) framework of freedom and democracy it could be argued that while the democratic processes were followed, like most policy processes the dominant voices ultimately prevail.

3.4.3.2 Proposals for Transformation

The policy identifies six strategies and levers for establishing an inclusive education and training system. The first of these strategies is the conversion of special schools to resource centres. The then Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, stated categorically (DoE, 2001) that special schools would be strengthened rather than abolished. He clarifies the role and future of special schools to quell the fears that people had expressed in the consultative process that there were instances of indiscriminate

closure and threats of closure of special schools (see Annexure A of White Paper 6). The policy makes the following pronouncements with regard to special schools:

- *Special schools will be converted into resource centers in a twenty-year phased in process.*
- *The overall quality of special schools will be raised.*
- *Special schools will only cater for learners who require intensive levels of support.*
- *Special school personnel will perform a dual role:*
- *Provide service within the special school.*
- *Provide specialized expertise in the district support teams to assist neighbouring schools and full service schools. They will provide expertise in terms of assessments, curriculum, occupational therapy, speech therapy and other expertise that the school may have.*
- *Special school personnel will receive training in order to take on the new role within the district support team.*

Having outlined the pronouncements on the future of special schools, I will now evaluate the policy in terms of the paradigm shift from segregated schooling to inclusive schools. Is the conversion of special schools to resource centres to cater for the needs of learners requiring high levels of support, an acknowledgement of the perspective that some learners require segregated learning environments? This runs counter to the perspective of the purists in the inclusive movement who maintain that all learners, despite their level of support should be taught in a mainstream class. Is this not a contradiction of the conceptual shift from special education to inclusive education? The concept inclusive education as discussed in Chapter Two takes on different meanings in different countries and even within local areas in a country. There are different models of inclusive education and South Africa has opted for what Low (cited in Norwich, 2000) calls the soft option in the inclusion/exclusion debate in that most learners should be taught in the general education classroom while reserving the option of separate settings for some students who require high levels of support (see chapter 2). South Africa's policy is located within the rights discourse of inclusion/exclusion but it seems to take on a compromise approach with regard to a dual system of schooling.

Another point of concern is, how will the present staff in special schools manage the dual role that is required of them i.e. providing a service within the resource centre and assisting the district support team. The rationale behind utilizing the special school personnel for additional duties is that the decrease in student numbers in special schools will free personnel for other roles. While the effective utilization of staff is reasonable, there are still many concerns. Will the numbers in special school decrease considering that there are about '280 000 learners with disabilities' (DoE, 2001: 9) that are out of school? While the document states that special schools will be strengthened qualitatively it also emphasises that "no real increase in the fiscal envelope is envisaged in this staffing strategy in the short and medium term. The document states that it proposes "a more cost-effective use of specialist educators than is currently practiced" (DoE, 2001: 41). My argument is that if specialist personnel are virtually non existent in the former Black African schools, more especially in the rural areas, how then will the personnel who are concentrated in the advantaged schools (former White and Indian special schools) be deployed, or will the present number of specialist personnel suffice? To extend the argument further, there are only 380 special schools in the Republic of South Africa and the majority of the schools are situated in the former White and Indian areas and in urban areas. Since the document is silent about building resource centres in disadvantaged areas, I take this to mean that no resource centres will be built in these areas. The issues of redress and equity will not be addressed if fiscal austerity takes priority over all other issues (see Motala & Pampallis, 2001). Here again we see how fiscal policy can stymie the goals of redress and equity. The issue of post provisioning and staff will be discussed later in the chapter.

The next lever for change is the establishment of the full service school as a means of piloting the implementing of the inclusive education policy. The document describes full service schools and colleges as ordinary schools and colleges that will be equipped and supported to provide a full range of learning needs among all learners. The Ministry argues that it is impossible in the medium term to convert 28 000 schools and colleges to provide the full range of learning needs. It emphasises that the process will be incremental. For the short term (2001-2003), 30 primary schools will be selected from

districts through out South Africa (one school per district) to serve as full service schools. These schools will serve as pilot programmes. Based on the "lessons learnt from this sample, 500 primary schools would later be selected for conversion to 'full service' schools" (DoE, 2001: 23). The schools will be assisted to develop their capacity to provide for the full range of learning needs and to address barriers to learning.

The idea of piloting and developing models from the experiences gained is laudable, as local conditions will help shape this model. However, designating these schools as full service schools can create the perception that there are three types of schools: the special school/resource centre, the full service school and the ordinary school (Howell & Lazarus, 2003). The full service school concept seems to be a compromise position, a type of school that is a mixture of a special school and mainstream school (ibid). This ambiguity in the document will allow for an interpretation of the full service school as another type of school rather than a pilot programme. A further contradiction in the document appears on page 10 where the ministry states that emphasis will be placed on "supporting learners through the full service schools that will have a bias towards particular disabilities depending on need and support" (DoE, 2001: 19). Howell and Lazarus (2003) maintain that the statement contradicts the policy argument that category or disability will no longer be used as an 'organising principle in institutions'. The statement having a 'bias towards particular disabilities' also contradicts the proposal that full service schools will provide for a full range of needs. Howell and Lazarus (ibid) argue that the full service concept with its associated ambiguities in the document allows interpretations that will perpetuate the status quo and will fail to address the inequalities of the past.

White Paper 6 commits the Department of Education to establishing district based support teams (DST) as a central part of the overall strengthening of education support services in South Africa. The DST refers to an integrated professional support service provided by the Department of Education, drawing on the expertise from education institutions and various community resources in the area. Their key function is to assist education institutions (including early childhood centres, further education colleges, and

adult learning centres) to identify and address barriers to learning to promote effective teaching and learning in local education institutions (DoE: Draft Guidelines for the Implementation of Inclusive Education, 2002). This support includes classroom and organizational support, as well as curriculum, institutional development, and administrative support (ibid). The DST needs to work intersectorally with other government departments and collaboratively with community organizations, depending on the needs of the schools. A key feature of the DST is taken from the national principal of "Tirisano" which means 'working together' to explore effective and efficient ways of bringing together resources to benefit the learners (ibid). This structure assumes a community based model of support in that it moves away the specialised model of support, as is the case in the North. Although specialists will play a significant role in supporting schools, the DST should be strengthened by expertise from the local community (NCSNET & NCSNET, 1997). Education support service is conceptualized as a flexible network of service providers. In such a system, networking and co-ordination of all available services than the reliance on a predetermined core of specialist service providers, becomes important (NCSNET & NCESS, 1997: 88). However, there are many challenges to working collaboratively, as mentioned in the last chapter. There are a few questions that arise concerning the operation of the DST. Firstly, the districts at present are understaffed. White Paper 6 states quite clearly that there will not be any increase in the fiscal envelope to fund the implementation of this new policy. Secondly, by calling for community support in the DST, is the government trying to shift or abdicate some of its responsibilities? Is the call for a community-based model based on intersectoral and community-based support an attempt to give voice and empower all sectors, or because of a lack of finance by the state to render support to schools?

Another strategy for change proposed by White Paper 6 is the institutional level support team (IST). An institutional level support team is an internal support team within institutions such as early childhood centres, schools, colleges, adult learning centres and higher education institutions (DoE, 2001: 29). The primary function of these teams is to put in place properly coordinated learner and educator support services. These services will support the learning and teaching by identifying and addressing learner, educator and

institutional needs. Institutional needs could include educator development, learning programme assessment and capacity building at local community level. Where appropriate, these teams should be strengthened by expertise from the local community, DST and higher education institutions. District-based support teams will provide the full range of education support services, such as professional development in curriculum and assessment, to the institutional-level support teams (D0E, 2001: 29). Here again, like the DST, the IST is a structure that should seek community-based support. The IST is entrusted with the responsibility of soliciting community support, which includes local government structures, NGOs and other community organizations.

Developing on site support has its merits, such as empowering educators to problem solve and building learning and self-reliant schools. Moreover, building networks with the community structures and other role players have advantages, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, there are also various challenges. One of the criticisms that come from educators is that they are currently over-burdened with large classes (ranging from 45 to 60) and have to serve in numerous committees. Policy overload is another burning issue. Serving on the IST will be adding to their already heavy workload. The above criticisms by teachers will be interrogated in my analysis of the data in Chapters Five and Seven.

3.4.3.3 Continuities and Discontinuities in the Text

The Consultative Paper No.1 on Special Education (DoE, 1999) and Education White Paper 6 contain numerous contradictions and lacks clarity on various issues. Muthukrishna and Schoeman (2000: 332-333) argue that by first concentrating on strengthening the existing provision of education for learners with special needs in the Consultative Paper No.1, the Department of Education is using an inappropriate solution to the issue of equity, redressing the imbalances and neglect of the past. They argue that such methods may make transformation more difficult by supporting the status quo. They also criticise the Consultative Paper's retention of the language of the traditional medical, deficit model.

What conceptual shifts does the policy make in order to effect change in building an inclusive system of education? In its definition of inclusive education in the executive summary, the document shows a shift from a disabilist view or medical model to a non-disabilist or social model of education. I explained the paradigm shift in my discussion on the recommendations of the NCSNET and NCESS. The inclusion of 'age, gender, ethnicity, language, class, disability, HIV and other infectious diseases' in the definition is further indication of a move towards a social inclusion policy. The definition also reflects the recommendations of the Jomtien (UNESCO, 1990), Salamanca (UNESCO, 1994) and Dakar (UNESCO, 2000) Conferences. The definition reads as follows:

- *Acknowledging that all children and youth can learn and that all children and youth need support.*
- *Enabling education structures, systems and learning methodologies to meet the needs of all learners.*
- *Broader than the formal schooling and acknowledging that learning also occurs in the home and community, and within formal and informal settings and structures.*
- *Changing attitudes, behaviour, teaching methods, curricula and environment to meet the needs of all learners.*
- *Maximizing the participation of all learners in the culture and the curriculum of educational institutions and uncovering and minimizing barriers to learning* (DoE, 2001:7).

The language used in the executive summary such as the choice of the term 'barriers to learning' rather than 'disability' or 'impairment', indicates that the Ministry has embraced the concept of barriers to learning. Moreover White Paper 6 acknowledges that barriers to learning can be extrinsic to the learner and that systemic change is required to address these barriers to learning. The document therefore acknowledges that the problem is located within the system i.e. learning breakdown and exclusion are problems that can be caused by the system (DoE, 2001: 6).

Another progressive element of the document is that it recognizes the need to move away from categorization of learners e.g. disabled/non-disabled, to levels of support that the learners need. Here educators, lecturers and parents will play a central role in identifying, assessing and enrolling learners in schools. By inference this moves away from

standardized psychological testing for the purpose of identifying an assessment of learners who experience barriers to learning. Having rejected the system of categorization of learners, the document goes on to propose the identification of learners according to the levels of support needed by the learner. Is this not another form of categorization? Can any language avoid categorization or labels? The White Paper distinguishes between barriers that emanate from intrinsic/medical causes and those that stem from systemic, societal and pedagogical causes. It further distinguishes between low-intensive, moderate and high intensive support; those with mild to moderate, severe and multiple disabilities and those with impaired intellectual disabilities versus those who require intensive support (DoE, 2001). Learners who require low-intensive support will receive this in ordinary schools; learners who require moderate support will receive this in full service schools; and learners who require high-intensive support will receive this in special schools (DoE, 2001: 15). The document constructs these binaries and discriminations in providing for the diverse needs of all learners (see Van Rooyen, Le Grange & Newmark, 2004). By implication this justifies discrimination. Van Rooyen et al (2004) ask a pertinent question: do the objects of this discrimination, the learners identified, classified and allocated and their parents, perceive it this way?

Having pointed out the paradigm shift that this document embraces in the executive summary, I concur with Howell and Lazarus (2003) that this imperative strength is not sustained throughout the document. They point out that in the Minister's introduction and at various points in the rest of the document, there are instances where the policy slips back into the old paradigm or is sometimes ambiguous about its meaning. This point is most evident on page twelve of the document where the ministry argues for the retention of the internationally acceptable terms 'disability' and 'impairment' (DoE, 2001). The document reads as follows:

The Consultative Paper (30 August 1999) advocates inclusion based on the principle that learning disabilities arise from the education system rather than the learner. Notwithstanding this approach, it made use of such terms as 'learners with special education needs' and 'learners with mild to severe learning difficulties' that are part of the approach that sees learning disabilities as arising from within the learner. There should be consistency between the inclusive

approach that is embraced, viz. that barriers to learning exist primarily within the learning system and the language in use in our policy papers. Accordingly, the White Paper adopts the use of the terminology barriers to learning and development. It will retain the internationally acceptable terms of 'disability' and 'impairments' when referring specifically to those learners whose barriers to learning and development are rooted in organic/medical causes (DoE, 2001: 12).

Howell and Lazarus (2003:) argue that while there is no problem with the terms 'disabilities' or 'impairments' per se the problem lies with the ownership of the barrier (problems) by the learner (i.e. whose barriers); and secondly the assumption that all impairments or disabilities result in barriers to learning. The authors ask: "If the learner is blind and uses braille to access the curriculum, where does the barrier lie- with the blindness or with the inability of the system to provide learning material in braille" (ibid). They add that particular learning needs (the use of braille) are conflated with barriers to learning (the system's failure to provide braille). This has resulted in people replacing the term 'learners with disabilities' or 'impairments' with the term 'learners with barriers' without making any conceptual shift towards a systemic understanding of learning difficulties or exclusion (ibid).

Another case in point is the tabulation of a list of statistics on the different categories of learners, the number of special schools and the number of learners with disabilities in each province (DoE, 2001: 13). No list is given of other inequities of the system, for example, poverty, HIV/Aids, out of school learners, lack of resources. Although these statistics were intended to highlight the huge backlog or the lack of provisioning for learners experiencing barriers to learning, the statistics create the impression that the focus is on special schools and learners with special educational needs. Moreover, in the executive summary the Ministry rejects the categorization of learners according to disabilities yet it presents statistics on categories of disabilities. How do we understand these contradictions and ambiguities? Perhaps Sayed's (2001) framework of history can shed some light on these contradictions and ambiguities. In examining the historical context of the policy formulation process one could argue that the different voices of interest groups, lack of resources, fiscal constraints and globalization are constraining forces in policy development. These issues were discussed earlier in the chapter. In a

similar explanation, Howell and Lazarus (2003) cite Taylor et al (1997: 50) to explain that these contradictions and ambiguities arise as a result of the "contextual complexities and competing interests involved in policy making which manifest as ambiguities in the policy document itself". The implication is that the policy creates opportunities for different role players to read and interpret the policy in different ways:

> *Sometimes the suturing of differences within the policy settlement means that that very different things can be done legitimately in the process of policy implementation. Different interests give very different emphases to various aspects of the policy* (Taylor et al, 1997: 50 in Howell & Lazarus, 2003).

Having critiqued the conceptual framework and the paradigm shift of the document I now move onto what the White Paper 6 proposes in terms of the financial roll out in implementing the policy of inclusive education.

3.4.3.4 The Cash Nexus and White Paper 6

In this section I examine how fiscal policies can stymie the policy intentions of White Paper 6. In White Paper 6 the Ministry of Education emphasises that no real increase in the fiscal envelope is envisaged in the short and medium term. It states that what is being proposed is a much more cost effective use of specialist educators than is currently the practice (DoE, 2001: 41). My argument is that educators from about 380 special schools in the country will not be able to provide support to all the full service schools, resource centres and the mainstream schools. Initially the state will have to roll out the funds for the staffing of personnel in disadvantaged areas to meet the goals of equity. The past failure in the redeployment of staff to bring about equity does not augur well if a new redeployment process is envisaged. Moreover infrastructure costs such as making buildings barrier free, providing assistive devices and other resources, will require extra funding. Although, comparing the cost-effectiveness of inclusive education is difficult, some research shows that inclusive settings are less expensive than segregated ones (Evans, 2000: 72). Having said this I wish to point out that to correct the imbalances of

the past and accommodate the multitude of learners that are out of school, more funds will have to be made available.

White Paper 6 talks about creating a dedicated pool of posts for the educator support system through a revised resourcing model, but it is not clear about or specific on the proposed model for post provisioning. It merely states that particular attention would be given to optimizing the expertise of specialist support personnel such as therapists, psychologists, remedial educators and health professionals (DoE, 2001). I wish to stress that the current personnel at the regional and district levels is insufficient to support the schools. For instance, in the Pinetown District of KwaZulu-Natal there are only four psychologists, one occupational therapist, one remedial advisor and two special education advisors for 550 schools.

A positive structure that will be created in the new system is the District Support Team (DST), which is expected to play a pivotal role as a lever for change. This team will be entrusted with the responsibility of supporting educators in curriculum development, assessment guidelines, networking with all role players, and providing in-service training for the professional development of educators. Here again, it is crucial that the Department of Education employs adequate personnel to make this structure successful.

Another cause for concern is the 20-year implementation plan for inclusive education. The document emphasises that the process of transforming the system will be incremental. The rationale for this slow process is that the Department of Education has learnt many lessons from "our early experience and knowledge of the complex interface of policy and practice" (DoE, 2001: 4). One takes cognizance of the fact that human resource development, and the procurement, development and planning of resources take time. However, 20 years is a protracted wait for 280 000 learners who are out of the system. What happens in the interim?

The plan is to convert 500 mainstream primary schools to full service schools by the year 2021. Presently this works out to about five schools per district covering a large

geographical area with about 500 schools. While South Africa is well within the recommended time line of 2002 for launching a plan of action for 'Education for All' as suggested by the Dakar Framework for Action, it falls short of the 2015 recommended deadline for having the policy fully operational (UNESCO, 2000: 9).

A point of concern that is rightfully brought up during the Education Department's advocacy workshops on the White Paper 6 is that the document pays little attention to high schools and tertiary institutions. Although the document talks about implementing inclusive education in all bands of education including early childhood education, Adult Basic Education and Higher Education, the document focuses primarily on special schools and primary schools. Even the pilot projects are directed only at special schools and primary schools. Pilots need to be conducted in high schools, as the secondary level curriculum is more diverse and specialised than the primary school curriculum.

3.4.3.5 Interrogating the Notion of an Inclusive Curriculum

In the previous chapter I examined the curriculum in terms of inequalities and social justice issues under the rubric of 'education for all'. I also examined the curriculum in terms of what commentators in the 'special needs' and disability sector say about an inclusive curriculum. In this section I look specifically at what proposals White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) and the implementation draft document (DoE, 2002) make on the notion of an inclusive curriculum.

The policy acknowledges that the curriculum is one of the most significant barriers to learning for learners in special and ordinary schools. The document states that the curriculum must be made flexible in all bands of education so that it is accessible to all learners, irrespective of their learning needs. The district support team is entrusted with assisting the teachers in addressing curriculum development.

A serious barrier to learning and development can be found within the curriculum itself, which requires adaptation to cater for the diverse needs of learners (DoE, Implementation

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Draft Document, 2002). When learners are unable to access the curriculum, learning breakdown occurs. The draft document acknowledges that key components of the curriculum include the style and tempo of teaching and learning, what is taught, the way the classroom is managed and organized, as well as materials and equipment which are used in the learning and teaching process. If these components of the curriculum are not addressed adequately, barriers to learning may occur.

Another area of the curriculum, which can cause serious barriers to learning, is the medium of teaching and learning. In South Africa teaching and learning for many learners takes place through a language, which is not the learners' first language. This leads to disadvantage and linguistic difficulties, which contributes to learning breakdown. Second language learners are often subjected to low expectations, discrimination and lack of cultural peers. Deaf learners are also subjected to linguistic difficulties if the teacher is not *au fait* with sign language.

The theoretical framework that informs how teachers approach learning and teaching can be a critical barrier to learning and teaching. The Draft Guidelines (DoE, 2002) state that South Africans historically had been exposed to very conservative theories and practices and in most cases the sociological considerations of learners were left out. The Draft Guidelines (ibid, 144) add that the behaviourist theory and the 'doctrine of innate ideas' were very influential in informing ideas about learning in the past. The behavioural learning theory concentrates on observable cause and effects relationships. The teacher's job is to modify the behaviour of the learner by setting up situations when they exhibit the desired response. Learning is thus the acquisition of a set of behaviours that reflect the realities and demands of the environment. The learner is seen as a passive receiver of knowledge from the teacher or the environment.

Innatism or the doctrine of innate ideas is concerned with the mind of the learner. Here the child is seen as born with knowledge. What the school has to do is get the mind of the child working by practising and practising. The teacher has to lead the child through the necessary content and exercises in order to awaken inborn knowledge (ibid).

Fundamental pedagogics emphasised this idea about learning: the role of the teacher was to lead the child to adulthood. For innatism, knowledge is conceived of as given to the passive learner at birth. Both the behaviourist and the innatist theories of learning assume that there is a separation between the mind and the world out there and somehow one causes the other. This is a very static concept of how knowledge grows and develops and gives no recognition that learners play an active part in creating their own knowledge.

The Draft Guidelines (DoE, 2002: 143) for the implementation of inclusive education point out the limitations of the traditional forms of learning such as behaviourism and innatism and suggests that constructivism provides a theoretical framework that can deal with the challenges posed by an 'Inclusive Outcomes-Based Education'. Constructivists are concerned with processes and the development of thinking. To learn is to think about life, culture and work in complex ways, and thus to be able to act more competently. The general principles that apply to the constructivist learning environment are as follows (ibid):

- Knowledge is not a fixed body of facts and inflexible principles. It is a body of information, ideas and practices, which changes and develops over time. It is constantly open to debate.
- Learning is the construction of knowledge. Its most important features are activities associated with the active life of the classroom: reasoning and critical thinking; problem solving; retrieval, understanding and use of information; relating learning to ones existing knowledge, belief and attitudes and thoughtful reflection on experience.
- Learners are persons actively engaged in constructing knowledge, both individually and collectively. The most important qualities of learners are those that all learners share, and not whether the learner is 'bright' or 'stupid', 'abled' or 'disabled', 'gifted' or 'handicapped'.
- Teachers should encourage construction of knowledge instead of knowledge reproduction.

- Learning is a social, and hence language based activity. Constructivist learning environments support collaborative construction of knowledge through social negotiation, not competition among learners for recognition. Learning and development depend on dialogue between learner and educator, and between learners themselves. Language is thus given particular emphasis in the constructivist classroom.

According to the Draft Guidelines (ibid), adopting the constructivist approach to teaching and learning is proposed for the implementation of inclusive education within an OBE system can be successful. My criticism is that the constructivist way of teaching and learning has its merits but should not be seen as the only way. Monological perspectives in teaching can be limiting, as different situations in the teaching and learning situation require different approaches, hence a need for multiple perspectives. Another cause for concern is the difficulties that teachers have experienced in adopting the constructivist approach during initial implementation of the OBE in South Africa. The major complaints by teachers were the large class sizes and the lack of in-service training for teachers.

A positive aspect for the implementation of inclusive education is that there are similarities between Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) and inclusive education. Both advocate the following: a flexible curriculum; the teaching methodology should be learner centred; the curriculum should be learner based and learner paced; multilevel teaching methodologies should be employed to accommodate the diverse ability levels; and learner assessments should be based on the learner's own ability rather than in comparison to other learners or standardized scores. Naicker (1999) considers OBE as a useful vehicle for implementing inclusive education. An important feature of OBE is that it is concerned with "establishing the conditions and opportunities within the system that enable and encourage all students to achieve those essential outcomes" (Spady, 1994: 2). The constraints of the traditional system related to time, calendars, grades, passing and failing are aspects that are not considered important in achieving outcomes in the OBE system (Naicker, 1999).

However, the implementation of OBE or Curriculum 2005 was fraught with problems from the outset. Outcomes-Based Education came to South Africa suddenly and the implementation process was rushed (see Jansen, 1999, Malcolm, 2001). Most schools and teachers have complained that the process has been too fast, and the resources unavailable (Malcolm, 2001). Workshops were too few and often focused on the jargon and the bureaucratic aspects of Curriculum 2005 rather than underlying concepts and methods (Chisholm Review of Curriculum 2005, 2000). The in-service training focused on Grade One educators, using the cascade model. Firstly, this model proved ineffective as the information taken back to schools was often diluted or misrepresented. Secondly, according to Malcolm (2001), in-service training focused only on the foundation phase educators. The leadership of the school was not targeted. Malcolm (ibid) observes that the whole school needed to be developed to ensure the success of the change process. Due to the problems experienced with Curriculum 2005, the Minister of Education appointed a review committee to make recommendations, resulting in the formulation of the Revised National Curriculum Statement, which is still underpinned by the principles of OBE but has been simplified, streamlined and less riddled with jargon. The problems experienced with implementing Curriculum 2005 do not augur well for inclusive education.

3.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter I examined Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System, through the lens of critical theory. Education White Paper 6, in line with international calls, the constitution and other policies of South Africa, espouses the tenets of reform, redress, non-discrimination, equity, equality and transformation. The policy outlines an implementation plan to move away from segregated education to inclusive education. I examined the various influences that shaped education policies that preceded Education White Paper 6 and the forces that have constrained policy implementation since 1994. The following were found to be constraining factors on policy implementation: the legacy of apartheid that created inequalities among the races and inadequate educational provisioning for black schools; the influence of globalisation

on the economic policies, and the subsequent fiscal constraints in social services and the contradictions in the policy implementation process. I critically analysed the paradigm shift of the White Paper 6, the contradictions within the text and the various levers for change that the policy proposes for the implementation plan.

3.6 CONCLUSION

White Paper 6 contains ambiguities and contradictions that are open to different interpretations, which can result in the maintenance of the status quo. The lack of fit or the huge canyon between education policy and practice in South Africa is explained in terms of the lack of resources, the inequalities of the past, the impact of globalisation and the country's austere macro-economic policy of GEAR. I argue that that the current fiscal constraints can severely impede policy implementation. However, the policy has many strengths, which together with the political will and commitment by all role players has great possibilities.

Against this background of a great canyon between policy and practice in a young democracy, I research one of the initiatives emerging in the country that aims at creating inclusive schools and cultures. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, details of the initiative will unfold. What I find lacking in policy research in South Africa is ethnographic studies that explore how educators, learners, parents and the school as a whole experience policy implementation in South Africa. What goes on in the 'engine room' or the 'micro-world' of education? What are the nuances, dilemmas, ambiguities, contradictions, cultural factors and best practices that unfold in a school that is undergoing the implementation of inclusive education? Are the ideals of equity, redress, non-discrimination, equality, and access to curriculum as espoused in the policy being realized at the school level? These are some of the questions that I explore in my study on inclusive education policy implementation.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRAFTING THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Methodological Dilemma

As the seed of the research topic began germinating in my mind I began searching for the most suitable method to nurture and cultivate this seed so that it would eventually bear fruit. During the germination period I was searching for relevant literature. The rationale for using a naturalistic method of inquiry such as an ethnographic case study became evident. However, I had to grapple with this decision because I was asked questions on my methodology that placed me on the horns of a dilemma. I was told that my methodology seemed merely "the description and documentation of data, which is not good enough for a doctoral study, you know". The question of subjectivity reared its ugly head. I had to explain that my research paradigm does not take on the positivist slant where the issues of subjectivity/objectivity become a problem for the researcher. I was told that this level of thinking is expected of an 'under-grad' student. Another question that was posed to me was that "the policy on inclusive education has not been promulgated yet, and there are no schools in the province that are practicing inclusive education, so from where are you going to get your data?" This germinated in me the seed of doubt that perhaps I should abort this topic and think of something else. The matter of determining the critical question always dogged me and my retort was that my questions had been changing as my research progressed. These questions were vexing for a novice researcher. Fortunately for me, these were not the questions posed by my supervisors. However, my greater concern was how do I do research in unstable and rapidly changing environments, where teachers are bombarded with policy changes on a regular basis? After much deliberation and pointers from my supervisor, I decided that my initial ideas on my research approach would be the most appropriate method for this study.

4.2 Research Design

The choice of my research design stemmed from my critical question:

How does a school community in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa,
experience the implementation of the policy of inclusive education?

I approach the design of this research with some basic assumptions and perspectives, one of which is that schools operate as living organizations. Many researchers have undertaken the development of organizational theories. Each investigator has had his or her own special interest and represents certain perspective. The inevitable result has been a theory in which attention is directed to certain types of organizations under certain types of conditions (Dalin, 1998: 31). For example, we have theories concerning decision-making processes, conflicts, communication, leadership, power and influence to name but a few (ibid). No one theory encompasses all aspects of all kinds of organizations. In other words there are no grand theories or meta narrative that can render explanations on all aspects of all kinds of organizations. In my study I have opted to use the integrated theories in understanding the school as an organization. According to Dalin (1998: 46) the integrated theories of organizations do not take a specific perspective but use more than one specific perspective. For example, Mintzberg's view is that both internal and external forces influence all organizations and that a balance between these forces is necessary for achieving effectiveness (ibid: 47). Senge (1990) introduces a systemic perspective on organizations to help us understand things in context, to understand the whole pattern and not just bits of the whole. He also shows that organizations rarely conduct themselves logically in the short term, hence our partial understanding or misinterpretation of how organizations work (see Chapter 2).

In order to answer my critical question, I had to explore various aspects of the school and its community, such as the structure of the school, the leadership, staff and community involvement in policy making, staff development, what do teachers do in their lessons, what are the teachers' perceptions of the policy of inclusive education, how do staff interact with each other, pupil activity and socialization patterns. In other words, I had to explore the microcultural and micropolitical world of the school. The question demanded that I probe deeply and analyse the school as a unit with particular emphasis on how teachers engage with and implement the policy of inclusion. After all, the engine room or

the micro-world of education is the classroom and the teachers are at the interface of policy implementation.

I chose the ethnographic case study method of inquiry because it afforded me the opportunity to observe the natural environment of the school, the classroom and the playground and also allowed me to probe deeply into the school scenario (see Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Cohen & Manion, 1997). Ethnography as an investigative model has its roots in anthropology (LeCompte & Preissley, 1994). Educational ethnography is eclectic and has been influenced by other disciplines such as anthroethnography, socioethnography, psychoethnography and critical ethnography (ibid). So the theoretical underpinnings of ethnography vary according to the discipline. Ethnography is one social research method drawing on a wide range of sources of information. The ethnographer observes or participates overtly or covertly in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions and collecting whatever data are available to throw light on his or her concerns (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993: 2).

In reaction to the mounting criticism against the positivist paradigm, ethnographers have developed an alternative view of the proper nature of social research often termed naturalism (ibid). Positivism privileges quantitative methods while naturalism promotes ethnography (ibid). Central to positivism is a conception of scientific method modeled on the natural sciences, and in particular on physics. Method here is concerned with the testing of theories, experimental and survey research. Naturalism proposes that, as far as possible, the social world should be studied in its natural state, undisturbed by the researcher. Therefore 'natural', not 'artificial' settings like experiments, should be the formal source of data. Naturalism draws on a wide range of philosophical and sociological ideas: symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, hermeneutics, linguistic philosophy, and ethnomethodology (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993: 7). Using different starting points these various traditions argue that the social world cannot be understood in terms of causal relationships or by the subsumption of social events under universal law. This is because human actions are based upon social meanings: intentions, motives

attitudes and beliefs. For example, at the heart of symbolic interactionism is the rejection of the stimulus-response model of human behaviour, which is built into the methodological argument of positivism. The rationale for this is that people interpret stimuli, and this interpretation, which is constantly under revision as events unfold, shape action (ibid). These same stimuli can mean different things to the same person at different times or different people can interpret the same stimuli differently. Thus ethnographers are interested in how people interpret and negotiate meaning in their natural environment.

I elected to carry out my research in a naturalistic setting because I wanted to study educators, learners and the immediate school community and their interaction in their 'natural' environment, i.e. the school. Naturalist ontology suggests that realities are not wholes that can be understood in isolation from their contexts, nor can they be fragmented for separate study of the parts as (the whole is more than the some of its parts) (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 39). The main thrust of my research was to investigate how the school engages with and implements policy. Hence, studying the context of the school becomes crucial in deciding whether or not my findings have meaning in some other context as well. Moreover, ethnography helped me to study the interface of macro and micropolitical processes with the micro-cultural and interpersonal identity work through which policy is enacted (Benjamin, 2002: 22). Ethnography also helped me to interrogate change and reform at the level of the interpersonal in the context of wider social and political power relations (ibid: 23).

This method of inquiry gave me first hand information as the researcher, since I was the main data-gathering instrument. Using myself as a data-gathering instrument is advantageous because it "would be virtually impossible to devise a priori, a nonhuman instrument with sufficient adaptability to encompass and adjust to a variety of realities that would be encountered" (ibid). This of course has its limitations because of the possibility of researcher bias. Guba and Lincoln (1982) suggest that the aim of the naturalist researcher is not to present a single reality asserting itself as "truth". Naturalist researchers should aim to discover multiple realities that co-exist within any research context. The participants of the research context should judge whether their realities have

been accurately represented. The trustworthiness of the research derives out of whether the informants find the data credible rather than whether the data proclaims some eternal truth (ibid). Instead of being concerned with representativity of research (external validity), Guba and Lincoln (ibid) suggest the use of the construct "transferability". The naturalist inquirer should describe as "thickly" as possible the specificities of the research context under review. This type of reporting will enable the reader to compare the context being described with his or her own context. The choice is left to the reader to decide whether to transfer ideas, interpretation or insights across their own contexts. The term "dependability" is used to counter the construct of "reliability" (ibid). The trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiry should be assessed not according to how consistent a particular human action, phenomenon or behaviour is ("reliability" construct), but rather how dependent these actions, behaviours and phenomena are on the complex, interactive dynamic and dialectical processes under investigation (ibid). The naturalist inquirer always foregrounds his/her own involvement in the construction of the data since, "the data do not speak for themselves", data can only be confirmed via the human intervention of the researcher (ibid). Samuel (1998: 187) notes that the critics of the naturalist research paradigm suggest that this might slide into a bottomless pit of relativism. However, the aim of naturalistic inquiry is to provide in-depth rich information, which is context-bound and does not concern itself with pursuing eternal truths. This provides the research world not with definitive answers, but rather with clearer questions to ask about one's own research (ibid). The question of researcher bias can be minimized by sound triangulation techniques, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Ethnographic research can be subsumed under the generic term 'interpretivism'. Interpretivist methods such as ethnography generally use emergent protocols, non-standardized instruments, and various forms of qualitative analysis (Skrtic: 1995). The ethnographic mode of inquiry suits my purpose, as I am "concerned with subjective truth, with the way human's construct meaning and thus interpret and act upon the social context in which they find themselves" (Skrtic, 1995: 652). I agree with Skrtic's argument that researchers have found difficulty in understanding educational change because they have approached the study of organizational change monologically i.e. from

one particular perspective (1995: 739). He suggests the use of the dialogical approach i.e. a multiple perspective approach in the study of educational change. In the next section I outline my theoretical framework for analysis.

4.3   Theoretical Framework

I used primarily the critical and postmodern theoretical frameworks in Chapters Five and Seven of this study to understand and analyse my data. In Chapter Six I used social capital theory to understand the impact of building social capital in moving towards inclusive schools and societies (see Chapter Two for an exposition of these theories). Critical theory provided the lens to examine the inequalities in the school and its community, the power relations and its influence on the policy implementation process, globalisation, neoliberalism and its effects on the states proposals for redress and equity in education and the tensions and contradictions in the policy implementation process. Critical theory has a transformative or emancipatory agenda. This transformative agenda was embedded in the critical ethnographic approach that the Resource and Educator Development Project used in its attempt to empower educators and the school community towards educational transformation. Postmodern theory helped me to understand the complexities, tensions and contradictions in policy as text and practice; the multiple realities in the school and its community in interfacing with educational policy; the coexistence of order and disorder during times of change, and the multiple identities of teachers. Social capital theory gave me an understanding of how building networks, partnerships and working collaboratively and intersectorally with government departments, NGOs, CBOs and the community can build social capital and reduce exclusion in the school and the community.

4.4   Choice of Research Participants and Setting

In my initial proposal to read for the Doctorate in Education I had the grandiose idea of choosing a school in a developed country and a developing country. The rationale behind this idea was two-fold: firstly, because government policy in South Africa regarding inclusive education was still in the making and there were no schools that I had known

that were practicing inclusive education, so researching in South Africa was out of the question. Secondly, researching inclusive schools in both developed and developing countries would give me a clearer understanding of practices under very different conditions. Unfortunately two factors militated against this grand dream: funding and leave from school. This rude awakening brought me back to terra firma to look for initiatives closer home. This is when my supervisor, Professor Nithi Muthukrishna informed me of the "Resource and Educator Development Project: Towards Building an Inclusive Education and Training System", which she was heading in the rural areas of the Estcourt district of KwaZulu-Natal. The project encompassed thirteen schools. The overall objective of the project was to support implementation of government policy on the development of an inclusive education and training system. The project conceived of inclusive education as being located in the dialogue of social inclusion and exclusion. As stated in Chapter One, this conceptualization moves away from a focus on deficit within the individual and communities to socially constructed disadvantage. It was anticipated that the project would benefit learners experiencing barriers to learning and participation. The project emphasized educator development through training and resource programmes to enable educators to meet the diverse needs in the learner population. Similar projects were being piloted in the Western Cape and North West Province of South Africa. In Chapter Five I provide a detailed description of the project.

I immediately realized that this project would provide a fertile site for my research purposes. To the positivist this would be seen as lack of planning or forethought of the research design. To me this is serendipity in research where one is open to possibilities and opportunities in research. The next step was to select one of the eighteen schools for my field study. Here again my research question gave me direction on the choice of schools. In this study I examined organizational arrangements in mainstream schools that attempted to support inclusive practices and enable all pupils to participate in the curricula of the school. Therefore the following criteria became important in my selection of a school: the school must adopt the policy of inclusive education and should have the characteristics that support inclusive practices that were discussed in Chapter Two. LeCompte & Preissle (1993: 69) call this type of selection criterion based, selection

where the researcher looks for a set of criteria or a list of attributes that the unit for study must possess. The researcher then looks for a set of exemplars that match the specified list of characteristics. After making enquiries from the educator trainers and resource developers, I was referred to Manyana Primary School. This type of selection procedure is called reputational-case selection where the researcher chooses a study population on the recommendations of 'experts'. Prior to selecting the site of my study, I also accompanied team members of the project on four occasions. On two occasions, we visited six schools in the Estcourt District to evaluate the progress made by the schools in moving towards inclusion. On the other two occasions, I observed team members conducting educator development workshops. These few visits gave me an idea of the project and the schools' fledgling attempts at inclusive education. I followed the usual protocol in applying for permission to conduct research to the school principal, the school governing body and the district office of the Department of Education. An initial meeting with the school principal was conducted to outline the research objectives, the data collection plan and the ethical issues of confidentiality. The principal met with the staff to discuss my request. I was informed telephonically that my request to conduct research was granted.

Manyana Primary School is situated in the rural Wembezi area of Estcourt, about fifteen kilometres from the foothills of White Mountain in the central Drakensberg Mountain range, in KwaZulu-Natal. The school is surrounded by scenic rolling hills and grasslands where cattle, sheep and goats graze. Manyana is one of the few schools in this rural area, which boasts, of a modern brick building, piped water and electricity. A fuller portrait of the school will be presented in Chapter Five.

4.5   Data Collection Strategies

> *In anthropology you usually cannot specify in advance what will be important to pay attention to... One must be open to the data, to the possibility that very small clues will prove to be critical and that accident will provide pivotal insight. You go out, ready at least to do natural history...* (Batesan, 1985: 203 cited in LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

One of the characteristics of ethnographic fieldwork is that you cannot predict what will happen in the field, and you have to be alert to data from the most unlikely of sources. The hallmark of ethnographic research is eclecticism (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993: 158). Having acknowledged this fact, one can nonetheless be guided by one's research question and the experiences of other researchers to prepare a data collection plan. The data collection strategies that I used were observation, interviewing, survey and document analysis.

4.5.1 Observation

The type of knowledge that I wished to produce was participant driven (emic) which is referred to as phenomenological knowledge unlike, outsider or researcher driven (etic) knowledge (see Skrtic, 1995: 652). The type of observation that I undertook is what Cohen and Manion (1995) describe as "non-participant" observation while LeCompte and Preissle (1993) call it "participant as observer". The participant-as-observer "enters into the social life of those studied, sometimes assuming an insider role, but often playing the part of snoop, or an historian" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993: 93). In this type of a role the researcher informs the participants that he is a researcher and this allows for comfortable interaction with the participants because the ethical issues are addressed more directly. The researcher can also negotiate with the institution or the group about data collection and feedback. In my role as a "participant-as-observer", I undertook unstructured observation in the classroom, the playground, extra-mural activities, staff meetings, workshops, community interactions and all the events that took place at the school or outside the school. Although I did not actively participate in the above situations per se I entered into the educational/social lives of the participants. There were several advantages to being an insider researcher in my situation: As a teacher who has seventeen years of experience in schools for the intellectually impaired and three years in the mainstream schools I was familiar with what goes on behind classroom doors and outside the classroom and also in the staff rooms. In the past eight years I have observed teacher attitudes on educational transformation on issues such as outcomes-based education and inclusive education. These have been gleaned in the corridors, the staff

rooms, at meetings, conferences, union meetings and many debates with colleagues. My experiences as a classroom teacher, head of department, principal of a school and my current position as an advisor in the Department of Education have equipped me with a fair amount of insider information on organizational structure, curriculum matters and school policies.

However, there are certain disadvantages to being too familiar with the research situation: researcher bias may creep in, it may be difficult to detach yourself from the study, you may miss some of the nuances of the situation, and the familiar may seem so common place and mundane that you may overlook data that may be valuable. In the school that I conducted my research, the familiar was made unfamiliar, as Erikson (1973) suggests because of the cultural differences between the participants, who are African and are Isi-Zulu speaking, whereas I am an English speaking, South African Indian. This posed other methodological concerns: Would I be treated as an outsider or an insider? Would I be accepted in the social circle? Would I be privy to the information that can be gathered in the staff room or corridors?

Burgess (1985) warns against teachers' abhorrence of having another adult in the classroom when teaching. This is true to an extent. I remember my first anxious experiences at being evaluated by the Superintendent of Education and the principal of the school. Even when I first started teaching in a special school, the ever-present assistant in the classroom and the constant visits by therapists and other support staff were quite annoying. After a few weeks I became accustomed to having another adult in the class and welcomed the assistance and inputs of the other adult.

I spent three months in the school and the participants became accustomed to my presence. Moreover, at the outset I assured the teachers that they would have access to my notes and would be called upon to check on the authenticity of my notes. Burgess (ibid) also cautions the researcher that pupils usually perform for visitors. Initially the pupils and teachers did find my presence obtrusive and acted for the camera as it were,

but as the days progressed I became 'part of the furniture'. The following were my observation sites:

- The classroom: observed teaching practice, strategies used, teacher attitudes, curriculum used, verbal and non-verbal behaviour of teachers, pupil participation in lesson, pupil interaction in class, pupil attitudes, verbal and non-verbal behaviour of pupils, teacher records, pupil records, pupils books, time tables/allocation of time for various learning areas and any other activity or situation that arose.

- The playground: teacher pupil interaction during breaks times. Pupil socialization patterns during play with special shadowing of pupils with disability and experiencing learning difficulties.

- Staff room and corridors: to gauge teacher attitudes and perceptions and staff dynamics.

- Staff meetings and work shops: to gauge school planning and development, decision-making patterns, interaction among staff.

- Community: collaboration with school during and after school hours.

4.5.2 Recording of Observations

Recording of observations was done through pencil and pad note-taking, audio and video recordings and photographs. I took cognizance of the fact that initially my presence at the back of the class taking down notes and video recording could have been obtrusive and created an artificial situation. This is one of the reasons ethnographers spend a great deal of time on site so that they can develop "more intimate and informal relationships with those that they are observing" (Cohen & Manion, 1997: 110). This tends to reduce the obtrusiveness of the researcher's presence.

4.5.3 Interviews

The research interview has been defined as a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information, and focused by him on content and specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation (Cohen & Manion, 1997: 271). Before discussing the contents and purpose of my interviews, I will outline briefly the purposes, merits and some of the disadvantaged of the interview as presented by Cohen & Manion (ibid). The interview allows for greater depth than is the case with other methods of data collection. Critics say, however that it is prone to subjectivity and bias. I used the interviews to serve various purposes:

- To probe deeper to get access to what is "inside a persons head" to gain more knowledge and information.

- To gauge what my informant likes or dislikes (values and preferences).

- To get to know what my informant thinks (attitudes and beliefs).

- To use the interviews in conjunction with other methods for triangulation purposes.

Kitiwood (1977 cited in Cohen & Manion, 1997) explains what appears to be a widely held conception of interviews, and how the interview can be used to good effect:

> *If the interviewer does his job well (establishes rapport, asks questions in an acceptable manner, etc.), and if the respondent is sincere and well motivated, accurate data may be obtained. Of course all kinds of bias are liable to creep in, but with skill this can be largely eliminated.*

Data on my respondent's knowledge and information on inclusive education, their preferences and values, and attitudes and beliefs on inclusive education are important to this study, as Ainscow (1995) observed that the real policy makers are the educators in the school.

Who is to be interviewed? The following categories of personnel and pupils from the school and outside the school were interviewed:

- Management - principal, deputy principal, one head of department.

- Level-one educators – two from the junior primary and two from the senior primary.

- Pupils – three pupils who were experiencing barriers to learning. Five pupils were selected randomly for a focus group interview.

- An educational manager from the Estcourt District Office.

- The chairperson of the school governing body.

- Three parents.

- A team member from the Educator and Resource Development Project.

- The coordinator of the project.

I opted to use the semi-structured interview format as it allowed me the flexibility to direct questions on the issues that I wished to probe, and also allowed the interviewee the space to express opinions, feelings and preferences. The semi-structured interview also allows the interviewer to digress from the issues that he wishes to highlight and explore areas that may arise during the interview process (Cohen & Manion, 1997). The semi-structured interview allowed me the space to be informal and less rigid than the structured interview. In addition to interviews, I gathered as much information as possible through my informal conversations with people within the school and those associated with the school.

4.5.4 Document Analysis

The following documents, records and books were analysed: minutes of meetings, newsletters, Resource and Educator Development Project Reports, policy documents and

statements, mission statements, statements of philosophy, management records, teacher's records, pupil's records, pupils activity/exercise and test books. Data from the above sources provided valuable information on the ethos of the school, management style, decision-making style, school structures, teacher's preparation, planning and strategies, pupils' participation, progress and understanding of lessons.

4.6 Triangulation

I used the interviews to cross check the accuracy of the data that I gathered from my observations and vice versa. I also used a questionnaire to obtain statistics on the psychosocial circumstances of the learners. It was not possible to interview all the teachers on the staff because of time constraints. The triangulation strategies mentioned served to validate some of my initial impressions and "enhance the scope, density, and clarity of constructs" that I developed during the course of my investigation (see LeCompte & Preissle, 1993: 48). It assisted me to check for researcher bias. Cohen and Manion (1997: 234) argue that the use of triangular techniques help overcome the problem of "method-boundedness". The triangulation technique that I outlined above is referred to as methodical triangulation (ibid).

4.7 Fieldwork

I spent three months, from the latter part of July 2002 to October 2002, collecting data at Manyana Primary School. I spent four days a week in the first three weeks of my investigation and thereafter three days a week for the rest of the period of my investigation. I also spent a further two weeks in May 2003 at the school. Data collection activities included the following, as reflected in Table One:

Table One: Data Source

Data Source	Number Of Hours/ Units
Lesson observations	30 hours/lessons
Number of teachers observed	16
Interview: Principal	1 hour 20 minutes

Interview: Deputy Principal	1 hour
Interview: Head of Department	1 hour
Five teachers (interviewed separately)	First 2 teachers, 1hour each. 3 teachers 20 minutes each.
3 Students (interviewed separately)	30 minutes each
Focus group interview: 5 students	45 minutes
Interview: Chairman S.G.B.	Unable to attend interview, responded to question by writing.
Focus group interview: 3 parents	1 hour
Observation: staff development	4 hours
Staff meetings	2 hours
Networking	4 hours
ABET Lesson	1 hour
Shadowing of students on grounds	2 hours
Document Analysis	Resource and Development Project Report, Policy documents of the school, registers, administrative records, minutes of meetings, teachers' records, pupils' exercise books.

4.8   Analysis and Interpretation Techniques

Lincoln and Guba (1985: 333-334) describe four dimensions on which ethnographic analysis is based. These dimensions are the deductive/inductive, generation/verification, subjective/objective and construction/enumeration.

Before and during the data collection process I elected to use the inductive method of analysis. My rationale was that from the data would emerge the theory. What I did not anticipate was that my respondents were already influenced by the theories and

paradigms of the service providers who had conducted education and training at the site of my study in respect of inclusive education. Another aspect that interfered with my data collection process and analysis was the ubiquitous presence of the theories and practices that I had gained from the literature study. In other words, the a priori theories and knowledge was influencing the analysis. Therefore, in my analysis I used both the inductive method of analysis and the deductive method of analysis. McMillan and Schumacher (2001) establish that qualitative data analysis is primarily an inductive process of organizing the data into categories, identifying patterns and relationships. However, the deductive method is also used in some stages of the analysis process (ibid). This also had a bearing on the second dimension of data analysis, that is, generation/ verification. According to Goetz and LeCompte (ibid), generative inquiry is most often served by inductive analysis and verificatory inquiry by deductive analysis. Hence my data analysis was used to generate grounded theory and verify a priori theory and practice. I wish to add that my research process was non-linear. During the fieldwork and the data analysis process I had to go constantly back and forth to the literature and theories to make sense of the data. New literature and theories had to be sought to make constant comparison with the emerging themes. After about six months, I had to go back to the site to verify and collect more data. So my research has not been neat, tidy and clinical.

Goetz and LeCompte (1981 in Lincoln & Guba 1985: 334) assert, "Ethnographers…must use strategies to elicit and analyze subjective data. The goal is to reconstruct the categories used by subjects to conceptualize their own experiences and world view". This view contrasts with the positivist view that researchers should use objective modes of inquiry. In my study I strove towards eliminating researcher bias by using triangulation techniques but I make no pretence to being free of any form of subjectivity.

The following comment by Miles and Huberman (1984: 55) aptly encapsulates the chronic problem of the qualitative researcher in working with a mountain of words:

> *A chronic problem of qualitative research is that it is done chiefly with words, not with numbers. Words are fatter than numbers and usually have multiple meanings. This may make them harder to move around and work with. Worse still*

words are meaningless unless you look backwards or forwards to other words...
Numbers, by contrast, are usually less ambiguous and may with more economy

Miles and Huberman (ibid) rightfully point out the arduous task of the qualitative researcher (and more so, the ethnographer) in dealing with the fatness or thickness of words, and the constant search for meaning in a mountain of words. After I completed three months of data collection I wondered what I got myself into with my mountain of field notes, taped interviews, videotapes of class lessons and other activities, questionnaires, documents and photographs. My thoughts were on "how much easier it would have been working with numbers". Undaunted, I began the arduous demanding task of transcribing the audio and video tapes, typing the interview responses and collating the typed field notes. I attempted to bring a semblance of order by compiling the raw data into a book. I took the advice of LeCompte and Preissle (1993) to take a break or a 'cooling off' period to distance myself from the data.

The next step in the process of analysis involved scanning the data that is, rereading it. This served various purposes: to check for completeness, to get a global picture as the data unfold, and to make notes of emerging patterns, regularities and ask questions of the data (see LeCompte & Preissle, 1993: 236-237, McMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 461-497). Taking notes during scanning directed me in the first stages in organizing, abstracting, integrating and synthesizing the data (ibid). The notes also helped to form the initial outline or system of classification for sorting the data. In developing the outline I looked for patterns and regularities in the data, which gradually transformed into categories. While scanning the data I not only took down notes but also used different colored highlighters to flag the recurring patterns (This seems an unsophisticated and laborious way of doing things especially in this age of computer technology. Unfortunately I could not find a computer programme that would suit my purposes). This method helped in sorting the information into codes or categories. As the data was sorted into categories, themes began to emerge. In searching for categories, patterns and themes, I used the iterative process of going back and forth to constantly compare the data. Through constant comparison, patterns began to emerge to form themes (see McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). Lecompte and Preissle (1993) use the metaphor of the jigsaw puzzle

to describe how the picture eventually emerges in data processing and analysis. Note taking, coding and categorizing is intuitive and is also informed by the researcher's metatheories, explicit theoretical frameworks and constructs made explicit by the participants of the study (ibid). I used five sources to help me classify and organize the data: the research question, the research instruments, viz. interviews, themes and concepts that emanated from the literature and the data itself (see, McMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 467).

I commence Chapter Five with a portrait of Manyana Primary School and provide details of the Resource Development Project. Drawing a portrait and presenting an overview of the Project helped me to "withdraw from minute details and look at the larger picture" (ibid). A portrait of Manyana Primary School informs the reader where the study took place, what was investigated, and how the study was done.

Thereafter, I pulled the field notes apart to match, compare and contrast, which is actually the heart of analysis (see LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

The following three themes emerged from the data which I present in Chapters Five, Six and Seven: Responses from a Learning School and Community; Building Social Capital in a Rural Context and Discursive Influences on Policy Implementation.

4.9 Summary and Conclusion

The epistemological foundation on which this study is based falls within the interpretivist paradigm. Interpretivists seek to uncover subjective realities rather than facts. Within the naturalistic mode of enquiry I had chosen ethnography as a research tool. Ethnography offered me spaces to enter the micro-world of the school community. As a non-participant observer I was able to get insider information on the micro-political and micro-cultural world of the teachers and learners. The prolonged investigation that ethnography demands yielded thick description and multi layered realities.

The instruments that were used in this study were the following: non-participant observation, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, focus group interviews and document analysis.

I used an eclectic theoretical framework and made prodigious use of critical and postmodernist theories in my analysis. The data analysis involved scanning, sorting, organizing, synthesizing, pattern searching and categorizing. In the next three chapters I critically analyse the data and present my findings. In my analysis in the next three chapters I weave the literature, approach, results and discussion.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESPONSES FROM A LEARNING SCHOOL, LEARNING COMMUNITY

5.1   Introduction

As mentioned in the last chapter I weave the literature, approach, results and discussion in my analysis of the data. In this chapter I present the first theme that emerged from the data. Evidence from the data suggests that developing learning schools and learning communities create possibilities for educational change and building a culture of quality education for all. I commence the chapter with a portrait of the site of my investigation, Manyana Primary School, to present a global view of the school. The Research and Educator Development Project mediated the inclusive education policy in thirteen pilot schools. Therefore I give details of the components and the development agenda of the project. I then proceed to analyzing the data in search of meaning. Data from the following categories are interrogated: action research as a vehicle for the development of the school and its community; teacher identities in the face of change; mobilizing leadership at all levels; changing practice through collaborative action; the inclusive curriculum and community- based support.

5.2   Portrait of Manyana Primary School

Manyana Primary was born in the turbulent year of 1990. While the unbanning of political parties and the release of political icon, Nelson Mandela, ushered in uhuru[6], the rural village of Wembezi at the foothills of White Mountain was wracked by political violence. Wembezi like many other rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal, was the battleground for political control between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The principal of the school explained the urgent need to establish this school during my many informal chats with her and during the formal interview:

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[6] uhuru: An African word meaning jubilation after political liberation from oppression.

The school was established in 1990. There was a great need to establish this school. During that time there was a lot of political rivalry. The people from this area could not cross over to the other section. Therefore there was a need for a Junior Primary school for the little ones. That is how the name of the school is derived. The word is an affectionate term for little ones, little children. The riots did not end, it continued and as the children passed the junior primary phase, there was a need for a senior primary phase. The community had to agree that there was a need for the school to be extended to accommodate the senior primary phase. This is how the department built the second phase of the building in 1995.

The following extract from the deputy principal's comments during an interview depicts the extent to which the school was wracked by political violence:

In the early days the problem was with the riots between the two parties – the ANC and IFP. The school is situated in the IFP area and the opposite area belongs to the ANC. In those years one of the learners in grade one had died in the classroom. He was shot by one of the boys from the ANC party. The situation is okay now. We are now able to walk everywhere now.

In memory of those who were killed in the political violence of the past and as a stark reminder of the scourge of intolerance, a 'peace garden' has been set up adjacent to the school fence. People who were once arch enemies, now work cheek by jowl tilling the soil and making a living trough subsistence farming. The peace garden was set up by local councillors and community leaders to mark the peace accord forged after the turbulent years before 1994. I mention these critical events in the history of the school to show their impact on the culture of learning and teaching in the school. The early history of Manyana was fraught with disruption of classes, a breakdown of learning and teaching due to political strife, teacher union strikes and boycotts.

The rural village of Wembezi is situated in the magisterial district of Estcourt, which is approximately 157 kilometres from Durban. Estcourt falls within the Ladysmith Region of the Provincial Department of Education. It has a population of 159 378 with 72% of the households living in poverty. In the district 73% of the households are without piped water, 16% without flush or pit toilets, and 11% without refuse disposal (Muthukrishna & Sader, 2004).

The student population of the school is 850. The grades range from Grade R (school readiness or pre-primary class) to Grade 7. The school staff comprises: 20 educators including a female principal, a deputy principal, three heads of department, one school clerk, and 14 level-one teachers (lowest ranked). Of a staff of twenty educators there is only one male educator. It is not uncommon for primary schools to have a majority of female teachers.

Due to inadequate government funding, the school is unable to purchase adequate teaching and learning support material, employ a cleaner or a gardener. An unemployed parent attends to the school gardens on a part time basis. He is paid an honorarium for the job that is done. The Grades 6 and 7 pupils also engage in cultivating vegetables, which are used in the school feeding scheme. The intermediate phase learners take turns to clean the toilets every day. The classrooms are swept, tidied, and cleaned on a daily basis by pupils.

The children of Manyana Primary "suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortunes". I use a quote from Shakespeare's "Hamlet" to describe the onslaughts of environmental circumstances of the children. In my encounter with them I found that many children of the area suffer the slings and arrows of their psychosocial and socio-economic circumstances on a daily basis. It is a sheer triumph of the human spirit that so many of the children rise above these circumstances, though the unfortunate ones remain entrapped and live on the margins of society. I present statistical data in the form of a table reflecting the psychosocial and socio-economic circumstances that seem to define the lives of some of the pupils. The instrument I used to gather this set of data was a questionnaire (refer to Appendix). During my interviews and informal conversations with staff, I found that much mention was made of poverty, orphans, physical and sexual abuse of learners, HIV/Aids among adults in the community, unemployment, single parents and children being reared by caregivers. Having received such information I wanted to gauge the prevalence of these conditions among the learner population at Manyana, hence the need for a questionnaire.

The questionnaire was given to the teachers to complete because they had records of the pupils' background and were also in close contact with parents and caregivers. Teachers gathered much of the data through contact with of the parents, caregivers, neighbours and from the pupils themselves. Questionnaires could not be sent to the pupils' homes because many parents and caregivers are illiterate. There is a fifty-one percent illiteracy rate among the adult population in the Estcourt area (Muthukrishna & Sader, 2004). There were certain instances where teachers could not get information from pupils, parents or caregivers. The following are examples of some of these instances: teachers could not ascertain whether certain pupil's parents were living or deceased because many children, especially in the foundation phase, believe their caregivers were their parents.. In other instances, teachers could not ascertain whether parents were employed or not. Teachers were instructed not to include any information in the questionnaire that they were unsure of, or could not verify. For these reasons one can speculate that the unemployment figures, number of parents that were deceased, or the poverty levels may be higher. Moreover, interviews with staff painted a bleaker picture than that which emanated from the questionnaire.

Table Two: Psychosocial circumstances of learners: Statistics for January to December 2002. Total Learner population = 850.

	PSYCHOSOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF LEARNERS	NO.	%
1	Number of learners whose father is deceased	157	19
2	Number of learners whose mother is deceased	92	11
3	Number of learners whose both parents are deceased	69	8
4	Number of learners who are living with one parent because their parents are separated	188	22.7
5	Number of learners who are living with care-givers e.g. granny, relatives	157	19
6	Number of learners with only one parent employed	275	33
7	Number of learners with both parents unemployed	207	25

8	Number of pupils who are living in poverty	230	27.8
9	Number of pupils who have been physically abused	22	2.66
10	Number of pupils who have been sexually abused	8	0.96
11	Number of pupils who are experiencing learning difficulties	144	17.4

Poverty at 27.8% and unemployment (25%) are high and if sustained for a period of time, have a debilitating effect on learners and the learning process. The most obvious result of poverty is the lack of nutrition and shelter. Learners living under such conditions are vulnerable to emotional stress, which adversely affects learning and development (NCSNET & NCESS, 1997). Poverty coupled with single parent families (157+92=249) or no parents (69) places pressure on the family and further increases the risk factor for learning problems among learners. The number of students experiencing learning difficulties is 144, which is equivalent to 17% of the school population. The number of pupils who suffered physical and sexual abuse add up to 30, which is 3.62% of the school population. The above figures seem conservative, the staff of the school perceive them to be much higher. They contend that the figures from the questionnaire are lower because of the difficulty of obtaining information. Take the figure for poverty (27.8%), for instance, which is low compared to the figure of 72% for the Estcourt district recorded by Muthukrishna (2002). Muthukrishna's (2002) study found that levels of poverty in the rural areas of the magisterial district of Estcourt were amongst the highest in the country. Fifty percent of the adult population is unemployed. The following comments by members of staff on some of the psychosocial and socio-economic problems of the learner population show that the statistics that emerged from the questionnaires could be lower than the real situation:

> DEPUTY PRINCIPAL: The problem the people in the area face is poverty. Most of the people are unemployed. This place is economic disaster. Most of the children are orphaned and we assume that this is because of the HIV/Aids. Also

people lost their lives through the riots. About 70% to 80% of children do not have parents. Most of them are looked after by the grandparents, uncles, aunties. Some of them have single parents.

PRINCIPAL: The attendance became better since we have the feeding schemes. It's coming up now but it has been a big, big problem but now its better. In the past some children did not have anything to eat, they were hungry. It was even difficult for them to leave home without food. Now they know even if they do not have food I will get something for them. The poor parents want to send children to school because they can get education and the same time get something to eat.

TEACHER: Yes, there are many barriers. We have slow learners. There is the poverty problem, the performance of children becomes lower and lower. There are those that are abused, some of them are sexually abused and physically abused. Their performance in class is affected.

Note that the deputy principal rates the number of children having no parents as 70% - 80%. The scourge of poverty as articulated in the voices above was repeated by all members to whom I spoke. The children came to school not only for education but also for something to eat. Attendance at the school dropped when meals were not provided. During the three months of fieldwork the feeding scheme was fully operational and pupil attendance was good. When I visited the school in the following year to verify some information and collect more data, I found that the attendance had dropped by about 15 percent. The principal informed me that the Department of Education had stopped the feeding scheme due to regulations as set down by its 'norms and standards'. The Department did not consider Manaya Primary a disadvantaged school because it was built of brick and tile, had electricity, piped water, a fence and a paved driveway. According to these criteria, Manyana was recognized as an advantaged school, hence the withdrawal of the feeding scheme. This contradicts the principles of equity and redress that are articulated in the Constitution of South Africa, the South African Schools Act and Education White Paper 6 (see Chapter 3). Due to the withdrawal of the feeding scheme the principal attempted to solicit donation from private individuals and business houses to provide a meal for the pupils. The issue of poverty as an exclusionary factor will be interrogated in Chapter 7.

Physical and sexual abuse of children (30) are causing severe emotional trauma among those affected. During one of my interviews with a nine-year-old, Grade Four girl, the learner broke down and sobbed. She was in the throes of explaining why she found it difficult to concentrate in class and the reason for her frequent sobs. I stopped the interview because the child was suffering emotional trauma. The interpreter who was assisting me in the interview comforted the child. As a researcher I was faced with an ethical dilemma. Is it ethical to interview a child who is undergoing such trauma? How do I assist the child? I had no prior knowledge that the child had been undergoing emotional problems. Later in the day the deputy principal explained that the child was raped by her uncle and by her neighbour. According to the deputy and the class teacher, the child's recent scholastic performance had become erratic.

In one of my classroom observations in a Grade 5 class, I noticed that a learner was falling off to sleep at her desk. The teacher explained later that the learner experienced severe exhaustion and fatigue because she had to work late into the night completing household chores for her aunt and uncle. The child was physically assaulted if she did not complete the work. The child lived with her aunt because her single parent mother lived in Durban, near her place of employment.

Such are the slings and arrows that some of the children of Manyana endured in their daily lives. Amid the gloom and doom of the ravages of poverty and other psychosocial problems of the learner, the staff of Manyana and some sections of the community began engaging with the policy of inclusive education. There were many questions that troubled me during my fieldwork. To what extent would inclusive education be possible amidst such a sea of exclusionary forces? With such fiscal constraints would there be any attempts at poverty alleviation? How do teachers engage with teaching when the child's basic physiological and emotional needs were not met?

Before examining the data, I present an outline of the Resource and Educator Development Project.

5.3 The Resource and Educator Development Project

5.3.1 Outline of Project

The Resource and Educator Development Project: Towards Building an Inclusive Education and Training System, was a pilot project of the National Department of Education funded by the Danish International Development Agency (Danida). The aim of the project was to support the implementation of 'Education for All'. The project was piloted in three provinces in the country, namely KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and North West Province. In KwaZulu-Natal, the project was conducted by a consortium, which included the School of Education, University of Natal as the lead organization, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs) and the Disability Peoples Organization (DPO). Officials from the Department of Education at the regional office of Ladysmith were included in the Project Management Team (PMT) of the consortium.

The project commenced in January 2001 before Education White Paper 6 was launched. Thus there is a nuance of difference in the project's conception of inclusive education and that of White Paper 6 (DoE, August 2001). The project conceived inclusive education as being located within the dialogue of social inclusion (Muthukrishna, February, 2002). According to Muthukrishna, inclusion is not viewed in a narrow sense but is located within the wider social and political context of society. Social exclusion implies a denial of social rights and is seen as a process of long term non-participation in any social, political, economic systems that integrate the society in which the individual resides (ibid). Although White Paper 6 is located within the social rights discourse, it vacillates between the conception of inclusion as 'education for all' and special needs education (see Chapter 3).

Manyana Primary is one of thirteen schools in the Estcourt District of KwaZulu-Natal that was selected as a pilot project aimed at the implementation of the recommendations of Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System. At

the time that the project was conducted, the province of KwaZulu-Natal was divided into eight educational regions. The target region for the project was Ladysmith, which is largely rural. The Ladysmith region has five districts. The Estcourt District was selected for the project by the Provincial Department of Education. One of the reasons for this choice was that an inclusive education initiative had been conducted in this area in 1996. A critical concern of the project was the high incidence of poverty and HIV/Aids in the province. It is estimated that there will be 75 000 orphans by 2012 (Muthukrishna, 2002).

The approach used to implement policy in this project was a combination of 'top down' (outsider) policy guidelines and 'bottom up' (insider) action research processes (Report, Lazarus & Howell, 2003). The project was scheduled to take 18 months to complete but due to the magnitude, it was extended for six months. According to one the facilitators in the project, one of the aims of the project was to build the capacity of the schools and their communities in order to develop and sustain an inclusive education and training system. The following is an outline of the agenda and components of the "Resource and Educator Development Project" (Resource and Educator Development Project, 2001).

5.3.2   A Transformative Agenda

The research methodology adopted by the project can be described as critical ethnography (Muthukrishna, cited in UNESCO, 2002). Unlike traditional ethnography, which merely describes and interprets cultural realities, critical ethnography has a transformative agenda. It delves into power relations and how power is distributed and used, and who benefits from the way society is organized. Critical ethnography explores social inequalities and focuses on working towards positive social change (Carspecken, 1996, cited in UNESCO, 2002). It also studies social practices operating in groups and institutions, and examines how these determine action and meaning. As these practices are culturally influenced, critical ethnography requires questioning the macro issues of power, ideology, and culture. Researchers adopting this genre not only study groups or communities but also encourage critique, and challenge inequitable and unjust social

practices, structures and institutions. They also enable people to see their actions in a wider socio-historical context (Campbell, 1994, cited in UNESCO, 2002).

Recognizing and giving 'voice' to the marginalised and oppressed is one of the emancipatory and democratic goals of the critical ethnographer (ibid). Also participants should be able to use findings in their everyday lives and to explore possibilities for transformation (ibid). Within the framework of critical ethnography, the project used action research in its attempt at policy implementation. An exposition of action research and its usefulness in the project will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.3.3   Components of the Project

Component 1: Developing capacity and raising awareness on inclusive education in the education department i.e. district, region, province and schools.

Component 2: Designing an inset course for teachers on inclusive education. This involved material and educator development.

Component 3: Training educators on developing inclusive schools and inclusive curricula.

Component 4: Conducting action research, and facilitating the development of an effective management and information system.

Component 5: Dissemination of research findings among the countries in the Southern African Developing Countries (SADC) Region. There were two conferences held with the SADC countries to share ideas on inclusive education.

One of the first steps of the project was a situational analysis of the schools and their communities. The situational analysis formed a critical process in the action research cycle. The following were the objectives of the situational analysis (ibid):

- To understand how schools were dealing with issues of inclusion. This includes learners presently outside of schools as well as those experiencing barriers and participation within schools.

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- To look at resources and assets which could support the process of inclusion.
- To explore the relationship between the school, other organizations/ stakeholders and the wider community, and the role that they played in relation to the school.
- Identify barriers to learning and participation embedded in the culture and curriculum of the schools.

The following table gives a detailed description on how the situational analysis was conducted and the impact it had on the schools and their communities.

Table Three: Situational Analysis: Resource and Educator Development Project

Tool	Description	Impact
Framing	Explanation and description of the project and the process of the situation analysis.	"Setting the scene", participants were reminded of the focus on inclusion. This was intended to ensure a common understanding of the project and of inclusive education.
Transect walk	This was a systematic walk through the school with key informants. It revealed information about physical accessibility and resources of the school (e.g. location of toilets and playing fields). Transect walks provide an opportunity to observe, question, listen, discuss and identify - to find out why people do certain things and how it all fits into the overall picture of the educational function of the school. Transect walks may reveal things that people do not speak about.	This was seen to be a useful way of getting people to talk about the school and relationships. During the workshop, there was follow-up on issues that emerged from the transect walk. Even some members of the school community were overwhelmed by the conditions of the school.
Time line	Participants discussed and recorded key events that have had an impact on the school. Each event was written on a piece of card, and an approximate date attached to it. Time lines assist in analysis, in that it makes it possible to make links between historical events and the present experiences in the school.	In many of the schools the time line exercise led to long discussions. It stimulated uninhibited disclosure of the school. However people tended to highlight weaknesses rather than the strengths of the school.
Mapping	Participants constructed a "map" of the school on newsprint placed on the ground. A variety of materials including pens and stickers of different shapes and colours were provided. Firstly, a *current map* of the school was constructed, and this was used as the basis for discussion on: resources and assets presently in the school which promote effective learning and participation of all learners, and barriers to learning being experienced Secondly, a *future map* of the school was constructed, which provided a focus for looking at the vision of members of the school community regarding the future of the school.	The current map was an exceptional tool for the identification of the physical resources of the school. This led to discussion about resources, relationships and how the school could be represented. The future map represented a "wish list". It was a useful tool to encourage collaborative thinking amongst all stakeholders where they could jointly express what needed to change at the school. Physical representation of current and future structure of the school helps to identify significant changes that are anticipated.
Venn Diagrams	Venn Diagrams depict the key institutions and organisations which have a relationship with the school, and indicate the significance and closeness of those relationships. For instance, at Abantungwa, participants began by identifying these key institutions and organisations. They then	Responses from each group indicated the different perceptions of stakeholders. This exercise has a strong visual impact. For some schools, it raised very specific issues such as the distant relationship with the community. These concerns presented a challenge to participants to intervene so that relationships are improved.

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	worked in three different groups viz. educators, SGB and learners, in rating the closeness of the relationship of the structures to the school, as well as its significance, using proximity of cards to each other and size of them accordingly.	
Exploring decision-making processes in the school	Participants were asked to describe how decision-making processes take place in the school.	This was a very sensitive exercise where some of the participants were reluctant to express themselves freely for fear of victimisation. It generated a great deal of emotional energy where leadership structures were unwilling to accept responsibility for undemocratic processes.
Setting priorities	The focus of this exercise was to determine priorities, which needed to be addressed in order to promote inclusion and the overall development of the school. Participants were divided into three groups viz. learners, educators and SGB.	The aim of this task was to integrate issues that had emerged from the previous exercises so that a plan of action could be designed to promote inclusive education at schools. Many participants tended to forget what had taken place in the earlier exercises. Some schools saw this as a basis for action.
Community interviews	A number of interviews were conducted with community members living in the vicinity of the school. These were aimed at verifying the information, which had been gathered at the school.	This was an exceptionally useful tool for "getting the other side of the story", i.e. gaining a balanced view of the school. In some of the cases these interviews confirmed what schools had said while in others there were contradictions.
Observation	Underpinning all the methods used was close observation by both the facilitator and the scribe of the processes that took place. This included observation of non-verbal cues, responses to exercises set, and relationships between participants.	Discrepancies between what was said earlier and what was seen were noted. Where possible, informal interviews were conducted with participants who were seen to be very reserved or reluctant to speak.

Having provided the development agenda, and an outline of the components of the development programme, I proceed to critically examine the experiences of the teachers *vis-a-vis* the in-service training conducted by the project in its attempt to implement the policy of inclusive education. I also examine how the school engages with change and its journey as a learning school.

5.4   Manyana School: Engaging in Systemic Change

5.4.1   Critical Action Research: A Vehicle for Building an Inclusive School Community

Findings from the project indicate that a combination of the top-down and bottom-up approaches to teacher development is a viable option. The top-down approach involves the government or the state driving the implementation process from the top, whereas the bottom-up approach involves 'street level bureaucrats' or actors from everyday life (CEPD, 2001). Research has shown that centralization (top-down) errs on the side of over control; decentralization (bottom-up) errs towards chaos (see CEPD, 2001; Fullan, 2003). An exclusively externally designed and implemented school reform programme (top-down) tends to exert too much control of the policy implementation process. An externally imposed change agenda where local realities are not given sufficient attention does not work (Fullan, 2003). If each school is left to design its own reform programme (bottom-up), this can lead to a multitude of interpretations, which may be contrary to policy aims. Decentralization such as site-based management of reform often flounders when left alone (ibid). Using either one of the approaches exclusively for large-scale change does not seem to work but the combination of both approaches was successful according to data from the project (Resource and Educator Development Project, 2002).

> *The approach used to implement policy in this project – a combination of 'top-down' policy guidelines and 'bottom-up' action research processes – was very successful."   In particular, "action research, in the development of training materials, is a very effective strategy to support the implementation of inclusive education.   It has a range of benefits, including bringing together a range of important players in the implementation of the policy.*

Another important finding from the project is that action research is a valuable vehicle for developing inclusive schools and communities. According to Muthukrishna (February, 2002), within the framework of critical ethnography, the project used action research in its attempt at policy implementation. Action research has been defined as "research done in actual context aimed at being socially useful (to a particular group or to society as a

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whole) as well as theoretically meaningful" (Lazarus, 1985: 113 in Muthukrishna, 2002). It is an approach intended to foster collective action in a social setting, within a research framework. The key principles are change and understanding – action and research, research being seen as a tool for social change (ibid). Action research takes on a capacity building framework. This approach is premised on the belief that action and changes in action will be enhanced by research, and integrating it into practice in turn will enhance research. This integration is achieved by a cyclical process in which action and critical reflection alternate (Price & Kuipers, 2000).

Action research is a cycle or spiral of action, reflection, questioning, exploring, drawing conclusions, evaluating options and planning future action. The spiral goes upward towards improvement. It can also be described as information gathering, plan, implement, evaluate and reflect, and redefine. Through the notion of collaboration, participatory research was built into the action research model that was used in the project (Muthukrishna, 2002). This collaboration included researchers, teachers, learners, Department of Education personnel and other stakeholders such as disabled people's organizations (DPOs) and parents in the pilot schools and their communities (ibid).

According to the project report the following were the benefits of using the action research model (Resource & Educator Project, 2002):

- *An action research strategy allows for collaborative problem solving and solution findings to address barriers to learning and participation.*
- *An action research strategy is effective to engage with educator development in the context of whole school development – particularly if training is done in the context of school based staff development. Educators engage in the reflection, goal setting, planning, implementing school based change and evaluation.*
- *Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) is a valuable and empowering tool to engage all schools and their communities in identifying barriers to learning and participation – a first step in the action research process.*

There are various elements in the action research model that are important for educational policy implementation. The process was school based and collaborative, that is, it involved the educators and the school community in problem solving, materials development and identifying barriers to learning. It engaged the educators in reflection, which is an important element in improving practice. In comparison with the cascade model that the department used to usher in Curriculum 2005, this model seems to have very positive elements as will be seen by the comments by educators and members from the community. According to Jansen (2001) and Malcolm (2001), the cascade model that was used to implement Curriculum 2005 was ineffective in preparing teachers for the new curriculum. The five days of training offered to teachers were more 'telling sessions' rather than 'learning by doing' workshops (Jansen, 2001). The cascade model, where a small group of trainers would train facilitators who carry these messages down to the classroom with other teachers, was poorly conceptualized (ibid). The assumption in the cascade model that curriculum message or information would pass down in an unproblematic manner is flawed (ibid). In contrast to the 'telling sessions' of the cascade model the school based workshops that the project used was interactive and got the educators to participate. Perhaps the words of the principal best sums up this approach to teacher development:

The way the workshop was being facilitated was interesting and empowering, because we were sharing ideas, helping one another, and we were allowed to ask questions. We were actively involved in the learning.

The operative words in the principal's comment 'empowering, sharing ideas, actively involved'. The words suggest that the educators were not passive recipients of knowledge but were actively involved in the construction of knowledge. The words also indicate collaborative learning (sharing ideas, helping one another). Moreover, the voices of the educators were given discursive space in this transformative process.

The materials (work books and training manuals) that were used in the teacher development workshops, were developed by the consortium in collaboration with the teachers, NGOs in the area, and DPOs. All the units except one were designed and

developed by the consortium. Data gathered from the PLA process in each school was used in the designing of the materials for training. In other words, the needs of the schools were taken into account in planning and designing the materials. The materials were also field tested before training was conducted. A group of teachers critiqued the materials for content, language, relevance and setting. I was a participant observer when one of the training manuals was field tested and critiqued by teachers. In the materials development process the project attempted to be as inclusive as possible so that the resource material was relevant to the needs of the educators and schools. This demonstrates a democratic, participatory and inclusive approach to the dissemination of information and the intention of changing attitudes. The following comment by the teacher attests to the value of a participatory, democratic approach to materials development:

For the first time in my life as a teacher I am asked to evaluate training manuals. There were things in the manual we did not understand and we told the facilitators during the group sessions and the feedback. These were changed and made more clear. The teachers are saying that they are feeling good because their knowledge is important.

The extract shows that by allowing spaces for teacher voice, the teachers felt valued. Teacher inputs added relevance and allowed for local contexts to be taken into account. The co-construction of knowledge makes changes easier to accept as teachers felt that knowledge was not imposed on them from the outside. This has enormous implications for policy implementation as evident by the comments of what one of the independent assessors on the materials used for the in-service training:

Independent Assessor: These materials, and the processes they have resulted in, represent what may be the best example of an inclusive, democratic, participatory approach to bridging the gap between policy and implementation since 1994. They embody a serious attempt to disseminate vital information about new policies and their implications, and to translate policy into classroom practice through raising awareness about inclusive education, challenging beliefs, changing attitudes and developing new values and appropriate skill.

The strengths in the materials development process are encapsulated in this report (Resource & Educator Development Project, 2002):

The materials reflect a broad conceptualisation of inclusive education located in the dialogue of social inclusion and social exclusion, and the shift to a systemic paradigm – a move away from "within child" deficit approach. This is congruent with White Paper 6. Judging from the input received from educators, the individuals involved in the training, and other stakeholders, the materials development component has delivered a training package which is conducive to the development of 'inclusive' attitudes and practices. Materials have been developed in a progressive, developmental way, with all information and activities 'scaffolded', which made them 'user-friendly' and accessible to a wide audience. There were certain principles which informed both the educator and materials development components. They in fact constitute a framework,

From the above excerpts of the project reports, my interviews with teachers and the school management team at Manyana Primary, the teacher development programme in the pilot programme indicates a radical shift from other policy implementation process in South Africa. It is seminal in the South African scenario. The involvement of various stakeholders like the Disability Peoples Organizations (DPOs) in the materials development and training is innovative. Involving the educators in the materials development and the school based programmes served to empower and build the capacity of the local teachers. Introducing teachers to the process of reflection and action bodes well for teacher development. The project has started a process, if sustained can go some way in building opportunities for lifelong learning. The development programme in the pilot study shows a clear intention at implementation, unlike the political symbolism of other policy initiatives that Jansen (2001) speaks of when explaining the non-change in education reform after apartheid. Am I extrapolating from the pilot too soon? Will the state pursue the same programme nationwide after donor funds run out? The project formed the fledgling District Support Team to sustain the gains made by the project. In Chapter Seven I explore the issue further.

What were the responses of teachers to the teacher development programme? Generally the teachers' responses reflect a shift in their conceptions (mental models) on inclusive

education (Senge, 1990) given the conscientization experienced in the programme. The value of the school based staff development is captured in the following comment:

> *TEACHER: You know, when we did OBE training we only had five days. There was too much to learn. The difficult words like range statements confused us. There were too many teachers in the training sessions, about hundred and twenty. There was no time for a lot of discussion. These workshops at our school is better. The numbers are small. We had more workshops. We think about our school and talk about our experiences. The people from the university gave us direction. When were became confident our own teachers started to do the workshops. But we still need more workshops in curriculum. We only had a few workshops on how to teach different abilities and the classes are too big.*

The comments by the teacher have important implications for teacher development. The 'one-off-five-day-blitz' type teacher workshops do not allow spaces for teacher voices and the interrogation of new and difficult concepts and terminology. School based programmes with outside support empower teachers to continue their own development. The workshops allow time for teachers to reflect on their own experiences, which is important for collaborative and individual learning experiences. However, teachers were also concerned about the realities in the school - the large class sizes, and mediating the curriculum to a diverse group of students. This aspect will be explored in the next section on teacher identities.

5.4.2 Teacher Identities and Voices in the face of Change

Identity is defined as a set of internalised role expectations (Simon, 2004: 23). A basic premise of identity theory is that modern society is a complex and multifaceted mosaic of interdependent but highly differentiated parts. In keeping with the interrelatedness of the self and society, it is further postulated that in modern society the social person is equally differentiated and complex (ibid). Identity theory proposes that people have multiple identities, which result from participation in multiple sets of structured role relationships (ibid). In the above definition the emphasis is on the persons position or role in society.

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This definition is functionalist; it defines the person in relation to the function s/he performs.

In exploring teacher identities in the face of change, I take the poststructuralist position: the teacher has no fixed identity but assumes different identities at different times so that identities are constantly in a state of flux, a fleeting multiplicity of opportunities (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). I also hold the view that teachers are not always passive, and powerless. In certain spaces they position themselves as passive while in other spaces they are active and exert their power. Teachers are implicated in the making of their own identities. Even in the most constraining of circumstances they are able to exercise choice as to what they will accept or not (Soudien, 2003: 273).

Samuel (2003) postulates that in the process of becoming a teacher, one has to negotiate contradictory and competing forces including ones own life histories, the contexts of the institutions within which one is educated and those in which one works as well as the demands made on one by the education system and the communities one serves. It could be inferred from Samuel's (2003) findings that understanding the forces that impinge on teacher identities is important in establishing why some teachers embrace educational change and others resist, or why a teacher chooses certain teaching strategies and not others. Similar to Samuel's (ibid) findings, Soudien (2003) found that the identities of young teachers-to-be, were influenced by their high school and college experiences. In my study I investigated only one aspect of the teachers' biographical experiences i.e. the professional development for the new policy of inclusive education. Evidence from my study suggests that teachers' biographical experiences in professional development can influence teacher identities for policy change. This evidence will be reflected in my analysis of teacher voices and classroom practice.

Mattson and Harley (2003) investigated what strategies teachers in KwaZulu-Natal adopt in their attempts to engage with a policy system that is not aligned with their personal and professional identities. They suggest that the primary strategy that teachers adopt is that of 'mimicry' in an attempt to 'look competent', and that this reflects a broader pattern of

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'mimicry' adopted by the state and policy makers in their attempts to make South African education 'look modern' (ibid: 284). In my analysis of cooperative learning I show that some teachers used group work effectively as a learner centred pedagogy while others did resort to 'mimicry' when there was dissonance between their personal identities and the demands of policy.

Changing mental models or deeply established conceptions is crucial in developing learning organizations (Senge, 1990). The professional development workshops at Manyana have served to shift, disturb or change the deeply established conceptions of most of the educators there with regard to inclusive education policy and practice. The training has served to broaden the understanding of most of the educators in terms of inclusive education policy and practice. The workshops have offered a foundation for educators to develop a reasonably good knowledge of what inclusion is all about. There is evidence of changing attitudes and a willingness to adopt inclusive education practices as a direct result of the workshops. The project did affect a paradigmatic shift in thinking among the majority of the teachers but there is still work to be done in terms of changing classroom practice to cater for diversity. However, there were three teachers out of a staff complement of twenty who felt they could not cope with the change. The data also reveal that attitude change or change in perception, although an important component of change is not sufficient, more professional development workshops need to be conducted to assist teachers in mediating the curriculum to a diverse group of learners. The following comments by respondents corroborate these findings:

> *TEACHER: The workshops helped us on how to handle learners with difficulty and disabilities and how to deal with pupils with slight vision problem and slight hearing problems. We learnt that there are many barriers to learning and we have to change to help all learners. Many of us changed our attitudes after the workshops. But these workshops are not enough; we need to know more on how to teach learners with disabilities.*

The above comments show a willingness to embrace new thinking but also reveal some anxieties at not being sufficiently equipped to fulfill the roles that have been identified by the policy. There is evidence of shifting 'mental models' or deeply held assumptions to

meet new challenges. The biographical experiences of the teacher's life histories had given them the notion that deficits existed only within the child. The teacher development workshops have created spaces for new biographical learning, which served to change the deep assumptions of some of the teachers. The teacher now realizes that they have to make the changes to provide for the needs of the child. The following comment by educators shows their initial misconception on what constitutes barriers to learning and points to a change of notion from special needs to education for all learners.

> *PRINCIPAL: I say it was a misunderstanding. Nobody understood, even myself, how can we implement inclusive education because I never thought about barriers (invisible barriers) and slow learning. I only thought about the severe cases. But after the workshop I learnt that inclusive education is not only about mentally retarded people or cripple people, but is about any learning barriers.*

> *COORDINATOR OF THE PROJECT: At the beginning the teachers and managers complained that this is added work for them. They wanted to know if they would get more pay for this added work. They were also worried that they did not have the skills to teach pupils with disabilities. They thought that bus loads of learners will be dumped in their school and that with already large classes of 45 and 50 children, this will be very bad. They also felt that special schools were the best place for these learners. They said, "What can we teach them". Some teachers even rejected this idea of inclusive education but could not provide any reason for their rejection of this idea.*

> *There was a definite change in attitude as the project progressed. Many of the teachers have become more accepting. They realized that when they opened their school to all children there were not busloads of children coming to their school but just a few learners came. They also learnt that barriers to learning include condition like poverty, HIV/AIDS, child abuse and drug taking.*

> *TEACHER: Many teachers are now more positive to inclusion. Earlier on they had negative attitudes. They said, "How are we going to teach people who are not able to read, and so on?" These children are rude, we can't teach them, they need to be taught in a special school.*

The comments from the excerpts show a definite shift in thinking from looking at inclusive education only in terms of disability to a conception of inclusion as education for all learners. The initial misconceptions, apprehension and resistance seem to have been allayed by the workshops. We see a transition from old perceptions to new ways of

thinking about inclusion. While some teachers still see inclusion in terms of disability, others seem to have a changed understanding of the issues, requirements and challenges involved in offering quality education for all learners. Even internationally, there are differences and contradictions in the conception of inclusive education (see Booth, Nes & Stromstad, 2003). There was a growing awareness that inclusion does not simply mean integration, but extends to the provision of quality education for all learners. The comments also reveal the hegemonic influence of the traditional special education ideology of *(special schools were the best place for these learners)* on the teacher's biographical learning.

The comments in the extracts below demonstrate that identities can shift through gaining more knowledge and insight.

> *TEACHER: We were fortunate that we went to workshops about it. Before we feared it, we were not relaxed. Before we used to discriminate against the disabled learners. Now we accept them as they are. Now I know how to treat the slow learners, the gifted and how to go with their pace. I treat them the way they want to be treated. It is a good system. Before this we had very negative attitudes about slow learners and we thought that they should be taught separately. Now, after the workshops we came to realize that they can be taught in our classes and now our attitudes has changed.*
>
> *We used to see special needs as something that special schools had to deal with, but now we realize that special needs or barriers exist in ordinary schools like this one.*

When personal and professional identities interface with policy demands, a multiplicity of reactions can ensue, such as resistance, 'mimicry', and non-compliance. In these cases there seems to be a willingness to change. There is an acknowledgement that spaces have to be created for a different pedagogy.

The extracts also show teacher anxieties or tensions at not being sufficiently equipped to fulfill new roles as teachers of a diverse group of pupils. The anxieties about personal mastery of competencies are understandable, as the teachers had received only eighteen months of in-service education and training. Donor funding allowed for only eighteen

months of professional development. When donor funding was increased, the project was extended for a further six months to complete the last module.

The following comment by a District Official in the Department of Education gives a personal perspective on his initial reactions to the policy of inclusive education and the reactions of others in the department.

> *SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION: Initially the attitude was negative. We had questions like how am I going to cope in the classroom, what about the other children in the class, what about individual attention, what about the extra work? As this project progressed the attitude changed to a more positive attitude.*
>
> *When I was just drawn into the project I had some very negative feelings. As I got into the project I realized that this was a rewarding cause. Working with committees and planning became quite interesting. More important, I realized that we were now catering for students who had never been catered for before. We are actually trying to make those with difficulties a productive part of society and this is good for the nation. I am glad that there is an affirmative action law that allows for those with disabilities to get jobs. In terms of globalisation and the nation this is a good move.*
>
> *During the course of the workshops and training there was a definite change in attitude with educators becoming more favourable and positive about inclusive education. They even wanted to start adopting practices of inclusive education. I think within this past two years they felt they were not skilled enough to practice but the eagerness was definitely there. There was definitely a positive change of attitude.*

The comments by the 'Superintendent of Education Management' (SEM) reiterate the common trajectory of initial apprehension and negativity turning into acceptance, and a more positive attitude after the workshops. The SEM's notion of inclusion was still confined narrowly to issues of disability. He seemed to look at disability in terms of the 'charity discourse' (this is a rewarding cause; now they can get a job). His personal anxieties of the new policy demonstrate that even in the higher echelons of the Department of Education there are feelings of apprehension and negativity. The task of the policy implementers becomes even more arduous because they have to convince fellow colleagues in their own ranks before they can change mindsets at the school level. Fullan (2003: 38) uses the tri-level argument to explain that educational transformation

will require changes within each of three levels and across relationships, that is, the school, the district and the state. This resonates with Senge's (1990) 'systemic thinking' in that the educational system is an interrelated whole and what happens in one part of the system affects the other. In the extract above we see a district official grappling with a changing situation. It is imperative that district officials change their 'mental models' so that they affect change at the micro-level (school).

Although the Superintendent of Education still conceived of inclusive education in terms of a narrow focus on disabilities, his attitude and feelings have become more positive. The course of change is non-linear and not everyone responds to change in the same way. The following comments attest to this point. These comments were made during informal conversations with the teachers after eighteen months of in-service professional development workshops by the consortium.

> *TEACHER: I don't know what to do! They have a problem. So many are slow learners.*

> *TEACHER: It is very difficult to teach children who are mentally disturbed. In the class they are disturbing others. They don't want to write. They are screaming. They want to sing in the classroom. Inclusion is a very difficult project. I think these children should have specialist teachers in separate classes. It's too difficult to teach them in the mainstream class.... I don't know whether all these workshops will help me be a successful teacher in the classroom.*

> *TEACHER: The new ideas on OBE and inclusive education is not for us the old ones, they are for the young ones. I feel so tired; maybe I should retire.*

The comments and the choice of language in the first two extracts reveal that the hegemonic ideology of special education has not been destabilized. Here we see a clash between the teacher's personal and professional identities and the roles required by policy. Deficit is seen as emanating from the children who need placement in a special school. They believe that the problem is with children and that specialist teachers in segregated settings are the solution to their problem. One teacher is even sceptical as to whether the workshops will assist her to be a successful teacher in the classroom because it is too difficult to 'teach them' in the mainstream classroom. The biographical life histories of the two teachers together with the special education ideology have served as a

counter force against the demands for change. Changing attitudes or mental sets are complex and no easy task.

The third comment seems to be a lament by some of the older teachers in the teaching fraternity. The pace of change seems to overwhelm them or perhaps burn out has set in. It seems that the identities of the older teachers are less fluid than the younger ones. It seems that after spending many years in teaching, certain mental models are difficult to change. Fullan (2003) has conducted extensive research in educational change in North America and England and has found that the pace of change will never slow down. He says that it would be naïve to think that the overall pace of change will decrease. Even biding the time until the so-called 'chaotic' years are over is a recipe for burn out and frustration (ibid). His advice to teachers is to give up the idea that the pace of change will slow down and to build capacity to deal with rampant change.

Although teachers have become more receptive to the new policy, they voiced their concerns about the factors within the system that hinder them from providing quality education for all learners. There are tensions between the teachers' personal identities and the number of policies they have to negotiate, and the difficult working conditions they have to endure. The large class size, teaching overload and policy overload are among the factors mentioned.

> *In order that we are able to render quality education to our learners, there are some things that we need to take note of. For instance, minimising the number of learners in our classes and the number of learning areas that we teach. That we develop our schools to become even more inclusive, we need to manpower our school, to capacitate our school's manpower in all those things so that we are able to do our work properly. Because I can't be in class and do this and this and this. Many things at the same time. You see I will concentrate on one thing and the other things I won't concentrate properly. Then, there will be that downfall. We will find that it is too difficult to cover all that work at the same time.*

> *I think what is important is that looking at the quality of education. It is not that every learner is at school. Just to be at school is not the same as being taught that quality. To whoever is interested in the education of the country, we must be aware so that we are able to render quality type of education to our children: We must have that number of learners with whom we can be able to establish a good*

relationship; we can be able to help them to all sorts of things that they expect as children; or what we can do as parents to them. I think those are the things that we need to look at. And the Department, they need to look at these things, not to just allow children to flow into the schools and to just leave then like that.

The in-service education and training has been successful in challenging deeply held conceptions and assumptions, and developing an understanding in educators that there are many extrinsic barriers to learning which educators need to address in providing education for all learners. However, as was mentioned above, there are still many challenges to overcome.

5.4.3 Mobilising leadership at all levels

The 'effective schools' literature as well as the 'school improvement' literature have identified leadership, among others conditions, as important in fostering effective schools (see Caldwell & Spinks, 1993; Levin & Lockheed, 1993; Reynolds & Stoll, 1997; Stoll & Fink, 1999). There is considerable evidence that leadership in schools is the key element in bringing about changes in school policy (see Fullan, 1992; Caldwell & Spinks, 1993; Levin & Lockheed, 1993; Ainscow, 1995 & 1997; Davidoff & Lazarus, 1997, 1999; Wolger, 1999).

According to McLagan and Nel (1999), old style authoritarian structures are barriers to the evolution and development of participative governance. Steep pyramidal structures create problems for today's organizations. Information moves too slowly within them and they do not have the flexibility needed to compete in a rapidly changing global world. The authors argue for flatter and more flexible organizational structures. The old authoritarian worldview maintained that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts and that each part is a discrete fragment of the whole. The new world view asserts that the whole is reflected by and contained within each of its parts and each part is a microcosm of the whole (ibid).

Against these conceptions of leadership I examine the leadership at Manyana Primary. Leadership at this school community must be viewed against the backdrop of the turbulence of the eighties and the nineties in Black schools in South Africa. The breakdown of learning and teaching during the apartheid years and during the nineties, the militancy of teachers during the rise of unionism, and the gross lack of resources, especially in rural schools, made school leadership and management a veritable powder keg ready to explode. Moreover, the thrusting of parents to serve on school governing bodies without much training made school governance a nightmare for many schools. The following excerpt is a scenario that the PLA uncovered about leadership in some of the schools:

> *We were not able to air our views. Decisions are taken at the office.*
> *We never get a chance to meet as a staff. We hear things from learners. There isn't good communication between us and the principal.*
> *We don't like the way educators are selected [to attend workshops], we just see those who has been selected going to attend workshops without a satisfactory or open selection.*

As noted in the literature review in Chapter Two, there is considerable evidence that leadership in schools is a key element in bringing about changes in school policy. There is a call for a change in leadership style from a transactional leadership approach, which maintains traditional (bureaucratic) concepts of hierarchy and control to a transformational approach, which distributes power and empowers people (Stoll & Fink, 1999). Good management is an essential aspect of any education service but its main goal is the promotion of teaching and learning in schools. The task of management at all levels is the creation of support of conditions under which teachers and their students are able to achieve learning (DoE, 1996). Management should not be seen as the task of a few, but it should be seen as an activity in which all members of the educational organization engage (ibid). The Resource and Educator Development Project in KwaZulu-Natal carried out leadership training at all levels. This included leadership training at the district level, the school level, and the community. The rationale behind this was that shared democratic leadership was essential for whole school development and the change towards inclusive education. In Chapter Six I will examine the development of leadership

at the community level. In this chapter I examine leadership within the school and at the district level.

According to the project reports there were many schools in the project that lacked democratic leadership. Many lacked management skills.

> *Internal dynamics between teachers and between teachers and the school management have made it difficult to implement inclusive education properly in the schools.* (National Quality Evaluation Report, 2003)

The project reports and the National Quality Evaluation (2003) show that that those schools that had good democratic leadership achieved a greater measure of success in implementing inclusive education in their schools. What is it in the leadership that made Manyana different from some of the less successful schools in the project?

5.4.3.1 Sharing Leadership

There was evidence of elements of a transformational leadership approach during my interaction with the staff, my informal conversations with the teachers, in the data from the interviews and the views of the community. Shared decision making is an important element in a transformational leadership approach. The following comments from the interviews indicate that decision making in the school is shared among different levels of the staff. Decisions are not made only by the principal or the school management team, but all members of staff share in decision making.

> *PRINCIPAL: We are a staff of 20 and we have different ideas. I know I am not the clever one (laugh) amongst the staff, so to succeed I need other people's talents. I don't take decisions on my own. But there are times that I got to think standing and make a decision there and then. Mostly I consult with the staff.*

Three significant points are made in the above statement. Firstly, decision-making is on a consultative, shared basis; secondly like all good leaders, the principal is able to make prompt decisions when the need arises. Thirdly, she is amenable to suggestions ideas generated by her staff and is prepared to make use of others. Fullan (2003: 98) has found

in his research in schools in England and North America that working on connected thinking and shared leadership within the team is important to sustain change in schools.

> *Deputy Principal: It is important to give educators the opportunity to make decisions because if you don't give them the opportunity to make decisions then they can refuse to do things because they can say that this did not come from us, it came from the management team. If the decision came from them then they will do it.*

The deputy principal makes an important point that decisions that emanate from the staff are more likely to be followed than decisions foisted by the management. If staff is party to a decision then they tend to take ownership of that decision. Moreover, it is difficult to accomplish the goals of the school without the active involvement of the teachers.

> *Head of Department (HOD): If you want your organization to work well you cannot make decisions on your own. You have to let your teachers know that they are also important. Teachers can come up with creative ideas. You must involve teachers, you must not dictate.*

The HOD shares similar ideas with the principal and deputy on decision-making. She adds a further dimension to leadership that is important in teamwork, making members of the team feel a sense of worth or in other words valuing members of the team. Building leadership and management capacity is essentially about participation (Davidoff & Lazarus, 1997). When people share in the capacity and direction of an institution their capacity is enhanced.

Thus far I have analysed the management team's responses on decision-making. Let us now examine how three level-one teachers perceive or experience decision making in the school.

> *Teacher: Staff meetings are good because we are given a chance to discuss our views and also know what is happening in our school and education. Our principal asks for our input. We give our input at meetings. We work together in making policies.*

Teacher: The SMT is an important structure in a school. If the school management and the principal provide good leadership then the school will function well. Also decision making must be shared and teachers must co-operate with each other. We are given a chance to discuss our views.

Teacher: We also have meetings when something comes up that is important. You have to have staff meetings to discuss issues with the staff. You can't make decisions on your own. The teachers do not know everything. We are given a chance to air our views. That is co-operative learning. Our concern is the success of the child, so if you are concerned about the child everybody is important not only with the school, even the community is important.

The above comments seem to indicate that not only is the management involved in the decision-making, but level-one teachers are also involved in the process. This devolution of decision-making and leadership is also seen in the various structures in the school. For example, although the principal and the deputy principal are part of the institutional support team (IST), teachers manage, chair and drive the IST. Although the IST liaises with the school management team on major decisions, the members of the IST take decisions and offer leadership in carrying out its functions (The IST and its contribution to the school will be examined in Section 5.4.4 of this chapter). All the subcommittees such as the OBE, sports, cultural, staff development and bereavement committees are run and managed by teachers. Teachers will put more energy into achieving the goals of the school if they share in the leadership, planning and running of the school and its projects.

The data thus far has painted a picture of cohesiveness at Manyana. I hasten to add that tensions do exist below the surface, albeit not on a scale to destabilize the school. Power relations can be very subtle. For example, the traditional notion of maintaining power at the upper end of the hierarchy resurfaces among some individuals. This remark was made in one conversation: "be very careful of giving teachers power, it may cause trouble. When some teachers get duties they think that they are too big". Power relations in a school are a complex matter; it takes an intuitive leader to be in tune with what goes on below the surface and to try and bring about a balance. Although the principal and the school management team, as in most South African schools wield much power, in Manyana the principal and the school management team have been striving towards sharing power with the teachers. The structure of school still resembles hierarchical

divisions, with the principals as the head followed by the deputy principal, the heads of department and the level-one teachers. However, there is considerable flexibility within this structure and the leadership has been using the participative style, as evidenced in shared decision making and leadership at different levels.

5.4.3.2 Leadership and Planning

Planning is an important aspect of leadership. In order to achieve the goals of the school and accomplish its vision and mission, of planning is imperative. Some of the indicators of good planning are the policies of the school, meetings that are held, deployment of staff, the day-to-day running of the school, and the activities in which the school engages.

With the help of the project facilitators, the entire staff together with members from the school governing body mapped out the vision and mission of the school. Leadership and management in a school is about having a clear direction of action, holding the school together, establishing certainty often in unstable circumstances, imbuing confidence and security and making sure that the school is functioning effectively (Davidoff & Lazarus, 1997).

According to the data gained from the school management and the teachers, the school policy is to have at least one general staff meeting and a management meeting once a fortnight, but their "plans do not always work".

> *PRINCIPAL: The management meets every fortnight but many things do come up. Our plans do not always work. To speak the truth it is not happening like that. Some of the reasons are the district meetings, workshops etc. I told you how in the in the first term I had to run around to the district office to find a teacher for our school. We do try and meet. Our staff meets at least once per term, but if we have a need to meet we will meet informally – it becomes less stressful. I prefer the informal meetings where teachers can talk. Sometimes we just stand in the staff room or outside and chat informally. We Zulus like our imbizos where we can all have a chance to talk. We don't have to write too much of minutes.*

DEPUTY PRINCIPAL: We have management meetings about two times a month where we share ideas and what's to be done by us and other educators. Sometimes we miss meetings because of other commitments but the management talks together all the time while standing in the office or the verandah. We also talk to the teachers informally.

HOD: We try to have management meetings about twice a month but sometimes this does not happen because of outside meetings. But the management talks to each other every day in an informal way. Management meetings are important and we have to discuss what is happening in our departments and the school. Leadership is important- we have to make lots of sacrifice —we finish late in the afternoon with meetings.

From the above excerpt it could be discerned that the process of change can be turbulent or chaotic: "Our plans do not always work". Especially in times of change the best laid plans can go astray. Principals or school management teams are frequently pulled out from schools to attend to district or regional meeting pertaining to policy matters. This puts paid to many of the plans that the school has made. The principal reports that at the beginning of the year the school was short of a teacher. The wheels of bureaucracy often grind slowly. The principal had to run around to find a teacher as the class did not have a teacher for about a month. In the interim the principal solicited the services of a matriculant to teach the class. The principal did her own investigation and found a surplus teacher at a nearby school. The principal informed the department and eventually got the necessary paperwork organized to get the teacher to her school. This scenario resonates with Fullan's "chaos theory" and what Clark calls the "non-linearity of change" (Fullan, 2003; Clark, 2000).

The principal also has informal meetings with the staff when the need arises. She seems to prefer this type of meeting because the teachers feel free to talk. The 'imbizo' is an IsiZulu word for meeting or gathering where the people get together with the leadership to discuss important issues and take decisions. It is like a consultative meeting. The meeting does not require minute or note taking and is not bogged down with too much administrative work. This indigenous style of leadership opens up possibilities for easier exchange of ideas and thoughts and seems to suit the teachers who are used to this

cultural practice. During times of uncertain time schedules these quick 'imbizos' proved a useful improvisation.

5.4.3.3 Building an Inclusive Culture and Ethos

The welcoming ethos of the school, the behaviour and discipline of pupils, the well-being and morale of staff are a few indicators of the leadership and management of the school. The following comments by teachers attest to the high morale of the staff, the discipline in the school and the welcoming atmosphere for both staff and students.

While watching a netball training session I engaged in a conversation with the intermediate phase teacher. I was impressed with the good behaviour and discipline of the pupils. Her reply was *"It is a team effort. The teachers work well with management."* I began to surmise whether this was the only factor that accounted for the good behaviour of pupils or whether it was the tremendous respect that the rural Zulu speaking pupils have for their teachers or whether corporal punishment was being administered at the school. I could not find any evidence of corporal punishment during my three months at the school. Only once did I see a teacher threaten a pupil with a cane. Although the following comment is not part of this study I will nonetheless mention it. I also found a difference in the behaviour between pupils in the rural school and the urban schools. I intimated my observations to another teacher. She did agree that there is a difference, in that the pupils in the rural areas were more docile. She noticed too that the behaviour of pupils at Manyana was better than other neighbouring rural school because of the ethos of the school.

At a time when many in the teaching fraternity have voiced frustration and dissatisfaction at conditions at their schools, the following comments by teachers speaks volumes about the school climate at Manyana:

> *I love teaching because there is no tension in this school. We are happy here because of good management. We get good support from the HOD.*

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My colleagues are motivated. In other schools when the principal is away the teachers take their chances – when the cats away the mice will play. We do not have that problem here. Whether the principal or management is here or not they carry on with their jobs. It shows that they are motivated and they like their jobs.

The lack of tension in the school, the happiness and motivation of teachers and the collaboration of teachers and management speak of a cohesive teaching climate. Support and mentoring by management are also important for teacher development. A trusting relationship between teachers and management and staff is good for any institution.

These are the principal's comments on the morale of the school:

Principal: In my observation I am satisfied, I think that they are happy. When they come in here and they sign the time book you must hear the laughter of the teachers, there is friendship. If there are problems areas they talk to the management team first. If the management team cannot solve the problem we sit together and work out ways to solve the problems.

Daily attendance of teachers at school is also indicative of teacher morale. According to the principal, deputy principal and the HODs, and my observation, the daily attendance of teachers is excellent. A close scrutiny of the time book showed that teacher attendance at school was good. Against the backdrop of poor teacher attendance in many schools (see CEPD, 2001) the teacher attendance in Manyana is excellent. In the three months that I spent in the school two teachers were absent for one day each and the third teacher was absent for eight days. The following excerpt from the principal's interview illustrates this point.

Our attendance is okay, not always 100%, some people do get sick. Recently one teacher was away. Her husband passed away. Our custom does not allow us to move around when your husband is in the mortuary and even after the burial you must not move around and respect the dead. Now and then some people get sick.

The warm, receptive climate of the school is also appreciated by the pupils, as shown in the following comments:

This is a welcoming school. The teachers like us. In the class we are free. The teachers do not scare us. Our school is nice. The teachers teach us. We are allowed to talk. We don't pick on other children that he is like this or that.
I like this school because we are allowed to play games and we also learn.

The relationship between teacher and pupil is at the centre of the learning process. The psychologist, Carl Rogers (1983) identified certain conditions that facilitate learning: *inter alia*, learning to be free, trust, empathy and unconditional acceptance.

Commitment by the leadership and staff is an important ingredient for development and sustainability of good practice in any institution. The following paraphrased report illustrates the principal's commitment to her school.

The principal uses her own transport after school hours to investigate learner absenteeism. On one occasion she uncovered four learners hiding in a house when their parents had left home for work. The principal visited the parents and reported the matter and this stopped their absenteeism. On another occasion, she made a house visit, the learner's the mother passed away. The principal had to arrange for caregivers for the two children. It was reported to the principal that medical waste, which included used hypodermics, was discarded near the school and that learners were playing with the needles. As the school was in a networking relationship with the local police, the police investigated the matter immediately and stopped any further dumping of waste near the school.

The above illustrations of commitment reflect the moral purpose of a person trying to reach out to all learners. In the literature on leadership and effective teaching, I found a paucity of material on the issue of moral purpose. In my view, moral purpose can be a strong motivator for effective teaching and reaching out to all learners. Moral purpose per se may not equip one with the skills for effectiveness but it can be a strong motivator for change.

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5.4.3.4 Summary of Findings: Leadership

Leadership in Manyana Primary is based on shared decision making. The school climate is characterized by high morale of teachers, a welcoming atmosphere for learners, good interpersonal relationship between teachers and between management and teachers. Adequate planning by the leadership is reflected in the policies of the school, the meetings held, the activities of the school, deployment of staff and daily running of the school. Educational change in Manyana is peppered with complexity and unpredictability. Accountability to the culture of teaching and learning is a feature of the school. Risk taking is a characteristic of the leadership of the school. There is a trusting relationship between the leadership and the staff. Commitment or moral purpose is one of the traits of the principal. The principal of the school is an avant-garde for inclusive education and her enthusiasm and leadership style has created the climate for change.

5.4.4 Changing Practice through Collaborative Action

5.4.4.1 Introduction

As an agency for educational change what approach did the consortium employ for school and teacher development to change practice? Was the agenda for change constructed solely by the consortium or did other role players participate in the development process? Did the teachers in the school, work individually or collaboratively in changing practice? In this section these are the issues I engage with in the analysis of the data.

In this section I first present the project's staff development/in-service training programme, and its collaborative action in terms of materials development to building learning communities. I critically analyse the educator experiences in this collaborative learning process at Manyana Primary.

The staff development programme consisted of two hours workshops once per week at the schools. Facilitators from the consortium trained a local corp of teachers from the

institutional support team (IST) to facilitate the workshops at the various schools. Initially facilitators from the outside conducted the workshops and withdrew when teachers from the schools were trained. However, facilitators from the outside supported the schools during the workshops.

The following report indicates the scope of educator development project in KwaZulu-Natal (Resource and Educator Development Project, 2001):

Educator Development Materials

UNIT 1: Inclusive Education Policy
Sub-unit 1.1:   Committing to Quality Education for All Learners in your School
Sub-unit 1.2:   Looking at Barriers to Learning and Participation
Sub-unit 1.3:   Building an Inclusive Education and Training System
Sub-unit1.4:   Moving Towards an Inclusive System of education

UNIT 2: Working Towards Inclusive Schools
Sub-unit 2.1:   Inclusive Schools Through Whole School Development
Sub-unit 2.2:   Reflecting on Practice through Action Research
Sub-unit 2.3:   Welcoming Learners with Disabilities
Sub-unit 2.4:   Building Community Based Support in the Inclusive School
Sub-unit 2.5:   Conflict Resolution in Inclusive Schools
Sub-unit 2.6:   Dealing with Discipline in Inclusive Schools
Sub-unit 2.7:   Parents as Partners
Sub-unit 2.8:   Learners as Friends

UNIT 3: Inclusion and the Health Promoting School
Sub-unit 3.1:   HIV/AIDS
Sub-unit 3.2:   Child Abuse
Sub-unit 3.3:   Childhood Depression
Sub-unit 3.4:   Alcohol and other Drug Abuse in the Inclusive School
Sub-unit 3.5:   Bereavement in Learners
Sub-unit 3.6:   Bullying in Schools

UNIT 4: Developing Inclusive Curricular
Sub-unit 4.1:   Promoting Reading in the Classroom
Sub-unit 4.2:   Promoting Expressive Writing in the Classroom
Sub-unit 4.3:   Race and Racism
Sub-unit 4.4:   Gender and Sexism
Sub-unit 4.5:   Developing an Inclusive Curriculum: Promoting quality
*   Participation in Learning and Development for All.*
Sub-unit 4.6   Participation for All Learners in C2005 (Part 1)
Sub-unit 4.7:   Participation for All Learners in C2005 (Part 2)

Sub-unit 4.8:   Helping Learners Experiencing Difficulties Learning:
Understanding learning and learning breakdown. (Part1)
Sub-unit 4.9:   Helping Learners Experiencing Difficulties Learning: Developing
specific strategies (Part 2) (Resource and Educator Development,
2001).

Many significant points can be gleaned from the above report. The project used a whole
school development approach to building inclusive schools and teacher development was
one part of this development.   The sub-units covered systemic barriers to learning,
psychosocial and other extrinsic barriers. The concept of the "building of community
based support", which was included in the programme, played a significant role for the
school as will be shown in this chapter and the next. More important is that the contents
of the units were context relevant: they emanated from the needs of the school. My
criticism of the teacher development is that more time should have been spent on Unit 4,
which dealt with curricular issues. This became evident in teacher's request for more
workshops pertaining to curricular issues. However, it should be pointed out that the time
and funding that the project was given militated against this.

The next extract explains how networking, collaboration and action research were
employed in the materials development.

*The strategy used to develop materials for teacher development was one of
networking and collaboration with many stakeholders through a process of action
research. Some of the materials were written by NGOs, who are specialists in
their fields. The topics/issues included were a response to the needs of the
schools. Two NGOs that were identified through the project's audit of NGOs
working in the province, Drama in Aids Education (DramAide) and St Mary's
Interactive Learning Experience (SMILE) were sub-contracted to write the units
dealing with HIV/AIDS and literacy in the primary school.*

*Through action research cycle, the materials were revised and edited at every
stage of their development. This included de-briefing meetings after every staff
development session in schools with the team of field-workers. Input from the
educators in the target schools and the consortium researchers were used to feed
into the materials development. Members of the consortium had regular meetings
to evaluate the process, and to decide on additional sub-units as the need arose.
Some of these are written by staff from the consortium, and are carefully
scrutinized and edited by the project leader.*

For example, there was a need to ensure that the materials aligned more closely with White Paper 6 with respect to terminology, and to structures recommended such as those relating to community based support. From feedback in schools, educators indicated that they needed more direction on the way to set up school support teams, their composition, and their roles in the school. This concept had not been adequately dealt with and needed further explanation. The sub-unit dealing with discipline seemed to lack substance, and educators needed more direction on alternative strategies to corporal punishment. Both these revisions have been effected for the final draft, which will be ready by the end of June. There was a perception that some of the activities needed to be 'scaffolded' before educators could attempt the activities.

The impact of collaboration and networking on the materials development component has been significant and positive. The content of unit 2 was revised drawing on input from the South African Federal Council on Disability (SAFCD) and the Disabled Children's Action group (DICAG). A meeting with these organisations in September 2001 led to an agreement to include two further units: Parents as Partners, and Learners as support in the inclusive classroom. The decision was that the DICAG member would coordinate the writing of the two units. However, DICAG failed to deliver the units. In view of this the Consortium Management agreed that DART would work on the units. These have been completed drawing into the process the Disabled people's Organisation in the Estcourt District (Resource and Educator Development, 2001).

The above report shows that the project took a collaborative approach in developing the materials for teacher development. Individualism, isolation or privatism was traditionally the culture of teaching in the modern world. In the fields of school improvement staff development and educational change, individualism has come to be regarded a heresy and learning collaboratively is being used more often (Hargreaves, 1994: 164). The qualities and characteristics that fall under the label individualism, isolation and privatism are perceived threats to professional development, the implementation of change and the development of shared educational goals (ibid). However, Visser (2001) argues for a balance between individuality and social connectedness. He contends that the shift in focus in the twenty first century calls for learning around the notions of sustained collaboration and dynamically evolving dialectic relationships between individuals and communities.

Collaboration and collegiality can take the form of, *inter alia*, team teaching, collaborative planning, peer coaching, mentor relationships, professional dialogue and

action research. More informally, they can take the form of staffroom talk, conversations outside the classroom, help and advice, and sharing of resources.

Collaborative teaching or team teaching and collaborative planning have played an important part in curriculum planning, teacher development and teacher support in the rapidly changing educational milieu in Manyana Primary. This became evident in my classroom observations, sitting in staff development workshops and interviews. The following is a presentation of my data to support my findings.

I observed three team teaching lessons – two in Grade 1 and one in Grade 2. According to the teachers, the main purpose of the team teaching lessons was to assist and share expertise. In the Grade 1 lessons, the Deputy Principal of the school mentored the form teacher of the class. The form teacher of the class lacked the expertise to teach a foundation phase class. This teacher was qualified to teach in the intermediate phase but had to be redeployed to the foundation phase because the school had lost the foundation phase teacher due to the government's recent rationalization and redeployment policy (refer to Chapter 3). The school had to make this organizational arrangement to solve the problem of a lack of a teacher in the foundation phase. The Deputy Principal served as a mentor teacher with expertise in foundation phase teaching and the new policy called Curriculum 2005. Curriculum 2005 is based on the principles of OBE (Outcomes-Based Education). The Deputy Principal is also the area coordinator of the Curriculum 2005 committee that was entrusted with the task of training teachers in OBE. Armed with this experience and expertise, the deputy principal offered to mentor the teacher (see vignette 1).

Working collaboratively seemed to have helped teachers to manage the complexities of education policy changes. Teamwork and adhocratic problem solving seemed to have solved a systemic problem. The school has learnt to recognize the value that learning is an ongoing process, and the benefits of co-operative learning. This was the response of the principal on working collaboratively.

We recognize each other's strengths and weaknesses and that is why we are able to do team teaching. What is team teaching – it is modeling of lessons so that another teacher can learn, and do planning together. We also went as far as involving other schools. We started networking with other schools. At the beginning of the year three of our neighbouring schools got together to do our year plan. I also helped them with their admission policy and application to the Department of Education for approval of their feeding scheme. We are also doing well with OBE policy. Our HOD is co-coordinator of OBE (senior primary) for the district. Our Grade 4 teacher is regional secretary of the cluster groups dealing with OBE. Our DP is the regional junior primary language teaching coordinator she runs workshop on the teaching of reading.

What ever teachers in Manyana know they try to share it with other schools and we also learn from others. We do invite other schools to lesson planning sessions. We also invite the department of health, SAPS and department of agriculture and the Natal Parks Board. We had meetings together. You see, in OBE we have phase organizers, which is similar to themes. The phase organizers are: Health, The Environment, Entrepreneurship, Safety. We invited the Natal Parks Board to help us with information on the environment, the South African police for issues on safety, and the Health Department to help us with the health problems of our students and information on health. At this meeting I did the welcome and the educators facilitated the meeting with the community organizations.

The principal makes an important point in the opening lines of the above extract. In order for collaboration to be successful there ought to be trust among teachers. Teachers should feel free to discuss their problem areas without the fear of their status or power being eroded or undermined. The micropolitics of power relations is a ubiquitous force in schools and can stymie collaboration. Both Fullan (2003) and Clarke (2000) have found in their research that trust is an important element in fostering collaboration within the micro and macro world of the school to bring about change.

The above extract also shows that networking with other governmental departments and non-governmental organizations has proved fruitful in curriculum planning and seeing to the safety and health needs of the school. In terms of having a shared vision, working towards a common goal, and workings towards change or school improvement, collaboration or collegiality is important (Hargreaves, 1994).

Also of importance in the principal's response is the point that the school has started networking with other schools. As mentioned above networking with other schools

fosters learning schools and improves practice. The school is also fortunate in having three members of staff, to use Senge's (1990) words, with personal mastery (expertise) in the new Curriculum 2005 (refer to Chapter 2). Having expertise in one's school serves as an added advantage for staff development and building learning schools.

The following evidence from a teacher corroborates some of the statements the principal had made.

> *When we do macro planning we invite all stakeholders like policemen, a member from the health department and also members from the SGB. Even in the staff room when we are having problems we call anyone maybe in the senior or intermediate phase to come and help. You can even call the principal to help. We even call members from other schools.*

The macro planning that the teacher is referring to in the above extract is the long term curriculum planning that teachers engage in order to plan for the year. According to the recommendations of Curriculum 2005, teachers need to engage in macro (long term), meso (medium term) and micro (short term) planning. According to my respondents, the teachers not only work collaboratively at the school level but also with teachers from other schools and people and organizations from the community. On one of the days during my field observations I observed an official from the Department of Transport do a lesson on road safety with the foundation phase classes.

Collaboration, it is argued, takes teacher development beyond personal, individual reflection, or the dependence on outside experts, to a situation where teachers learn from one another, and sharing and developing their expertise (Hargreaves, 1994: 186). This collaborative learning for teacher development for educational change I call the horizontal approach to policy implementation. The literature talks of the 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches. The sharing and support that comes with collaboration and collegiality fosters confidence among colleagues and leads to greater willingness to experiment and take risks. Collaboration is not only seen as important for internally generated school improvement but also as a way of implementing externally generated change (see, Hopkins, Ainscow & West, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994; Stoll & Fink, 1999). Thus the concept can be used for policy implementation from the outside and at the same

improve schools from within. From the teacher's response above it seems that many of the teachers are open to working collaboratively in planning and sharing their knowledge and expertise. However this is not always the case as will be observed in the next extract.

HOD: Collaborative teaching does happen but it is not very active with old teachers like myself, because we think we can be on our own. We do realize that we should come together because there is so much that is new.

The HOD is expressing a very real problem that older teachers experience in times of radical change. It is difficult to unlearn old habits or 'set ways' of doing things. It is not always easy changing 'mental models', assumptions, conceptions and perceptions. This sentiment was also expressed by another older member of staff in one of our informal conversations during the lunch break. She said: "new ideas on OBE and inclusive education is not for us the old ones, they are for the young ones. I feel so tired, maybe I should retire". However, it should be noted that change is not difficult only for the older teachers but also for the younger teachers as well. In advocating collaboration and collegiality for school improvement or change, one should not overlook the micropolitical dynamics in the school. The cultural perspective on collaboration emphasises consensus, shared values, norms and beliefs, whereas the micropolitical perspective looks at power relations and collaboration as resulting from organizational power wielded by control conscious administrators (Hargreaves, 1994). Hence if teachers view collaboration as being imposed from the outside or a ploy for administrative control of constraint, then this can serve as a barrier to working together.

5.4.5 Engaging with an Inclusive Curriculum

5.4.5.1 Introduction

The heart or microworld of education is the classroom and in the words of Sebba and Sachdew (1997) "Classroom teaching is at the heart of inclusive practice as it directly impinges on every pupil". The measure of inclusion or exclusion in a school is the level at which the learners engage with the curriculum or participate in lessons. Education White Paper 6 (DOE, 2001: 7) defines inclusive education and training as "maximizing

participation of all learners in the culture and the curriculum of the educational institution and uncovering and minimizing barriers to learning". Participation is the key element in an inclusive education and training system according to the above definition (refer to Chapter 2). In my analysis of the data pertaining to classroom teaching and the curriculum, I have used the above definition of inclusion together with Booth and Ainscow's (1998) definition of inclusion as a process of participation in curricula, cultures and communities and reducing or removing exclusion from the curricular, cultures and communities. I also use the lens of critical theory to examine whether there was a transformative agenda towards reducing inequalities in education in this rural context. It should be noted that teachers in the pilot project were undergoing in-service training for two new policies, Curriculum 2005, which was underpinned by the principles of OBE, and the policy on inclusive education. In my analysis I also seek to explore whether teachers found the principles of these policies compatible. I used the tenets of Curriculum 2005 (DOE, 1997) as a guideline for analysis:

- All learners will succeed, not necessarily at the same time.
- Learners can show their learning in different ways.
- Teaching should be learner based and learner paced.

To what extent do teachers at Manyana encourage active learning and the construction rather than the reproduction of acknowledge? How do teachers engage with the ideals of constructivism that the Department of Education purports to use as a theoretical framework that can deal with the challenges posed by an 'Inclusive Outcomes Based Education' (DoE, Draft Guidelines 2002: 143). Constructivists are concerned with processes and the development of thinking. Learning is the construction of knowledge. Its most important features are activities associated with the active life of the classroom: reasoning and critical thinking; problem solving; retrieval, understanding and use of information; relating learning to ones existing knowledge, belief and attitudes and thoughtful reflection on experience. Learners are persons actively engaged in constructing knowledge, both individually and collectively.

The data in this section was gleaned from my classroom observations, teachers' records, students' exercise books and activities, and interviews with teachers, students and parents. I observed thirty lessons and conducted thirteen interviews, which included interviews with the principal, deputy principal, two HODs, four teachers, eight students and three parents.

In my data analysis the following categories or trends emerged: the links between the broad tenets of OBE and inclusive education, collaborative teaching, groupwork and peer tutoring and curriculum differentiation. As will be seen in the analysis to follow, these approaches or teaching practices opened up spaces for a curriculum for diversity. Through my interviews with teachers, classroom observations and informal discussions I found that all the teachers in the school had received some form of in-service training in Curriculum 2005 which is underpinned by the principles and methodology of OBE. All the teachers had attended a five-day workshop. Teachers meet in cluster groups once per term to discuss problem areas and to support each other by sharing ideas. Whether this training was adequate to bring about change in schools has been a topic for debate since its inception. I also found that all the teachers, except two new teachers, had undergone eighteen months of in-service, school based education and training in inclusive education. Facilitators from the Resource and Educator Development Project conducted two-hour workshops with the teachers in the schools at least once a week.

In my lesson observations in Manyana Primary, I observed various teaching methodologies or styles being used in lessons. Some teachers varied their styles to suit their lesson objectives while others used the same style for most of their lessons. There was also a variation of teaching approaches between teachers. The teachers' personality, enthusiasm, motivation, knowledge and expertise in the subject matter, and lesson preparation also impacted on the lessons. With the risk of glossing over the complexities and differences in teaching approaches, I will attempt to describe in two vignettes some of the features in the teaching approaches that the teachers used, and analyse other approaches such as cooperative learning and curriculum differentiation. It should be stated that some teachers used a combination of approaches.

5.4.5.2 Creating Possibilities for an Inclusive Pedagogy

According to Hopkins, West and Ainscow (1996: 18), there is a strong body of research to suggest that student achievement can be further enhanced by consistent and strategic use of specific teaching strategies. There are different strategies of teaching designed to bring about a particular kinds of learning to help students become more effective. Effective teachers seem to have a repertoire of strategies that they can use at different times, with different students, with different curriculum content to achieve a range of out comes (ibid). This is clearly evident in Vignette One, below. However, there are no dead certainties on teaching strategies (Hargreaves, 1994: 60). The pathways to educational reform are strewn with discarded certainties of the past: reading schemes, language laboratories, programmed learning, direct learning and open classrooms may be considered relics for a museum. It should be noted that looking for the right teaching method or packaged material to cater for a diverse group may not be a solution to the problem. Looking for mechanistic solutions without taking cognizance of wider contextual realities may not bring the desired success in moving towards inclusionary practice (Ainscow, 1998; see Chapter 2). Teaching strategies are neither designed nor implemented in a vacuum. Design, selection, and use of particular teaching approaches and strategies arise from perceptions about learning and learners (Bartolome, 2003). Some strategies may be ineffective in the hands of educators who subscribe to a belief system that regards ethnic, racial, belonging to different a linguist group or disabilities as culturally disadvantaged or mentally deficient and in need of fixing. Such views are deficit based and are deeply imprinted in our individual and collective psyches. Benjamin (2002) makes a critical point that inclusion depends less on method and more on sensitivity to difference.

In my observations of lessons I found teaching practices that opened up spaces for participation of all learners where as some practices closed up spaces for participation of all learners. Some teachers used a learner centred approach while other lessons were teacher centred. I will now proceed to discuss vignettes of lessons that depict the

processes of inclusion of pupils and exclusion of pupils in classroom practices. In the two vignettes, I use the same class of students to show how two different teachers using different styles of teaching tend to include students in the lesson in one instance and exclude them in the other. The following are direct extracts from my field notes. There were many pupils in this class, approximately half the class, who experienced some barrier to learning such as poverty, broken homes, lack of adult support because parents are deceased. These barriers I argue would probably impact on their overall scholastic performance. According to their teacher's records and a perusal of their exercise books and teacher assessments, I found that Sihle, a pupil with Down Syndrome, was experiencing severe learning difficulties. I use the term severe learning difficulty not for the purposes of categorizing or labeling the child. I lack an appropriate language that is free of labeling or categorizing (Will there be a language that is totally neutral?). There were about eight students who were experiencing difficulties in literacy and numeracy. I use Sihle, to explore the extent to which participation takes place in the following two lessons. Although my study focuses on all barriers to learning, not only disability, I focus on Sihle for methodological reasons. I use her as a yardstick for participation in the lessons because two teachers indicated that they found it difficult to adapt the curriculum to suit the needs of this pupil.

VIGNETTE ONE:
This is a team teaching lesson. The deputy principal (DP) of the school is using this lesson to assist a teacher who was an experienced intermediate phase teacher but has had no previous experience in teaching foundation phase classes. The teacher was redeployed to this class because of the Education Department's Rationalization and Redeployment Policy (refer to Chapter 3). Two Grade One classes are combined for this lesson and the total number of students in this lesson is 68 students. The reason for combining the two classes is that the deputy principal also has a full time class and there is no teacher to teach her class while she is mentoring her charges. Normally the principal takes classes while team teaching lessons are in progress but in this instance and in many other instances, the principal is called out to meetings by either the district or the regional office.

The learning area being taught is isiZulu. The Deputy Principal was assisting the new teacher on how to teach word recognition using the bottom up approach (phonic method) and the top down approach (word in context of meaning). The deputy principal played the dominant role in the lesson while the other teacher attended to the groups and passed out work sheets. The teacher used a chart with

various pictures depicting people doing various activities, and flash cards as teaching aids.

This was a combined class of 68 pupils. It was interesting to note how the DP and the co-teacher kept the 68 pupils actively involved in the lesson. The DP taught the "ph" sound in Zulu and the recognition of words beginning with the letters "ph". She used a multimodal and multisensory approach. First she pointed to the chart and tried to get the pupils talking about the pictures on the chart by asking questions randomly. Pupils identified the various people in the pictures and created stories from the pictures on the chart. After ascertaining the meaning of the pictures, she got the pupils actively involved in a song with lively demonstration. While the DP was busy with the lesson the co-teacher also got involved in the lesson by assisting certain groups with the actions and the words of the song. The pupils sang and mimed mother cooking (upega means cooking in isiZulu). Sihle (student with Down Syndrome) imitated the teacher and the other pupils. She sometimes did get the action wrong. However she enjoyed the participation. Next the letters "ph" were written on the board and the pupils had to use their fingers to write in the air, then used their fingers to form the letter on the desk and then on each other's back. The pupils enjoyed this tactile experience. Next each group of pupils were given a stack of flash cards and asked to match the words on their cards with the words on the chalkboard. Sihle was one of many students who was called out to match their words and she got it right. The word "uphega" was written in big bold writing on the board. Pupils were given cards to match the letters on the board. Sihle put up her hand and tried desperately to get the teachers attention but other pupils were called. With 68 in the class I suppose Sihle cannot get attention all the time. However, she was asked to pronounce a letter, which she got wrong. The teacher did not focus much attention on wrong answers but encouraged pupils to participate.

Next a pupil constructed a sentence and the sentence was written on the board. Pupils were given flash cards with syllables written on them. They were asked to come forward, sound out the syllables and match them to the syllables on the board. The pupils took great delight in this activity. This activity combined sentence making with the rudiments of spelling and the identification of sounds.

Sihle was given a flash card with the "full stop" sign on it. However the teacher forgot to call her to stick the card on the board. She went to the teacher and handed the card. The teacher asked her to say the word in IsiZulu, which she repeated and the teacher helped her to stick the card on the chalkboard.

Pupils were given worksheets to work in groups and match the pictures with the words with the "ph" sound. Sihle is quite an assertive child. She pulled the worksheet from a group of 6 and wanted to look at the picture. Two pupils from the group took the sheet back from Sihle and led the discussion, while Sihle observed. It is evident from this simple interaction of pupils that Sihle is learning how to interact in a group that she cannot always get her way. Although Sihle is

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still in the scribbling stage and does not know her phonic, she participated in the oral part of the lessons. She is able to name people and things with a 'ph' sound from the pictures.

There are various points to be made from this vignette. The teacher used various approaches in teaching. She used an integrated top-down approach and the bottom-up approach in teaching reading. Many foundation phase teachers mainly use the bottom up approach in teaching reading. The bottom-up approach involves decoding the word by breaking it up into sounds, what is usually termed the phonic method. In the practice of developing reading skills teachers are concerned with developing their students' skills in being able to translate the written graphic symbol (the word on the page) to the phonological sound (the spoken word) (Rumelhart, 1980). This skill is actually recoding from one code to another. It is argued that the processing of the text occurs both in a top-down approach, where the arrival at meaning is generated through a concept driven mode and a bottom up approach, where the processing is linguistically data driven (Rumelhart, 1980). In the top-down approach, the teacher usually starts with a picture or object or the whole word and meaning is elicited from the picture and then the word is decoded into sounds. Using both approaches is very important in the teaching of reading as some children grasp the top down approach to word recognition quicker than the bottom-up approach and vice versa. More important though is that for comprehension to take place the top-down approach is very important. In the case of Sihle, she was unable at that stage to use the phonic method to decode the word. She seems to be more successful in associating words with pictures and matching words. It is evident that her oral language is developing by participating in lessons. In a later conversation with the deputy principal, she informed me that Sihle was unable to communicate verbally when she was admitted to the school.

It is my contention that had the teacher not used different methods, Sihle and a few of the other students would have found it difficult to participate in the lessons. This finding will be corroborated in the next vignette when one notices the lack of participation of certain students in the lesson.

Another feature of the lesson that was remarkable was that the teacher introduced a number of activities such as songs (auditory activity), tactile, demonstration, visual (pictures), matching of cards. These activities stimulated interest and participation to reach cognitive outcomes, that is, word recognition, the rudiments of spelling and reading. By introducing various activities the teacher created the space for different learners to become actively involved in the learning process. The same curriculum was used but the lesson was adapted to cater for the different levels of participation. The lesson was also learner centered in that the learners were engaged in activities and the teacher guided and facilitated the lesson. She also moved from the known to the unknown: she used the pupils' prior knowledge to build new words. The teacher also used the constructivist principle of allowing the child to produce (construct) meaning (constructing sentences). What was also evident was that the lesson was well planned with the teaching aids ready at hand. What also helped in the discipline and working with different groups was the presence of a second adult who catered for the needs of any pupil who needed help. This is not the case as in other countries like the USA and the UK, where teacher assistants cater for the needs of only the 'special needs child' (see Ainscow, 1999).

Both the teachers tried to include as many students as possible in the lesson, but because of the large class size and time constraints this was not always possible.

VIGNETTE TWO

This is a Grade One class. The roll in this class is fifty but the attendance for this lesson is 40. The students in this class were combined with the class in vignette one. Sihle who was mentioned in Vignette One is in this class. About 8 pupils sit to a table that was designed to accommodate 4 pupils. They sit cramped on benches. Some of the benches have no backrests. The lesson that is in progress is the elementary stages of reading in the learning area isiZulu Literacy. The first stage of spelling is also being taught.

The teacher uses the phonics method in teaching to read and spell the "sh" sounds. The teacher enunciates the word syllable by syllable and writes the letters on the chalkboard. The pupils are asked to recite after the teacher in choral fashion. While the choral drill carries on some of the pupils seem to waiver in their attention to the lesson and start whispering to their friends. The teacher

calls them to attention and proceeds with the lesson. Sihle starts to get bored and attempts to pull her neighbour's dress. The neighbour remonstrates and the teacher reprimands Sihle. After completing five words in this format the teacher erases the words from the chalkboard. She then enunciates the same words that she had just taught and calls upon pupils to write the words on the chalkboard. After the oral work the teacher sets some written work. The pupils are asked to write the words in their books. The teacher sent about 10 pupils to sit on the floor and write. The teacher enunciates the words syllable-by-syllable or letter by letter and the pupils write the words in the books.

I ascertained later in my conversation with the teacher that the reason for the pupils sitting on the floor was that the tables were too crowded and that pupils copy from each other. I noticed that the children had to bend awkwardly on the floor and write. Sihle joined them on the floor. She is quite content to scribble in her book. No simpler adapted task was given to Sihle. I walked around the class to see how the pupils were doing in their work. It seemed that many of the pupils did not grasp the gist of the lesson i.e. to remember the words with the 'sh' sounds and to know the spelling of the words.

While the teacher was teaching Sihle's attention waivers and she loses track of what was going on. When other pupils went back to sit at their desks, Sihle returned to her seat but refused to hand over the book to the student who was collecting them. After being reminded by the teacher to follow instructions Sihle hands over the book. The period ends and I go to the next class.

In comparing the two vignettes the teacher in the second lesson used only the bottom-up approach or the phonic method in teaching reading while the teacher in the first lesson used both the top-down and bottom-up methods. Although there were more pupils in the first lesson, the teacher was able to get more pupils to actively participate in the lesson than the second lesson. In the first lesson the teacher used various methods to get pupils to participate such as engaging them in tactile activities, auditory activities (song), drama (acting out the words to the song), visual cues such as flash cards and matching of words. Moreover, the pupils used the words in the context of pictures on a chart and created meaning from their own frames of reference. All this active participation in the lesson kept the pupils attention and encouraged pupils in a playful and interesting way to learn the targeted words. The lesson in the first case was predominantly pupil centered while the lesson in the second case was wholly teacher centered. In the second vignette the pupil participation entailed the recitation of words in choral fashion and a few pupils writing the words on the board. In the first lesson Sihle was an active participant while in

the second lesson she seemed to lose track, becoming bored and restless. Although Sihle's scholastic achievements were lower than the average pupil in the class, the pupil did achieve some of the outcomes for a grade one class. She was able to communicate meaningfully, to follow instructions, and to identify certain written words (match words with pictures).

What emanates from these two vignettes is that the creativity of the teacher, teaching methodology and a deep understanding of the needs of the pupils are important ingredients in the inclusion of learners in lessons at whatever level.

One aspect that was not highlighted in the vignette is the socialisation aspect of education. In stressing the academic outcomes educators one should not forget that schools are important locations for the socialisation of pupils. In Sihle's case, we noticed that in two instances she behaved socially inappropriately, when she was sanctioned by her peers at one time and by the teacher at another. In this way she was able to assimilate socially acceptable behaviour.

5.4.5.3 The Micropolitics of Cooperative Learning

In looking at cooperative learning through a micropolitical lens I highlight the struggles and contestation inherent in cultural processes and draw attention to the issues of power within groups (see Benjamin, 2002). I examine how teachers use cooperative learning or groupwork in their lessons and hence interrogate the complexities of group work and provide evidence that the approach if used skillfully, can enhance learning and create spaces for active participation of learners in lessons.

Cooperative learning involves learners working together in small groups. Cooperative learning is said to foster not only academic learning but also life skills such as social and cooperative skills (Resource and Educator Training Manual, 2001). It allows learners with disabilities and personal disadvantage to participate in a broad and balanced range of

learning experiences (ibid). In cooperative learning every learner should contribute to the activity according to his or her level or ability (ibid).

Sixty percent (18 lessons) of the thirty lessons that I observed involved some form of group work. The group work method as a teaching strategy is something new to the majority of teachers at Manyana. With the advent of OBE in South Africa, the method has gained currency among the teachers. My findings at Manyana are that group work can be an effective method if used creatively, skillfully and appropriately. On the other hand a lack of experience and preparation can result in ineffective lessons. In addition group work takes a fair amount of time if not planned well. While some teachers used the group work method effectively, others experienced problems in managing large groups. For example, getting groups to settle down timeously. In some cases, instructions were not clear and allocation of tasks for each member of the group sometimes became problematic. In some cases the furniture was rearranged to give a semblance of group work, but the lesson was teacher centred with learners not being given the opportunity to engage in group dynamics. Mattson and Harley (2003: 293) claim that a number of researchers in South Africa have found that "teachers seem to assume that once learners are in a group, participation and learning will occur automatically". They add that teachers are struggling to understand the new emphasis on group work and learner activity, and the principles of cooperative learning.

On the average there were about five or six groups in each class with an average being 45. A group of eight pupils generally sat to a table. Tables were small and could barely accommodate all eight pupils. Pupils sat in cramped conditions on benches, some of which did not have backrests. As will be demonstrated later these cramped and uncomfortable conditions some times impacted on the effective functioning of some groups. This lack of furniture and overcrowded conditions can be attributed to the fiscal constraints of the states macro-economic policy (see Chapter 3 of this thesis).

Individual participation in groups varied according to the power relations in the group, the complexity of the topic and teacher facilitation or intervention. Although teachers

attempted to rotate group leaders for each lesson, in about seventy percent of the cases two or three pupils dominated the discussion. In a few cases the leaders in a group dominated the group to the extent that the other pupils were subdued into silence. At other times well-trained leaders used their skills to draw all pupils to the discussion. In the opposite scenario no matter how much the group leader tried some pupils could not participate in discussion or take on tasks. These pupils tended to use the time to engage in personal conversation and piggyback on other pupils. Is not the above scenario of groups at work a microcosm of what happens in society at large? Perhaps exposure to these scenarios is fertile ground for problem solving activities. The following is the view of one of the Grade 7 pupils on group work.

> *PUPIL: We like group work but sometimes we don't like it. Some children don't like to do any work – they give you all the work to do. Sometimes when the teacher gives us an activity to do, some in the group will say you do the work because you want to go to Grade 8.*

The above extract is evidence of some of the complexities of group work where tasks are not distributed equitably. This is what a partially deaf pupil had to say about it:

> *I like to work alone I don't like to work in a group.*

When asked why she did not like to work in groups the pupil refused to give an answer. Her answer to another question perhaps sheds some light on this issue. She said that some of the pupils laughed at her because she could not speak properly. Micropolitics, or in this case contestations or power struggles among pupils can close spaces for interaction and cooperative learning. Exclusionary forces among pupils appear in many forms such as taunts, bullying and differences in socioeconomic status. The sensitivity of the staff towards these forces and the conscientization of pupils to individual rights and dignity are therefore imperative.

In the extract below a teacher expresses how 'peer power' can be used as a method to aid the inclusion process where the more advanced learners assist learners who are having difficulties. She also points out some of the complexities of group dynamics when certain members of the group can become domineering and how teacher intervention is

necessary for checks and balances. She also expresses one of the social purposes of group work, i.e. working together and not to become too individualistic. The teacher articulates some of the principles of cooperative learning. An important comment she makes is that OBE encourages group work. In fact the perception among many teachers is that OBE is synonymous with group work. Mattson and Harley (2003) found that the principles underlying group work are often not fully understood by many teachers. One of the principles of OBE methodology is that teaching must be learner centred. Group work allows for learner interaction.

> *Yes, my pupils engage in group work. It is working well. In some groups are slow learners and fast learners. The fast learners help the slow learners and this works. Sometimes the group leaders want to be boss and want to do everything. Then I go and tell them not to be selfish, give the others a chance. OBE stresses that we must teach them in groups so that they won't be selfish and help each other out.*

Although in many cases a few pupils dominated group discussion, the positive consequence was that in the majority of the groups peers assisted each other, on what is commonly known as the buddy method, where learners help each other by explaining concepts or problem solving. I also witnessed teachers encourage peer tutoring when they were busy with a group or with individual students. However, I did find that the line between assisting one other and copying verbatim from another was often blurred. If not checked pupils can tend to take this opportunity as license to copy and not to use individual thinking. What exacerbate the situation were the crowded, cramped conditions at the table where it was easy for a student to peep into another student's book. The following comment by a teacher corroborates my findings.

> *I encourage pupils to help each other and it works. But sometimes they do copy each other and it is something hard to say whether it's their own work. They get caught out in the tests, and then we know who was copying.*

5.4.5.4 Is Inclusive Education Compatible with Outcomes-Based Education?

Why is the above question important for this study? Since 1998, South African teachers were introduced to a new curriculum called Curriculum 2005, which is underpinned by

the principles of OBE. As stated in Chapter Three there are certain similarities between the principles of OBE and inclusive education. If teachers see this conceptual link then implementation of the inclusion education policy becomes easier, as one policy can be used as a vehicle for implementing the other. Moreover, any dissonance between the two policies can create confusion and uncertainties. More importantly, White Paper 6 stresses that there is one curriculum for all learners. Thus there is a need for teachers to make this conceptual link between the two policies.

From my observations of class lessons, teacher records and informal conversations, I found that many teachers had difficulty in engaging with the terminology and jargon of Curriculum 2005, and the mountain of records that the policy demanded. Although some did see the link between the two policies they found that there was policy overload. As noted in Chapter Three, the five-day cascade model of implementing Curriculum 2005 left teachers floundering in getting to understand an implement the new curriculum. Curriculum 2005 was revised because of the public outcry on various aspects (it is not within the scope of this research to discuss all the debates pertaining to this issue). During the writing of this thesis, foundation phase teachers (Grades 1-4) were being trained for a Revised National Curriculum. Fortunately for Manyana Primary, there were two teachers who were trained by the provincial department to carry out in-service training in Curriculum 2005. These teachers assisted others in the school that were experiencing problems.

From my interviews with the staff I found that some teachers had made a conceptual connection between the principles of OBE and the principles of inclusion. They could see the compatibility between inclusion and OBE. The following are comments by the different members of staff on OBE and inclusive education. Since many of the comments were similar I do not mention all.

> *PRINCIPAL: Yes, OBE accommodates inclusive education. In the end every learner must be able to do something and learn something. OBE and inclusive education has to cater for the abilities of all learners, the slow learners, and the hyperactive learner and cater for all differences.*

TEACHER: OBE helps all pupils and sees to the different abilities of the pupils. OBE is flexible and accommodates inclusive education.

DEPUTY PRINCIPAL: In OBE it is stated that we must take care of pupils, even pupils with special needs. You must know that learners are not all the same – they have different abilities, even in the place of learning. We must take these things into consideration when we teach.

TEACHER: OBE accommodates inclusive education. Inclusive education accommodates OBE. Both say that you have to cater for all abilities groups. Learners must be allowed to learn at their own pace.

HOD: I think inclusive education and OBE are preaching the same things. OBE stresses that we must integrate all learners, we must not separate them. We also integrate the subjects, we do not separate them. Even inclusive education stress that we have to accept all learners as they are. OBE also stresses that we have to accept all cultures and religion.

SUPERINDENT OF EDUCATION (MANAGEMENT): In terms of OBE, inclusive education can be built into the programme and that can take the process forward, using OBE as a benchmark.

From the above comments it could said that respondents see a link between the basic tenets of OBE and inclusive education. The following points of convergence between the policies of Curriculum 2005 (which is underpinned by the principles of OBE) and Education White Paper 6 (which calls for a change to inclusive education) can be inferred from these comments:

- Both the policies emphasise that education should cater for a diversity of learners.
- The curriculum is flexible thus offering the space for the participation of a diverse group of learners.
- The curriculum should be integrated and not taught as discrete units. For example, a theme like entrepreneurship can be covered in all learning areas.
- The principles of inclusion are embedded in OBE.
- Assessment procedures should be flexible and not disadvantage certain learners.
- Lessons should be learner based and learner paced.

The Superintendent of Education-Management (SEM) makes an important observation which has implications for the implementation of Education White Paper 6. Currently Curriculum 2005 and Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System are being implemented as two different policies. He is of the opinion that inclusive education should be built into Curriculum 2005. The National Quality Evaluation (2003) report also recommends that inclusive education be integrated into the implementation of OBE training programmes:

> *All teacher development programmes aimed at helping educators to implement*
> *inclusive education be integrated into OBE training programmes.*

I mention this issue here because I attended workshops on the Revised National Curriculum Statement in the foundation phase, which will replace Curriculum 2005. Little or no attention was given to inclusive education.

5.4.5.5 Curriculum Differentiation for Diversity

The guiding principles of OBE afford the teacher the space to adapt the curriculum so that opportunities can be created for a diverse group of learners to participate in the curriculum. Education White Paper 6 (2001) is very clear that the same curriculum must be adopted for all learners. The key point is not to change the curriculum but to adopt curriculum differentiation strategies or engage with multi-level teaching. Slee (2001) rightfully points out that curriculum differentiation can lead to exclusion from the core curriculum or may bring about other politics. A differentiated curriculum can be watered down and look different from the core curriculum. Such curriculum differentiation can serve to exclude rather than include learners. It could be construed as lowering standards.

The former traditional curriculum in South Africa was content specific. With OBE the content is replaced by essential outcomes and specific outcomes. Progression of learners from one grade to another in the foundation and intermediate phases is not based on examination but on continuous assessment. Learners are assessed on what they can accomplish and this assessment takes place throughout the year. It is not compulsory for

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learners to achieve all the outcomes for the year. They can proceed to the next grade even though they have not achieved all the outcomes for the year or their pace is below the class average. In other words, the previous examination loaded curriculum has given way to one, which allows for learners to accumulate credits over a phase or number of years.

The vignettes showed how some teachers use the space provided by the new curriculum to use multi-level teaching strategies to allow for all learners to participate in the lessons. It also showed how learners could be excluded from participation when practice is pitched to the level of only some learners. I found that a common occurrence among some of the teachers was to pitch the lesson for the middle range of learners. Those that fall in the advanced range were not extended or challenged by the lessons while those in the lower levels became marginalized. One of the biggest hurdles that the teachers are experiencing in Manyana, is how to mediate the curriculum and the teaching methods to cater for a diverse group of learners. Despite the in-service education and training on OBE conducted by the Department of Education, and the Resource and Educator Development Project on inclusive education, teachers are still grappling with how to mediate the curriculum to a diverse group of learners. The cry from the majority of teachers in the school is that they need more in-service education and training to skill them in their quest to reach out to all learners in their classrooms.

Another important area of the curriculum is assessment. In South Africa the new Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002) talks of diversity in the types of assessment: baseline, diagnostic, formative, summative and systemic. Assessments can take the form of both written and non-written activities. The emphasis in the revised curriculum is formative assessment, which seeks to base assessment on the continuous performance of the child. Hall (2003), in proposing an alternative form of assessment in England, writes that there is a paradigm shift in educational assessment. She explains that the new assessment paradigm seeks to give pupils a real chance to demonstrate what they know, understand and can do. It does this by giving them more guidance, by telling them the criteria against which their work is judged and by making the tests more in line with real life or more like classroom tasks (ibid). This reflects a shift from testing to an educational

assessment culture where there is a wider range of assessment modes, *inter alia,* coursework, exams, records of achievement, portfolios, standard tests. Formative assessment is designed specifically to promote learning and this is what distinguishes it from other types of assessments. Formative assessment is continuous and is about closing the gap between what learners know and need to know, what they do and need to be able to do (ibid). According to Hall (2003: 4), there is compelling evidence that formative assessment is a kind of assessment that raises standards and motivates learners. There is also evidence that that formative assessment helps low attainers more than others, and so reduces the range of attainments while raising overall attainment. One of the reasons for this is that in formative assessment the learners are given clear guidance on the criteria for success.

On two occasions members of staff reported how they used the flexibility of the assessment procedure to assess learners who were having difficulty in taking, written tests. On one occasion a teacher explained to me that a pupil who suffered epileptic seizures got very anxious in tests situations and this precipitated seizures. She tried administering the test when the learner was alone and in a more relaxed state. The idea worked and now she allows the learner to take the test whenever he is ready. The teacher also explained that she used the learner's continuous performance in class (formative assessment) to assess the learner. Making a minor adjustment to the assessment procedure addressed the learner's needs.

On another occasion during a principals' workshop one of the principals posed the following question: "Should you pass a learner if he/she always absents himself/herself from tests?" The principal from Manyana reported how she had handled the situation when she was confronted with the problem. She explained that the first step was to ascertain why the learner is absenting herself for tests. She said that she found that the learner was afraid of taking tests. The principal then arranged for the mother to come to school and be with the child in a separate class when she took the test. With the comforting presence of the parent, the child completed the test and passed. The other

strategy she suggested was oral tests. These are two cases in which teachers created enabling environments by making minor adjustments to routine forms of assessments.

5.4.5.6 Summarising of Findings: Engaging with an Inclusive Curriculum

Some teachers used a learner centred pedagogy, active learning, cooperative learning, curriculum differentiation and multi-level teaching to open up spaces for an inclusive curriculum where all learners could participate in the curriculum. A 'one-size-fits-all' teaching mode closes up possibilities for some learners to engage with the curriculum. Effective teachers had a repertoire of teaching methods but searching for mechanistic strategies may not provide answers for a curriculum for all; sensitivity to diversity is crucial in creating possibilities for an inclusive pedagogy.

The skilled teacher used cooperative learning or groupwork to create opportunities for all learners to participate in lessons, whereas some teachers found groupwork complex. In some instances, teachers resorted to 'mimicry', by changing the seating arrangements to create a semblance of groupwork but the lessons were teacher dominated. Micropolitics in terms of power struggles and contestations within groups can create exclusionary forces and impede participation by all learners.

Team teaching/collaborative teaching for the purposes of mentoring colleagues or as a strategy to reach out to all learners, proved useful.

While teachers did see the conceptual link between OBE and inclusive education some expressed concerns about policy overload, the complex language of OBE and being burdened by too much recording keeping.

Formative assessments together with different forms/types of assessments created space for a more equitable assessment procedure.

5.5   Building Community-Based Support

5.5.1   Introduction

White Paper 6 proposes that schools and districts set up structures like the ISTs and the DSTs to harness community based support for the schools (see Chapter 3). These structures assume a community based model of support in that they move away the specialised model of support, as is the case in the North. Although specialists will play a significant role in supporting schools, the schools should be strengthened by expertise from the local community (NCSNET & NCSNET, 1997). Education support service is conceptualized as a flexible network of service providers. In such a system, networking and co-ordination of all available services become important, rather than the reliance on a predetermined core of specialist service providers, (NCSNET & NCESS, 1997: 88).

5.5.2   Community-Based Support in Action

As mentioned at the outset the project was underpinned within the dialogue of social inclusion and exclusion. Thus the major aim of the project was to empower teachers to address factors that may exclude learners from the curriculum and society. The PLA findings together with my findings at Manyana showed that there were many psychosocial factors impinging on the lives of the learners. These psychosocial circumstances were placing the child at risk of participating fully in the curricula and community. In Manyana and the other pilot schools, poverty, physical abuse, sexual abuse and HIV/Aids were prevalent (see Table 1).

The project included in its in-service course a unit which included the following themes: Inclusion and the Health Promoting School, HIV/Aids, Childhood Depression, An inclusive approach to alcohol and drugs, Bereavement in learners and Bullying in schools. The project also enlisted the services of an NGO called DramaAide, which had been working with the Department of Education in the province. DramaAide worked in partnership with teachers and learners in schools to develop appropriate life orientation learning programmes and materials (Resource & Educator Development Project, 2002).

Through this partnership a 'Health Promoting Club' was formed. According to the educators, the programme was successful but they needed more support to sustain the initiative. The establishment of the Health Promoting Club was a valuable source of information, development of skills and support to the learners.

5.5.3 Manyana School: Engaging with Community-Based Support

Manyana Primary School had realized that HIV/Aids is a reality in their community and that they must take drastic steps in order to educate their children and their parents. The school organized HIV/Aids parent workshops at least once a term to raise consciousness about the disease

In my interviews with the teachers, they reported that there were many orphans in the school but could not say for sure how many were Aids orphans. A researcher, Moroney (2003), had done a study at Manyana and found that there were about 12 Aids orphans. My study concurs with Moroney's findings that Aids orphans do not receive any special attention or privileges as compared to other orphans or children who have parents. Teachers believe that they have an obligation to provide emotional support to all children. The following comment by a teacher sums up the general feeling by members of the staff: "I don't think I must treat a child separately from others. I think I must do it indirectly so that he does not notice that I am sympathizing with him. That would make him be so sensitive sometimes" (Moroney, 2003). Every teacher said that they empathize with and supported the children who had lost their parents, although they did not treat them any differently. The barriers experienced by Aids orphans were no different to other orphans.

Poverty is a huge problem at the school. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Six through the efforts of the principal the school was able to organize a state subsidized feeding scheme. Due to the system of funding, the subsidy has been withdrawn, resulting in a huge drop of about 20 percent in pupil attendance. If the state does not address the problem of poverty then it will fail to address one of the most exclusionary factors in Manyana and many of

the rural schools in South Africa. The school has also developed a networking relationship with the local clinic, Correctional Services and the South African Police. Those teachers who have cars have been using their own cars to transport learners to the clinic. The police have been investigating cases of abuse. Teachers are also vigilant on signs of physical and sexual abuse among their learners and have been counseling and assisting learners. Cases have been referred to the social worker but because of the heavy case load there has been delays.

There are many challenges facing the teachers of Manyana Primary in their quest to build an inclusive school. Assuming the role of teacher, parent, social worker and counsellor can be exhausting. One wonders whether this energy can be sustained.

5.5.4   The Institutional Support Team as a Lever for Change

Education White Paper 6 (DoE. 2001) proposes the establishment of institutional level support teams to give support to schools. The primary function of the institutional level support team is to coordinate learner and educator services that will support the learning and teaching process by identifying and addressing learner, educator and institutional needs. Where appropriate, these teams should be strengthened by expertise from the local community, DST and higher education institutions. District-based support teams will provide the full range of education support services, such as professional development in curriculum and assessment, to the institutional-level support teams (D0E, 2001: 29). IST is a structure that should seek community-based support. The IST is entrusted with the responsibility of soliciting community support, which includes local government structures, NGOs and other community organizations (refer to Chapter 3).

At Manyana Primary, the consortium trained teachers and assisted the school to establish an institutional level support team. At the time of the establishment of this structure it was called the teacher support team. According to reports by the management team and the teachers, the structure comprised two members from the management team and three teachers. The institutional level support team started off very well and met every

Tuesday. Unfortunately, due to other commitments like attending to district and regional professional development workshop and workshops on OBE, it was not possible to meet every week. However, the team meets whenever teachers request help or when problems occur at the institutional level. The following are some of the cases handled by the team. This information was extracted from the record of interventions and activities conducted by the IST, which was made available to me for scrutiny by the deputy principal, and by dialoguing with teachers:

- Absenteeism: Twenty cases of absenteeism were investigated. The principal and members of the team visited families of pupils. In some cases parents and caregivers were unaware that their children were absent from school as they had to leave early to work and there was no person at home to supervise their children. In some cases children were absent as they had to take care of younger siblings or ailing parents. Parents and caregivers were counselled and some cases were referred to the social worker in the district. Home visits helped to reduce absenteeism of learners. The principal and some of the teachers were unsure whether the home visits could be sustained because of the amount of time involved and the cost of transport.

- Poverty: The records indicate that poverty is wide spread in the school. (No verifiable statistics were available). The records show that the school feeding scheme was helping the learners during school hours but this is the only meal for some pupils. About thirteen cases of severe poverty were investigated. Arrangements were made with the community worker[7] to assist in obtaining child support grants for these children from the Social Welfare Department. This is a long process because of state bureaucracy and inefficiency and also because of the lack of identity documents for these children.

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[7] Community worker: The community worker was employed through private funding to work in the project schools and was stationed at a special school in the vicinity.

- HIV/Aids awareness: A meeting was held for parents and other members of the community to disseminate information and conscientize the community on HIV/Aids. A HIV/Aids committee was formed to educate the community about HIV/Aids. According to entries in the book the committee was to include teachers, community members, and a nurse from the Health Department. More meetings were to follow. The IST was to network with local community organization and DramaAide.

- Teasing and bullying: The IST found that this phenomenon was rife in the school. Teachers who were on ground duty during the breaks were to deal with this problem. Severe cases were reported to the IST.

- Hearing problem: A student who was having a hearing problem due to his ear canal being closed was referred to the hospital for treatment. Diagnosis and treatment is continuing. Class teachers were made aware of the problem.

- Fights: Fights between boys from neighbouring schools and Manyana over the issues of love triangles were investigated. Fights had taken a severe turn for the worse where some boys were injured. Members from the IST met with teachers from neighbouring school. Parents were informed. Pupils were cautioned and counseled.

- Medical problems: A teacher reported on a child who seemed chronically ill. A letter was sent to parents to refer the child for medical care. It was discovered that the pupil was suffering from heart disease. Teachers were informed of the pupil's condition and advised not to engage the pupil in strenuous activities especially during physical education and games.

- Three cases of sexual abuse, including two cases of rape, were reported to the social worker and the local police. Teachers at the school also helped with the counselling of pupils.

- Orphaned learners needed food and care. The record speculates that about 30% to 40% of learners were orphaned due to Aids. According

to the records, these figures cannot be verified. IST tried to track down families and friends to take care of the learners. The principal of the school was able to organize foster care for three children. Siblings and grandmothers were caring for most of the other children.

- A meeting was held with parents to inform them about the new inclusive education policy that the school had adopted. Parents promised to bring those "children who have been hidden in their homes for years" to school.

- The IST discussed cases of poor scholastic performance and failure. Some teachers volunteered to assist pupils after school hours, as it is often difficult to give individual attention to pupils during normal class time because of large class sizes. The deputy principal and a teacher who was attending workshops on the different methods on teaching reading suggested 'peer tutoring', where pupils who are doing well academically are to tutor pupils who are experiencing difficulties. During professional development workshops teachers were to share ideas on how to address this issue.

Gauging from the cases handled by the Institutional Support Team, it could be concluded that this structure has a valuable part to play in supporting the institution as a whole. The IST is one of the examples of how leadership is mobilized at all levels at Manyana. The IST was able to engage the staff in collective problem solving to identify and address barriers to learning and participation. In most of the above cases the school handled the problems themselves and in some cases they worked in conjunction with community structures. The IST as a structure in a school opens up possibilities for localized problem solving, rather than depending on specialized support from the outside. What seem to impede or hamper progress are the various commitments, meetings and workshops that the staff has to handle in the course of the school day. Some facilitators of the IST workshops felt the burden of work overload. The other problem that the committee experienced was that not all teachers felt comfortable about bringing issues to the committee. Perhaps this structure is a fairly new concept and the staff is still developing

trust with each other. The members of the IST need support from the management of the school and have reported that the management is very supportive and that the principal and deputy have played an active role in this structure. The IST seems to have functioned well when supported by the project facilitators. However, it did not get much support from district officials. The district officials need to sustain the initiatives that have been started.

5.6 Summary and Conclusion

The data presented in the portrait of Manyana Primary School showed that the lives of the learners and members of the community were affected by the political, socio-economic and psychosocial factors that placed the learners at risk.

Details were presented on the transformative agenda of the project and the professional development programme of the Resource and Educator Development. The top-down and bottom-up approaches to professional development provide a viable option for policy implementation. Action research as a bottom-up dimension of the professional development process provides the democratic space for the voices of teachers and active participation in the co-construction of knowledge.

A third dimension of professional development emerged from the project, which I term the horizontal approach to professional development. This approach involves teachers taking responsibility for their own development through collaborative learning.

In examining teacher identities in the face of change it was found that the biographical experiences of the teachers influenced their response to change. The professional development workshops served to change the mental models of most of the teachers. In some cases the biographical experiences with the special education ideology created a resistance to the shifting of mental models.

Using a combination of leadership approaches creates a climate conducive for reform and school effectiveness. Moreover, a principal who is an avant-garde for change has a tremendous influence on the change process. A transactional leadership style together with shared decision-making, devolution of power and commitment played a key role in creating an ethos of inclusivity. The inclusion of indigenous leadership styles such open air meetings or gatherings (imbizo) where the emphasis is on dialogue for consultation and sharing decisions, opened spaces for the use of indigenous cultural styles rather than dependence on a colonial style of educational management.

Learner centred pedagogy, active learning, cooperative learning, team teaching, multi-level teaching, curriculum differentiation, and different forms of assessment created possibilities for an inclusive curriculum.

The IST provided a valuable structure for institutional support and localized or in-school problem solving. In the absence of specialist or outside support, the IST provided possibilities for dealing with exclusionary factors, which can emanate from the school, curriculum, society or family.

In this chapter I alluded to the complexities in the policy implementation process. In Chapter Seven I deal with the discursive influences on policy. In the next chapter I examine human and social capital development and its link to building inclusive schools and societies.

CHAPTER SIX

BUILDING SOCIAL CAPITAL WITHIN A RURAL SCHOOL COMMUNITY

6.1 Introduction

One of the themes that emerged from the data is that there is a link between building human and social capital, and building inclusive schools and communities. In this chapter I critically analyse the various activities, the web of networks, and the collaborative learning in which the school and its community were involved.

6.2 Illuminating Social Capital Theory in the Context of Manyana Primary

6.2.1 Introduction

Empirical evidence from this study seems to suggest that social capital theory is a useful construct in understanding the development of inclusive schools and communities. Empirical evidence demonstrates the pivotal role that the University of Natal, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), Disabled Peoples Organizations (DPOs), intersectorial networking and people from the community played in the implementation of the policy of inclusive education. However, having said this, it should be noted that this is a complex and complicated process and that the development of human and social capital is intrinsically contextual.

Putman's (1995) conception of social capital provided a useful framework against which social capital was analyzed in this thesis (see Chapter 2). Social capital refers to "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995). The key concepts of bonding, bridging and linkage in social capital theory also proved useful in making sense of the data. In the next section I place under scrutiny the Participatory Learning and Action process that the project used to do the situational analysis at the schools. The data

was gleaned from document analysis of project reports, interviews and a journal article by the project leader.

6.2.2 Bonding, Bridging and Linking through Participatory Learning and Action

The situational analysis played an important part to inform the planning of the educator training programmes and materials development, and also assisted the pilot schools to review their present situation around issues of inclusion (Resource and Educator Development, 2002).

The Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) approach was used to conduct the situational analysis. This approach emphasizes participation by a wide range of stakeholders. The school community involved: educators, learners, members of the school governing body (SGB), NGOs, parents, members of local community-based organizations (CBOs) and community members. The process was intended to be as inclusive as possible and to give voice to different stakeholders so that they could participate in the change process. According to two of the project facilitators, getting stakeholders involved in the analysis was important in that they felt part of the process and did not feel that change was imposed from the outside. The process was also used to ascertain what the needs of school and the community were. The PLA process was used to build social capital through participatory learning and action. It is through community empowerment that individual empowerment occurs (Freire, 1972).

Muthukrishna (2002: 11) reporting on the findings of the PLA in the project, states that the PLA yielded extremely valuable findings relating to the "dominant issues in their lives, contradictions and tensions in the situation, overt and covert pressure from the people in power". Issues that emerged included: "vandalism, problems with the governance of schools, corporal punishment and abuse of learners, substance abuse in the community, inappropriate curriculum for overage learners, didactic inflexible teaching styles, inability to address the needs of the learners with disabilities and those experiencing learning difficulties, lack of support from the District Education

Department, the issue of overage learners, poor physical condition of school buildings, HIV/Aids and child bereavement, and teenage pregnancy". What the PLA process spawned in the various stakeholders is a common and shared understanding. Strike (2000: 621) makes an important observation which resonates with the project's attempts to build social and human capital:

> *The glue that holds the community together is shared aims requiring co-operation for their realization and which may generate bonds of friendship and mutual regard through participation and shared understanding.*

The participation of the various stakeholders in the PLA process created spaces for stakeholder voices and a shared understanding of some of the problems that exist in the schools and the community, and their common aim of ameliorating these problems. Having a shared understanding of goals and outcomes is important for the process of building social capital. Having a shared understanding does not negate the richness of individual thought but creates spaces for this individuality to be located in social connectedness. Moreover, the process allows for stakeholders to take ownership of their own development. This is unlike what Hoppers (2001: 22) calls the incapacitation of the poor by development agencies of the North. The 'knowers' of Third World realities arrived in Africa in droves from Europe and America and offered advice and half-baked solutions with confident condescension that was typical of relations between conqueror and conquered. The development ideology of the agents from the North caused more underdevelopment and poverty than improvement (ibid). One of the reasons for this was that the indigenous people were not consulted or involved in their own development. Another reason was that these agents endeavoured to import solutions from the North.

The project coordinator adds more information on the PLA in the following extract. The coordinator of the project is an educator from the community, based at the Estcourt district of the Department of Education. He holds the post of a deputy principal in one of the local primary schools in Estcourt. He was selected for this project because he is from the community and is known by the community and the teachers in the area.

RESPONSE: The materials development was informed by the situational analysis. We needed to develop an intervention strategy on HIV/Aids. We needed funding for this. There was silence around the issue. The people needed education and awareness around the issue. We did a mini survey on orphans in the area and found that most of these children were orphaned because of HIV/Aids. We called an NGO called DramAide to raise awareness around HIV/Aids. The funds were not enough therefore we had to focus attention on the high schools only. We established a health promoting club which consists of educators and learners from various grades. This function of the club was to spread education and act as a support structure. In the situational analysis for disabilities we found that there were students with disabilities who were supposed to be at school but because the schools could not support them they were out of the school. We identified about 53 learners with disabilities who were out of school.

PROBE QUESTION: Are these 53 learners placed in schools yet?

RESPONSE: No, it was difficult to follow up with some of the learners because they have either been relocated to another area or the researchers could not locate them. There were 12 learners who were prioritized because of their age and their proximity to a school. These learners are scheduled to be placed in schools in 2003. There are other logistical problems in placement, such as lack of identity document/birth certificate; some of the pupils live outside the project area.

As stated earlier the findings from the PLA informed the materials development and teacher education and training. In the first extract above we see two key concepts of social capital theory in action. The project found that HIV/Aids was a serious problem in the area. Funds were inadequate to deal with it. By linking up (vertical dimension of social capital) with DramAide, an NGO, the project was able to harness the necessary expertise to raise awareness on the issue of HIV/Aids among the schools and the community. Here we witness the drawing in of social capital to achieve a common outcome.

The formation of a health promoting club is an indicator of bonding which promotes support and reciprocity (the club will be discussed later in the chapter). Putnam (2000) used group membership as one of the main measures of social capital. Building of social capital in the formation of the health promoting club also adds to the learning process. Acquiring new knowledge and change are deeply embedded in human interactions, relationships and networks.

While the first extract shows the success at linking, networking and bonding, the second shows that certain issues are complex, with no quick fix or easy solutions. Of the fifty-three learners who were identified, there were only twelve who could be placed in schools. One of the reasons given for this lack of success in placing out-of-school learners with disability into schools is the constant movement of families. Due to poverty and unemployment, families are constantly on the move in search of employment. Many parents are migrant workers who work in the cities and industrialized areas. This system prevailed in the days of apartheid where people were segregated into racial areas and blacks had to travel long distances to places of work, or live far away from families near places of employment. Another reason is that the learners live outside the area and transportation in the rural area is a problem. A further reason is the lack of documentation for registration at schools. The reasons for minimal success thus seem to be a lack of social capital. However, Manyana Primary through its networking skills, found a creative way of solving the problem of a lack of documentation. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

It is clear that the PLA yielded rich data, which informed the materials development. According to a facilitator, who also assisted in the materials development, the following were the main objectives of the project:

> *With particular reference to educator development the objectives were: To empower educators through a variety of educator development programmes depending on the needs and priorities in the different schools. To develop in educators a sound understanding of the policy, theories and practice of inclusive education so that they will be able to facilitate policy development and practice at the school level. To integrate inclusion as part of whole school development.*

> *In our unit two we dealt with whole school development. The school was looked at as a complete, systemic whole, not as different parts working in isolation. We did progress to quite a large extent on creating an ethos and culture of inclusion as fostering democracy, respect for diversity in the whole school, relationship building with the community and school governing body, networking with other schools and government departments, NGOs, service providers in the area, right down to classroom structure- setting in the classroom democratic policies and rules in the classroom.*

Two pertinent issues need to be highlighted from the above statement. Firstly, the local needs of schools were taken into account when programmes were developed. This is an important consideration because even within countries and local districts, needs may differ and the understanding of situations may differ. The second point is that the Project took a whole school development approach to lever in the change of policy and philosophy towards inclusive education. In other words, there had to be systemic development in that the capacity of the school as an organization: the teachers, the ethos of the school, the leadership, the curriculum and the school community needed development. As mentioned, the school was seen holistically, and not as different parts working in isolation (see Senge, 1990, Chapter 2).

In conclusion it could be said that the PLA process was a useful methodological tool in building social cohesion.

6.3 School Community Partnerships

6.3.1 Engaging in Collaboration across Sectors

In Chapter Three I indicated that one of the proposals of White Paper 6 (2001) is the building of community-based support for the schools. A community based model of support moves away from the specialized model of support, as is the case in the North. Although specialists will play a significant role in supporting schools, the schools should be strengthened by expertise from the local community (NCSNET & NCSNET, 1997). Education support service is conceptualized as a flexible network of service providers. In such a system, networking and co-ordination of all available services rather than the reliance on a predetermined core of specialist service providers, becomes important (NCSNET & NCESS, 1997: 88). In the rich countries of the North specialized support can be provided for schools whereas the poor countries of the south cannot afford the luxury of specialized support for every school.

In keeping with the proposals of White Paper 6 the project built this notion of networking and partnerships in their development programmes with schools. Building partnerships seems to develop social capital. Both the school improvement and school effectiveness research seem to suggest that building partnerships improves school effectiveness (see Reynolds et al, 1996; Stoll & Fink, 1999).

One of the biggest impacts that the project had on Manyana Primary was in the area of building networks with NGOs, CBOs, DPOs, other government departments and community institutions. The coordinator of the project states that in his estimation, the project had made "great progress in getting schools to network with outside organizations". The principal of Manyana Primary School explains how the school has networked with various outside agencies, government departments and schools, in addressing some of the needs of the school. In the excerpts we notice how the school has attempted to build human and social capital in their development towards becoming a more effective school.

> *PRINCIPAL: We work with NGOs such as CREATE, MOLTENO, DPO, CASCADE, and community institutions such as the police force, the health department. We work well with these institutions e.g. the DPO (Disabled Peoples Organization) do a lot of workshops with us and the learners and they give us lots of information. Dave, who runs the Christian lodge in the area is a member of CASCADE, he helped us with the sewing machines for our adult learners. He also gives us seedlings for our vegetable garden. We give sewing lessons to our ABET learners but we do not have enough machines. Dave promised to give us more machines. NATU (National Teacher Union) the teacher union gave us literacy kits for our grade R class. Nestle from Estcourt sometimes gives us cocoa and Milo granules for our feeding scheme. The churches in the area have sermons for our children and also for staff. There is no library in our school. It is difficult to make our children read. We work with the new library in our area. Our teachers and learners walk to the library, which is about 15 minutes away. We also work with the municipality. They helped to transport manure for the community vegetable garden, which is next to the school. The municipality also helped in ploughing the field. I also helped other schools with paper work to get the feeding scheme going in their schools. The learners from that area are coming to my school because there is no feeding scheme there. Our school cannot cope with the numbers. If the schools in other locations get this feeding scheme going they will go to the school nearby. I got to help them with this. The feeding scheme is now operating in that school. I also introduced them to the suppliers of our school. The enrolment in*

that school improved. I introduced another school to this supplier. I got the forms from the regional office and this school is now running the feeding scheme.

Our school also networks with neighbouring schools. I called a few neighbouring schools to come together. We helped them with the policy of inclusive education. I helped with assessment and admission policies. I am trying to help them to do what we are doing here.

If one of the features of social capital is the harnessing of available resources through appropriate interactions, then the extract above is an indication of strong social capital. The principal's account of the school's web of networking and interactions with community structures, NGOs, other government departments and schools is evidence of how the drawing in of social capital benefits the school. In the PLA process, the materials development, and the advocacy programme on educational inclusion, the project used the building and drawing in process of social capital. Here we see some of the skills acquired in these processes put to good use. I also acknowledge that Manyana had already started tapping into some of the resources that were available before the project started. For example, the principal of Manyana had introduced her teachers to the Molteno Programme long before the project had started. The Molteno Programme is a reading programme that advocates a multiple approach. The Molteno Programme had helped the teachers in using an alternate way of teaching literacy. This is an example of the intersection of social capital, human capital and learning. One of the ways of combating exclusion may be to build human and social capital (OECD, 1999). The development of human and social capital may be achieved through participation in the learning process.

A teacher from the staff and the project coordinator corroborate some of the evidence of networking with outside organization and schools:

TEACHER: Community organizations such as MOLTENO, CREATE, DPOs and the Tugela Municipality have worked with us and helped us. Community organizations have helped orphans and learners who cannot pay school fees. We also work with the police, the health clinic and the Home Affairs.
PROJECT CO-ORDINATOR: Another component of the project that worked well is networking with the community and NGOs. I never realized before that this could be so successful. The school governing bodies, the disabled people

organization, the police, the clinics in the area have come together and provided help in this project.

We have an HIV/Aids programme at schools. We asked the Department of Health to have programmes for the pupils. We sent letters calling for parents to attend.

Studies are now showing that building partnerships enhances school improvement (see Ainscow, 1995, 1997; Hopkins, et al, 1996; Stoll & Fink, 1999; Fullan, 2003). Schools exist within the context of parents, community, school districts, other educational organizations and institutions, and other government departments. Each of these institutions or groups has its own agenda or self-interest, but can contribute tremendously in supporting and developing the school (Stoll & Fink, 1999). Schools can choose to work in isolation to avoid criticism and interference from the outside or they can harness the wealth of resources from the outside.

Matlin (2001: 11) defines partnerships as "strategic alliances, i.e. temporary relationships that are forged for purposes that may have a degree of mutual interest as well as a strong component of self-interest". There are three key words in this definition that need interrogation. The word 'temporary' gives the impression that the partnership is short term or for a short duration. In the case of Manyana, partnerships need to be long term so that whatever gains the school and community have made, need to be sustainable. I would rather prefer partnerships for 'mutual interest' rather than 'self-interest', as self-interest is skewed or one-sided and tends to be very transitory because it serves the interests of one or few of the partners. Moreover, one of the key concepts in building social capital is reciprocity (give and take), hence the need to build partnerships for mutual interest.

The following diagram summarizes the networking and partnerships between the school and outside agencies/institutions as reported by the principal.

Figure 1: Networking and Partnerships
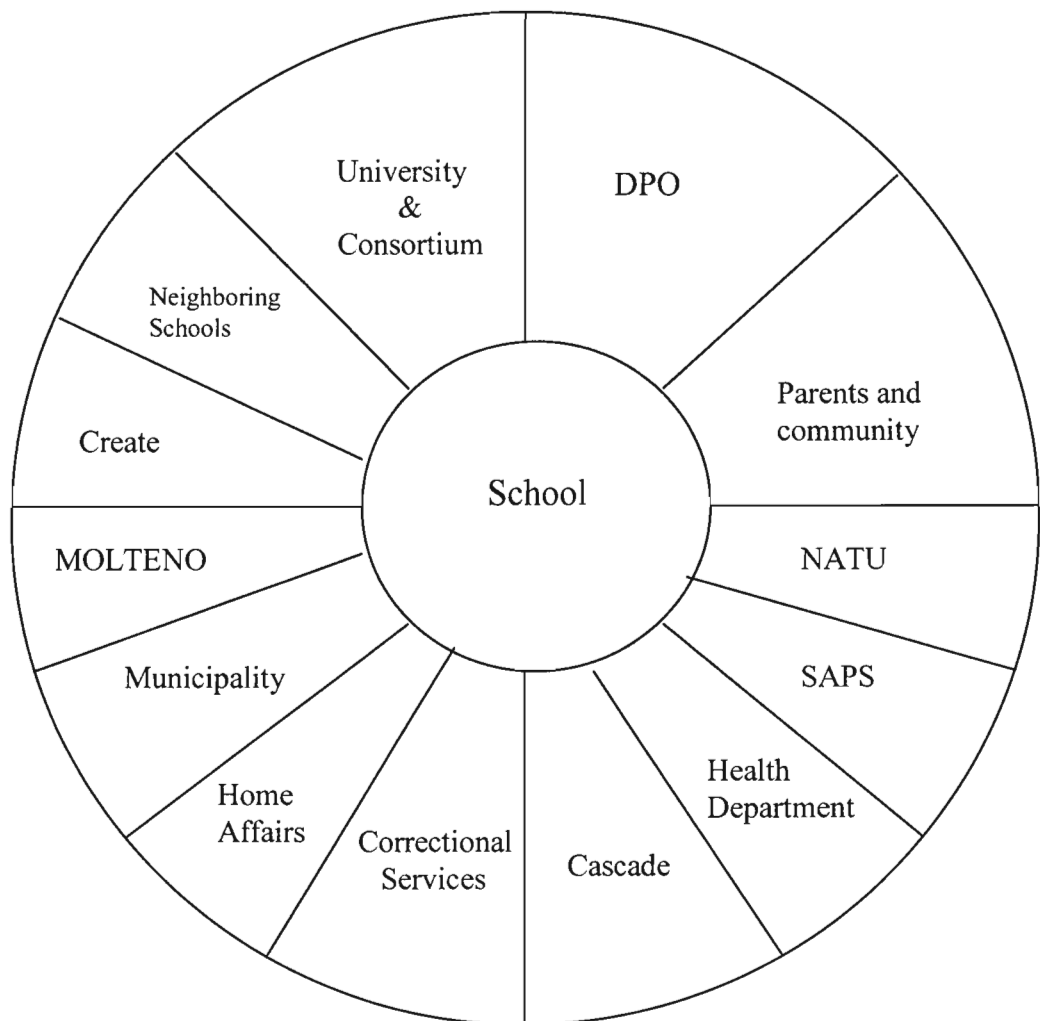
KEY

DPO	Disabled Peoples' Organization
CASCADE	Christian NGO involved in charitable work
SAPS	South African Police
CREATE	NGO involved in development work
MOLTENO	NGO involved in teacher development
NATU	National Teachers' Union

6.3.2   Working Together with other Government Departments

Evidence from my interviews, my observations during my school visits and documents (Resource & Educator Development Report, 2002; Independent Evaluation Report (DoE), 2003) indicate that networking with outside agencies and intersectoral collaboration with other government departments have provided major benefits to the school.

Examples from the principal's report demonstrated Manyana Primary's capacity in problem solving or in Skrtic's (1995) words 'an adhocratic school' (refer to Chapter 2). In addressing the problem of children with no identity documents, the school assisted the Department of Home Affairs in processing the documentation. The school networks with the local clinic in addressing the health problems of the pupils. The Department of Correctional Services and the South African Police have helped with the Safety and security needs of the school.

We also worked with the department of Home Affairs. We had a problem in getting birth certificates for pupils. This is a big problem every year in enrolling new children. Many of the new pupils do not have birth certificates or I.D. documents for various reasons. Some children do not have parents. Some parents are illiterate. In some cases the parents are working in the cities and the children are in the care of grandparents or relatives while in other cases parents are illiterate. We approached the local Home Affairs to get the births of our pupils registered. The Home Affairs could not cope. The chairperson of the school governing body and I proposed a plan with the supervisor. We asked him to train our teachers to register the births of our pupils and teach them to fill in the forms. The Home Affairs agreed and within three weeks we were able to get the birth certificates done for our pupils. There were some forms we could not complete because parents are in Gauteng or Durban or where parents themselves do not have IDs.

We also work with SAPS. I will tell you one scenario. One child came with a syringe to school. I took it from one child. I asked the children where you got this. The children pointed out the dump. I went there and I found a lot of these syringes scattered on the ground. I phoned the SAPS, they came within ten minutes. They phoned the municipality office. They came with gloves, picked up the waste and disposed of the medical waste. SAPS went further to the hospital mobile clinics. After that the culprits (mobile clinic) came to school to apologies. They said we lost the bucket that we normally put the syringes. The person who

stole the syringes wanted the bucket – he just threw the medical waste on the roadside. They said this will not happen again. We network with the South African Police (SAPS) on victim support, especially abused children. We have a lot of abused children at about more than 50. Some cases went to court. We also work with the department of health. Our HIV/Aids policy at school states that we should have a first aid kit and gloves. These are expensive. We asked the health clinic and they donated these to us. They came to address parents on HIV/Aids. When our teachers take their pupils to the clinic they attend quickly because they know that we have to get back to school.

We also liaise with correctional services. They offer their services to us. They send inmates to work in the school vegetable garden. The inmates ploughed the fields for us. Unfortunately, the person who used to bring the inmates just passed away last week. He was the husband of a teacher in our school.

These examples of successful collaboration between the school and other governments departments are important learning experiences. This includes being aware that working intersectorally in and outside of the Department of Education is not easy, but it is very rewarding for all concerned. Some of the complexities are "not all stakeholders attend meetings; there is no sharing of responsibility; and unclarity (lack of clarity) about responsibilities means that it falls between schools" (Evaluation Report, 2003). These are some of the challenges to those who wish to and need to work together to provide integrated and comprehensive support to schools.

6.3.3   University and Community Organization Collaboration

Since the Department of Education did not have the capacity to conduct the pilot project, it formed collaborative partnerships with the School of Education of the then University of Natal to lead the project. This vertical dimension of social capital is called "linkages" (Woolcock, 2001). The ability to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community is a key function of linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001). The university in turn formed collaborative partnerships with NGOs and CBOs. The university partnership with NGOs such as DART and DICAG was horizontal in nature in that it used the expertise of these organizations for materials development and harnessing the support of the DPOs and the community. This horizontal social capital is

called bridging. John-Steiner (2000) refers to it as creative collaboration, continually developing the consciousness and ability to deal with novel situations.

Stoll and Fink (1999) have found that schools with University partnership help in professional development of teachers and for lifelong learning. The role of universities in initial teacher education has shifted in some countries. Partnerships between schools, districts and universities have increased as universities get involved in school improvement through action research projects (ibid). The authors caution that there should be mutual respect for each other's needs and strengths and clarification of principles between role players. The perception in schools is that universities are the crucibles of knowledge and the power of this knowledge can create asymmetrical power relations.

As reported by the principal, building and drawing in social capital by networking with community organisations and NGOs have brought major benefits to the school. The university has played a major role not only in capacity building but also as the catalyst in bringing the role players and stakeholders together.

> *All role players said that the consortium (universities and non-governmental organizations) had played a very positive role in the project. This included the members involved in the training as well as the researchers and the ongoing support that they were able to offer to the teachers and schools.*

The community partnership model that was pursued in this project is in line with developments across this country, and in other countries. It involved bringing together universities, community organizations and the Department of Education to provide opportunities for training, research and community service. This example highlights that the consortiums that were developed around this model played a very important role in the project. They developed relevant training and capacity building programmes and materials for educators and other role players. They also supported the implementation process through ongoing action research in the schools and the district as a whole.

6.3.4   Parents as Partners

Creating policies for involving pupils, parents and the wider community, including all role players, is important for school development. Encouraging overall access to the school through the creation of an open climate builds an inclusive climate. Many reform efforts have placed heavy emphasis on parental and community involvement in schools (Reynolds et al, 1996; Stoll & Fink, 1999). In some countries such as South Africa, parents have been given governance roles (South African Schools Act, 1996). However, mandated changes do not guarantee parental participation in schools: schools need to actively build relationships with parents and the community. Building partnership with parents is based on the premise that involved and interested parents contribute significantly to a pupil's success in school (Stoll & Fink, 1999: 134). Parents and teachers need to have a shared understanding of pupils' educational outcomes or be 'reading from the same page' to promote pupil learning and development (ibid). Schools need to communicate meaningfully with parents on a range of issues not only on the progress of their children but also on curriculum matters, so that they can make inputs on the educative process. However, for various reasons, in developing countries like South Africa getting parental involvement in the school is not always successful. Illiteracy, unemployment, and the constant movement of people make it difficult for educators to elicit parent involvement in schools. Although the project attempted to mobilize parental involvement in the school, in Manyana only a few parents were actively involved in the school.

> *The critical role of parents and the importance of strategies to involve parents more in their child's learning was reinforced through the project and collaboration with parents intensified as a result.*

> *Successful projects including parents were developed. Parents have been involved in the development of vegetable gardens and in the training/capacity building programmes themselves (e.g. parents of children with disabilities have helped to raise awareness of the rights of these children to quality education) (Resource & Educator Development Project Report: 2002).*

The following are instances of parental involvement that I witnessed at the school. Along the periphery of Manyana Primary School fence is the 'Peace Garden'. This 'Peace Garden' was established by a Peace Fund Committee after the violent political conflicts of the early nineties. In the introduction to the last chapter I narrated the story of how a child from the school was shot to death during class lessons. The Peace Garden is a memorial to those who died in the conflict, and celebrates the peace that now prevails. Many of the parents of children from Manyana engage in market gardening in this garden to earn a living. The Peace Garden serves many purposes. It has brought former foes to work in peace and harmony. It was Nehru (1954) who said, "the only alternative to co-existence is co-destruction". It is a source of income for some of the unemployed people in the area. The garden forms the hub of a networking system. The municipality, a Christian group in the area, and the Peace Fund supply the gardeners with seeds and fertilizer. The gardeners assist the school with surplus seeds and fertilizer. The school uses these products in their own gardening projects to raise funds and supply vegetables for their feeding scheme.

A group of parents provide their expertise in dance, drama and sewing of costumes to prepare students for a dance and drama festival through the regional schools eisteddfod. The school has won the first prize for the past two years.

With its present funding the school, cannot afford to employ a gardener and cleaners. An unemployed parent does the gardening and a few minor repairs at the school. Despite these positive experiences, I have found that only a small number of parents are fully involved with the school and the education of their children. Parents are invited to the school at the end of every term to discuss their children's progress but only a few attend. The teachers put this down to the lack of education of parents and the constant movement of parents in and out of the area in search of jobs. In the previous chapter I noted that many pupils live with grand parents or other caregivers because some cases parents are deceased or live away from home because of the migrant labour system. In many cases, parents are unable to help their children because they are illiterate. Although the staff at Manyana has endeavoured to create an open and inclusive ethos at the school, many

parents still feel reluctant to participate in its affairs because of a lack education or expertise, as the following comment reveals. It seems that the hegemony of power of the middle class (the teachers) creates a barrier between the teachers and some parents:

> *Chair of SGB: The parents feel teachers are educated. They (parents) are do not educated and do not have the skills to help.*

6.4 Accessing the Support of Disabled Peoples' Organizations

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The NGOs and DPOs have played a central role in the training and development of inclusive education in the schools (Resource & Educator Development Project, 2002):

> *The involvement of the DPOs and people with disabilities in leadership positions in the project helped to change attitudes towards people with disabilities. Seeing people with disabilities and parents involved in training and such activities has a major impact on people. They tend to confront their own negative attitudes and fears with very positive outcomes, and, through the involvement of DPOs, disabled people and parents become 'un-hidden' in the communities.*

During my three months of fieldwork at the school, I observed a "Disability Awareness Programme" that was conducted by PADI (People for the Awareness of Disability Issues) for the Grade 7 learners at Manyana. The school had arranged for this organization to conduct periodic awareness programmes with the pupils. I was invited to observe this programme with the two Grade 7 classes. The following field notes give a picture of what went on in the programme.

> *The programme was conducted in the school's multipurpose room. The four persons who conducted different aspects of the programme had different disabilities. The main facilitator, Sipho, had a spinal defect and was very short and small in stature. There was a deaf person with no speech, a person with calipers on her both legs and a person in a wheel chair. The programme was conducted in IsiZulu. The deputy principal interpreted some of words that I did not understand.*
>
> *Sipho, who has spina bifida, commenced the programme by introducing all the facilitators, and gave a brief history of their lives. All the activities were very interactive and involved in role play. The main purpose of the activities*

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was to get the learners to place themselves in the shoes of persons with disabilities to experience some the difficulties they experience in every day life. For example, students and teachers were blindfolded and asked to find their way around the class. Another activity involved learners trying to communicate with another person with a spoon in his mouth. This activity tried to demonstrate the problem that deaf persons have in trying to communicate with non-deaf persons. There were various other activities. I could see from the response of the learners that they had gained a lot of insight into the lives of those living with disabilities in this short period of time. There was a lot of laughter during the sessions, which indicated that the learners enjoyed the experience. These were some of the comments of the learners during the evaluation session of the workshop:

- *I learnt a lot about the disabled.*
- *I didn't know that the disabled are so good in talking and teaching.*
- *We must not laugh at the people that are disabled.*
- *We must help the disabled.*
- *They have feelings like us.*

From the comments of the learners it can be inferred that the programme was well received by the learners and that it had achieved its objective of raising the consciousness of the learners on issues of disability. Their comments also indicate how the pupils' own initial negative perceptions of people with disability changed when they saw them in leadership positions. Another positive outcome of this awareness programme is that one of the Grade 7 classes started learning sign language for the letters of the alphabet. At the end of the awareness programme all learners were given a list of the letters of the alphabet in sign language. During one of my class visits I sat in a lesson where students were rehearsing the alphabet in sign language. Learners took turns to demonstrate their skills in signing the letters. Some students signed a whole sentence that was written on the chalkboard. Most learners fared very well in this exercise.

The teacher explained to me later in the day that a group of students took it upon themselves to learn the signs and asked the teacher to do a lesson on signing the alphabet. Both teacher and learners started to learn the signs simultaneously. What made the situation more rewarding was that the students could now empathize with the learner with hearing impairment. In my earlier interview with the student with hearing impairment, she had indicated to me that learners laughed at her because of her speech defect. I

presume that after this consciousness raising sessions this type of exclusionary pressure on the learner would be reduced.

The learning that took place in the school and the community can be conceived of as what Visser (2001) calls "learning as an ecological phenomenon". Any learning, be it a school, an organization, a family or even an entire society is always part of something larger that learns. The learning ecology is made up of a host of "sub-learning environments...the learning communities that operate within them interact with each other, allowing the learning in each of them to be mutually reinforcing" (Visser, 2001: 3).

6.5 Harnessing Social Capital

6.5.1 Capacity Building of DPOs and Parent Organizations

Research has provided evidence to suggest that there is a relationship between human and social capital and social exclusion. One of the approaches of combating social exclusion may be to build human and social capital (OECD, 1999; Raftery, 2002; Muthukrishna & Sader, 2004). The project attempted to build human and social capital within the school and the community through the concept of lifelong learning. In the previous chapter I examined the capacity building within the school. In this section I explore the projects attempts to harness and capacitate community and parent organizations in the local area.

The project used the services of an NGO called Disability Action Research Team (DART) to facilitate the involvement of members of Disability Peoples Organizations (DPOs), other NGOs, and parents' organizations in the project and to build capacity. The first involvement of these organizations was through the situational analysis. During the period being reported, a meeting was held with DPOs and parents organizations at Manyana Primary School. This was jointly planned and facilitated by DART, Disability Peoples Organization of South Africa (DPSA) and CREATE. There were three main objectives of DART for capacity building and awareness raising among DPOs in the district Resource & Educator Development, 2002):

1. Identifying existing and recent strategies for disability awareness in the district, including programmes & resources for disability awareness.
2. Working with DPOs in order to facilitate their participation in the project.
3. Raising awareness about White Paper 6.

The success of human capital development among the DPOs and parents are reflected in the following comments. The comments also reflect the level of empowerment of people with disability in the project. Involving people with disability in the project helped to demystify perceptions about disability.

Voice of Person with Disability from the Local Area

We gained knowledge of the need to work with principals and schools. We now realize that we as disabled people are not isolated in the community. A disabled child no longer needs to be all alone at home – they can learn with other children. We have learnt to be more confident in communicating with principals. This is already happening – one school outside of the project approached some disabled people to ask them to run disability awareness programmes.

We have also learnt about what disability really means. As parents, we have more knowledge about disability, and we want to learn even more.

We have also started to learn about what we as disabled people can do when we are treated badly at work. (Thus indicating that the project has focused or influenced more than just the school environment.)

6.5.2 Identifying Community Resources to Address Barriers to Learning

The research in the pilot district included what are sometimes called 'asset-audits' or 'community-resource profiling' processes. These are ways of identifying the human resources (people, groups, organizations) in and around the school that can help the school to address the barriers to teaching and learning that they experience. This information was then converted into a school, or district, 'resource file' or 'resource directory' that provides information to help schools to link with these people or groups when necessary. Some examples of the resources that exist in the district are the local clinics, hospital, social work services, the police, NGOs and CBOs in the area.

6.5.3 The Health Promoting School

> *The Health and Education Departments have collaborated successfully through their joint projects in the 'health promoting schools' strategy, addressing various 'health' barriers to learning (physical, psychological and social aspects).* Through this strategy *the nurses have learnt a lot about the education support system and primary health care in the schools has improved through, for example, the provision of first-aid kits and training in the pilot schools. Schools are being developed as health promoting schools* (Evaluation Report, 2003).

The evaluation revealed that the health promoting schools strategy is being used as a central mechanism to bring the Departments of Health and Education (and sometimes other government departments) together in these pilot districts (Evaluation Report, 2003). This strategy is based on the Ottawa Charter on Health Promotion, that emphasises five areas of action:

- *Building school policies that promote the well-being of all members of the school community.*
- *Developing a supportive and safe teaching and learning environment.*
- *Building strong school-community relationships.*
- *Developing personal skills (life skills for learners, teachers and parents are relevant here).*
- *Developing accessible and relevant education support services.*

In addition to the direct benefit within the school, the health promoting schools strategy has shown that it is very successful in developing strong school-community relationships. It draws on the strengths of the parents and the community to build effective schools, and, through the schools themselves, benefits the surrounding community.

HIV/Aids awareness was an important component of the educator development programme of the project. Education on sexuality has been incorporated in the life orientation curriculum of the school. A critical incident at the school depicts how cultural attitudes can stigmatize and exclude persons from community life and how the school responded to the 'othering' of this person. The following reconstructed story has been related by several members of the staff of the school:

Field Notes

Poverty is a major problem that defines the lives of many of the children in the school. Through Government funding the school provides a meal for the children every day. A mother of one of the children assisted the school in the preparation of meals for the school feeding scheme. The mother took ill and suddenly died. Both the children, a ten year old boy, and his fourteen year old sister who was out of school, were left destitute. The father had separated from the mother many years ago and there was no trace.

Both teachers and the community suspected that the mother had died of Aids. The project coordinator and many of the teachers' report that Aids is taboo in the community. There is a deafening silence surrounding the issue of Aids in the community. It is customary among the people in black community that when a person dies, the community rallies around the bereaving family and give assistance both financially and emotionally. The chief and the community usually assist in the funeral arrangements. In this case the community shunned the family and did not want to have anything to do with funeral arrangements. The principal immediately had a meeting with the 'Bereavement Committee' in the school. This committee was formed to assist learners and families with emotional and financial assistance during times of bereavement. The principal informed the committee of the plight of the two children and that the community would not assist in the funeral arrangements. The committee called a staff meeting and the staff decided to assist the two children and make all the funeral arrangements. The principal's vehicle was used as the hearse for the funeral.

The next problem the management and IST faced was to find caregivers for the children. Eventually the father was traced and he offered to take care of the children. The principal arranged for the placement of the child in a school near the father's residence. Unfortunately this arrangement did not last as the children experienced problems with the stepmother. A maternal aunt of the children volunteered to take care of the children. The principal had to make further arrangements for the children to be transferred back to Manyana Primary School.

The taboo surrounding HIV/Aids seems to be a socially exclusionary factor in this community and threatens the social cohesiveness (bonding) of the community. While the cultural sanctions within the community excluded the bereaving family from the benefits of the community resources, the bonding within the school, that is, the cohesion and solidarity among the staff served to make up for this loss. According to Percy-Smith (2000), social exclusion is associated with a low level of social capital. This social capital can exist at the community or local level. We saw this social exclusion or 'othering'

operating at the local level of the deceased and the bereaving family. However, social capital also exists at the individual level in the form of the individual's own social network, such as family, friends, neighbours and colleagues (Raftery, 2002). In this instance, social capital comprised the school and work colleagues. The social capital, which existed at the individual level for this family assisted the family in the time of bereavement and post bereavement. During the post bereavement period the school was able to arrange for the child to be placed in another school, closer to the home of the father. When this did not work out, the school arranged alternate accommodation for the child and brought the child back to Manyana Primary. Thus social capital at the individual level was used to overcome exclusion at the community level.

In order to reduce or eradicate this exclusionary impact of HIV/Aids in the community the school has formed a committee together with parents, community members and a nurse from the Department of Health to educate the community on HIV/Aids. Muntuza Primary School has realized that HIV/Aids are a reality in their community and that they must take proactive steps in order to educate their children and their parents. Two public meetings were called to disseminate information. The DramAide group, an NGO is networking with the project to raise awareness in the schools and the community. Drama is used as a vehicle to spread the message. The school organized two HIV/Aids parent workshops. Unfortunately the workshops were not well attended. Although community organizations have networked with the school not many parents get involved in the activities of the school. The reasons for this were explained earlier in the chapter. However, the principal reports that there is an increase in the number of parents who now attend meetings.

The special school/resource centre in the district employed a "Community-Based Rehabilitation" (CBR) Facilitator. The facilitator played a very important role in developing positive community-school relationships in the area. She has been working with parents: raising their awareness through drama; working with learners with disabilities in their homes; developing parent support groups (five in total) which have formed into day-care centres where the mothers are involved in teaching their children

(basic skills are shared in these centres, which provides training for the parents); helping to get learners with disabilities into the special school/resource centre and mainstream schools, and working closely with NGOs and DPOs to do all of this (Research & Education Resource Project, 2003).

It also shows how parents and others directly or indirectly linked to the schools can benefit from these kinds of initiatives. This experience shows the important role health workers can play in helping to build inclusive schools. However, it is hoped the services of this community based worker continues as her employment is dependent on donor funds and should this source of funding dry up, an important role player in building inclusive schools will be lost. It is hoped that the Department of Education or Health will fund such a post and find a way of prioritizing and supporting such a partnership with resources. This is true for the involvement of health workers in education generally as well. The health promoting schools strategy, which has been accepted as an important framework for working together in this country, is one option, which may assist.

The evidence from this pilot project seem to suggest that the Department of Education has to work with other government departments if it is going to successfully address the many psychosocial barriers to learning experienced in schools in South Africa. Concrete, practical strategies to support 'working together' need to be identified and pursued. Because of focus on education, the Department of Education will need to take the 'lead' in forming collaborative networks. Included in these concrete strategies is the need for the clarification of the roles and functions of all the role players concerned.

6.5.4 The School as a Centre of Community Life
In the section above, I explored how networking, bridging and linkages between the school and community structures benefited the school. One of the features of social capital theory is reciprocity. To explain reciprocity in colloquial terms means to give and take, or partnerships for mutual interest. In this section I show how the school gives back to the community and this way builds community life. In building an inclusive education

and training system, the project attempted to build school-community, with the following rationale (Resource & Educator Development, 2002).

- *The development of the school is seen as an integral and central part of the development of the entire community.*
- *The community 'owns' the school and is actively involved in its maintenance and in making it a safe and secure environment.*
- *The need for parent empowerment strategies is recognised and implemented as a key aspect of inclusive education particularly at the school level.*

The principal of the school together with the staff, saw the need to start an Adult Basic Education and Training centre at Manyana Primary School. There is a 51% illiteracy rate among the adult population in Estcourt (Muthukrishna, 2002). Besides the altruistic reasons of assisting in raising the literacy level in the community, the staff saw this as an opportunity to increase the literacy levels of parents so that they can render scholastic support to their children. The principal of the school initiated the idea as she had the experience of running a centre at her previous school. In order to establish an adult education centre and get accreditation from the Department of Education the school needed to get a centre number. Due to excessive bureaucracy, it was difficult to get the centre established speedily. The principal used her networking skills (contacts with officials from the Department of Education) to obtain a centre number from a centre that was defunct. She successfully negotiated with Departmental officials to allocate the centre number to Manyana, and thus the ABET Centre was born.

Five teachers volunteered to teach the adult learners after school hours. The curricula that the centre offers are the following:

- IsiZulu literacy
- English literacy
- Sewing
- Catering
- Table décor and floral arrangements

The initial roll started at forty-five learners but as with most adult centres, the attendance dropped to about twenty and often fluctuates because people relocate their residence in search of job opportunities. This is not uncommon for ABET classes in other parts of South Africa (Perumal, 2004).

One of the major success stories of the skills class is the formation of a small business enterprise by the teacher who teaches catering. The teacher has established a catering business for the learners in the catering class. The catering team is regularly hired out for functions such as wedding and parties. The catering team from the ABET class are hired to cater for workshops that are held at the school. Here we see the building of human capital in terms of developing the entrepreneurial skills of the adult learners and social capital in terms of forming a cooperative enterprise. This enterprise is small but it makes a significant contribution towards poverty alleviation.

The school was also successful in acquiring a donation of five computers from the private sector. This is evidence of vertical linkage of social capital. It is envisaged that computer literacy classes will increase the skills of the adult learners, thus improving their chances for employment.

The school premises are used for community meetings. The Disabled Peoples Organization of South Africa (DPSA) uses one of the classrooms for its meetings. In terms of reciprocity DPSA organizes awareness programmes at the school and community levels.

6.6 Challenges and Complexities of Working Collaboratively

Working collaboratively and networking with various organisations is very complex and requires strong and creative leadership. According to the principal of Manyana, it takes immense human relations skills, perseverance and tolerance when networking with many people and organisations. Sometimes people from the community take up leadership positions but do not attend meetings. It is also difficult to get parental involvement in

projects. Also politics and power relations can be a serious barrier to cooperation between leaders and organisations. For example, tensions between the supporters of the political parties, the ANC and IFP still exist. Working collaboratively requires trust between people (Clarke, 2000; Putman, 2002; Fullan, 2003). Hargreaves (1994) points out that the cultural perspective on collaboration emphasizes consensus, shared values, norms and beliefs, whereas the micropolitical perspective looks at power relations and collaboration as resulting from organizational power wielded by control conscious people. Hence in advocating collaboration one must take cognizance that power relations can be an impeding force. The report by the Resource and Educator Development Project (2002) notes that a particular challenge experienced in this project is that of working with community leaders, which has implications for educating parents and communities around the country,

> *It proved particularly difficult to get "buy in" from the community leaders, especially the political councillors, into the project. In a mainly rural district such as Estcourt, community members often go to their local traditional, and sometimes political, leaders to help them sort out problems. Therefore it is important for these leaders to know about inclusive education. However, another aspect of the problem of working with community leaders in Kwa Zulu-Natal is that some of the leaders saw White Paper 6 as coming from a particular political party (rather than the Department of Education) which they do not support. This meant that they were unwilling to learn about White Paper 6.*

> *However, one of the challenges faced in this regard were the different perceptions of what is regarded as a resource. For example, it has been difficult to make use of the PADI team, as they have not been well accepted by other disability structures in the district. This is linked to political dynamics in the district, which influenced the selection of participants for the PADI training.*

The report suggests that politics of leadership and power relations are important factors for a 'buy in' of the policy of inclusive education.

The biggest challenge lies in the ability of the newly formed District Support Team to sustain the gains made by the project and keep alive the networking system and the intersectoral collaboration that has been established.

6.7 Summary and Conclusion

Empirical evidence from the school and the community suggests that the building of human and social capital within the school and the community is one of the ways of implementing inclusive education and reducing exclusion in the school and the community. Taking a reverse perspective, it could be said that in attempting to implement inclusive education in schools, human and social capital within the school and the community were developed.

This study concurs with other research findings (OECD, 1999; Raftery, 2002) that there is a relationship between human and social capital and social exclusion, and one of the approaches of combating social exclusion may be to build human and social capital. It attempted to build human and social capital through the concept of lifelong learning. The project used the services of certain NGOs to facilitate the involvement of members of, CBOs, DPOs, other NGOs, and parents' organizations, to build capacity. The university has played a major role not only in capacity building but also in being the catalyst in bringing the role players and stakeholders together.

Empirical evidence from this research demonstrates that collaboration with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations, Disabled Peoples Organization (DPO), intersectorial networking with government departments, and people from the community, played a major role in the implementation of the policy of inclusive education. The findings concur with the 'Effective Schools' and 'School Improvement' research that building collaborative partnerships between the school and the community, parents, out side agencies, universities and other community organizations develops the school as an organization (see Hopkins et al, 1994; Renolds et al, 1996; Stoll & Fink, 1999).

The Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) approach was influential in bringing stakeholders together to conduct the situational analysis. This approach emphasizes participation by a wide range of stakeholders. The school community involved;

educators, learners, members of the school governing body (SGB), NGOs, parents, members of local community-based organizations (CBOs) and community members.

The health promoting schools strategy has shown that it is very successful in developing strong school-community relationships. It draws on the strengths of the parents and the community to build effective schools, through the schools, which benefits the surrounding community. The strategy helped in addressing some of the psychosocial barriers to learning.

The Community Based Rehabilitation facilitator played a very important role in developing positive community-school relationships in the area. This experience shows the important role health workers can play in helping to build inclusive schools. The challenge is to get the Department of Education or Health to fund this post to ensure sustainability.

There are various challenges that threaten the sustainability of the various gains made in fostering inclusive education in this rural area. Working collaboratively and networking with various organizations is very complex and requires strong and creative leadership. Also, politics and power relations can be a serious barrier to cooperation between leaders and organizations. The challenges of poverty has not been mentioned in this chapter but will be explored in Chapter Seven.

In the next chapter I examine the discursive influences on 'Inclusive Education' policy implementation in a rural context.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCURSIVE INFLUENCES ON POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN A RURAL CONTEXT

7.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the various influences on the policy implementation process in the pilot project in KwaZulu-Natal. It examines, the various approaches to the implementation of the policy of inclusive education, the role of outside agencies in the policy implementation process, intersectoral collaboration, fiscal policy and its effects on policy implementation, complexities of the process, and the sustainability of the project.

7.2   The Project and its Politics

7.2.1   Introduction

The study by the Centre for Education Policy Development, Evaluation and Management (CEPD, 2001) in South Africa found that provincial governments' weak capacity to implement policy at district and school levels has pushed them into partnerships with a range of NGOs and international development agencies. My study has shown that this is the case not only at provincial level, but also at national level. In implementing the policy of inclusive education and training, the national department had to solicit international donor funds from DANIDA to carry out the pilot projects in the provinces of Eastern Cape, North West Province and KwaZulu-Natal. As stated earlier, the pilot project was conducted by outside agencies or consortiums. In KwaZulu-Natal, educator training and resource development for the implementation of an inclusive education and training system was conducted by a consortium, which included the University of Natal, NGOs, CBOs (Community-Based Organisations) and Disability Peoples Organizations (DPOs). The following extract taken from the project report (Resource & Educator Development Project, 2003) outlines the composition of the consortium.

Management and Co-ordination of the Project

The service provider in the project was a consortium comprising the School of Education, University of Natal, Durban, as the lead institution, and the Disability Action Research Team (DART). The project leader for the consortium in KZN was based in the School of Education, University of Natal, Durban. The lead institution, Faculty of Education, University of Natal, set up a Core Management Team (CMT) to advise and support the project comprising individuals from the School of Education, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg; School of Education, University of Natal, Durban; the pilot coordinator; a representative from the Disabled Children's Action group (DICAG); a representative from Disabled People South Africa (DPSA); one representative from the Disability Action Research Team (DART); two representatives from the Psychological, Guidance, Special Education Services (PGSES), Ladysmith Region Education Department; one representative from the Estcourt District Education Department, and the project administrator.

A Project Management Team (PMT) was set up early in the project. This developed into an inter-departmental team comprising representatives from the consortium, the District Education Department; the provincial and regional structures of Psychological Guidance and Special Education Services (PGSES), Regional Education Support Service; Regional Departments of Education: Adult Basic Education, Early Childhood Education (ECD), Curriculum; Education Management Development (EMD), Physical Planning; NGOs that were active in the project, the special school. This structure in the project was invaluable both as a resource, and as a support and monitoring mechanism.

The Project Support Team (PST) was intended to be a structure that would facilitate intersectoral collaboration. It comprised representatives from Health, Social Welfare, Correctional Services, the special school in the project, Disabled People's Organisations, the Community Leader; Community organisations, NGOs in the district.

As can be gleaned from the above report the main players in the policy implementation process in the pilot project in KwaZulu-Natal were the University of Natal, the NGOs, community organisations and the DPOs. Although the Department of Education was part of the Project Management Team they did not play a major role in mediating the policy in the pilot project in the Estcourt district of KwaZulu-Natal. Evidence of this aspect will be discussed later in the chapter. What was the reason for this lack of involvement in the process in KwaZulu-Natal? Was it a lack of capacity? Was it policy overload? Was it fiscal austerity? Was it a lack of political will? These and many other questions beg answers, which I attempt to find in the data.

7.2.2 The Role of Outside Agencies in Policy Implementation in South Africa

According to Dhunpath (2003: 4), in South Africa, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) denote organisations that pursue 'development' rather than welfare objectives. NGOs are non-profit organisations, which provide some kind of professional service to community groups (such as civic organisations, women's organisations, language development organisations, etc.). CBOs are organisations that bring together constituencies at a grassroots level, to make representations on issues of common interest. NGOs often provide services for CBOs (ibid).

Non-governmental organisations are social groups that carry out resistant efforts to the status quo and can be defined as a subset of society (Stromquist, 2002: 11). The aspect of 'resistant effort' was particularly true during the apartheid era in South Africa, when many NGOs carried the banner of liberation both covertly and overtly. During this period much of their voices were repressed. The role of the NGO during the post 1994 period has changed. They vary in terms of their altruism and commitment to social justice. Dhunpath (2003) states that while NGOs have become a familiar feature in the South African development landscape, their role in the new democracy is subject to heated debate and contestation. Kraak (2001) explains that many NGOs were accustomed to opposition politics during the apartheid era and found it difficult to change to collaborating with the state, post 1994. They were also viewed with suspicion by the new state. Moreover, much of the overseas donor funding that used to go to NGOs was now being channelled to the government. According to Dhunpath (2003), NGOs had to reconfigure themselves to survive in the new political climate.

While the NGO sector played a lesser role during the post 1994 period, the present scenario is showing an increasing dependency of the government on this sector. The state has realised that it lacks the capacity to deliver, thus farming out service delivery to NGOs (CEPD, 2001; Dhunpath, 2003). The study by the Joint Education Trust (JET) showed that school reform projects are increasingly being designed and implemented as partnerships between the NGOs and the state (Dhunpath, 2003). According to the 'Education 2000 Plus' study by the CEPD (2001), implementation

processes have been so demanding that there has been little opportunity to reflect on the short term or long term effects of this approach and the impact it is having on the schools. Evidence from my study shows that the NGOs and government partnerships in the implementation of educational policy is showing signs of success. However, having made this statement, I should state that I would not like to be trapped in the success/failure binary as the partnership model of policy implementation is complex and can be fraught with tensions.

The following extract, which gives a positive description of the government/NGO partnership model, is from an independent evaluation report on the Resource and Educator Development Project in KwaZulu-Natal. A National Quality Evaluation (DoE, 2003) of the pilot projects in the three provinces of South Africa was conducted by two academics from the University of Western Cape:

All role players said that the consortium (universities and non-governmental organisations) had played a very positive role in the project. This included the members involved in the training as well as the researchers and the ongoing support that they were able to offer to the teachers and schools.

The community partnership model that was pursued in this project is in line with developments across the country, and in other countries. It involved bringing together universities, community organisations and the Department of Education to provide opportunities for training, research and community service. This example highlights that the consortiums that were developed around this model played a very important role in the project. They developed relevant training and capacity building programmes and materials for educators and other role players. They also supported the implementation process through ongoing action research in the schools and the district as a whole.

The impact of developing the capacity of the working group to run workshops is that overall the project has been a success in educating parents and SGB members. In addition, this will contribute to the development of inclusive education in the district because there is now a local skilled group of people with knowledge about White Paper 6 who can promote inclusive education to other parents and stakeholders in their daily lives. In other words, spreading knowledge of White Paper 6 is not dependent on a group of experts who come from outside of the district. This message was also evident to all the audiences at the workshops, as parents learning about White Paper 6 heard from people in their own communities about barriers that they or their children have experienced.

The evaluation of this partnership model in the policy implementation process is positive. The report also mentions that this strategy is in line with developments both locally and in other countries. What are the reasons for the increasing reliance on the private sector for service delivery? The often-cited reason is the lack of capacity by the state. Motala and Husy (2001) list the following reasons from International Monetary Fund and World Bank reports for governments' reliance on NGOs for service delivery:

- A perception of the limitations of the state as a vehicle for progressive social change due to its inability/unwillingness to be accountable to society.
- Greater willingness to recognise the comparative advantages of NGOs to deliver at a local level.
- Concerns over the economic inefficiencies of state delivery mechanisms.
- NGOs do not represent a recurrent cost for the state e.g. for every US$1 made available, the non-profit sector was able to procure US$13 of non-state funding.

In addition to the above reasons, I provide another reason for governments' increasing reliance on private or NGO service delivery. A global trend in governments is to pursue neo-liberal policies of reducing the state bureaucracy and privatising delivery of services. In South Africa, the macro-economic policy of GEAR saw the privatisation of many state departments and the cutting down of the bureaucracy (refer to Chapter 3). In education, the state reduced its core personnel as seen in the retrenchment of teachers and the small number of education officials that are responsible for service delivery in schools. One of the reasons for its lack of capacity in the implementation of new policies is the result of its neo-liberal policy of downsizing of personnel or to use the words of the politicians, rightsizing. In its haste at downsizing, many experienced personnel with much expertise have taken severance packages that were offered by the state, thus compromising service delivery.

I now proceed to scrutinize some of the work carried out by NGOs, Disability Peoples Organisations (DPOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) in the building

of an inclusive education and training system in the pilot project in Estcourt, KwaZulu- Natal.

DART (Disability Action Research Team), one of the NGOs in the consortium, engaged in capacity building and awareness raising among DPOs in the district. The following were their objectives, as extracted from the final report of the Resource and Educator Development Project (Resource & Educator Development Project, 2003).

- *Identifying existing and recent strategies for disability awareness in the district, including programmes & resources for disability awareness.*
- *Working with DPOs in order to facilitate their participation in the project.*
- *Raising awareness about White Paper 6.*
- *Facilitating the development of district support services for inclusive education.*

Raising awareness about White Paper 6
The project of educating parents, school governing body (SGB) members and community leaders about White Paper 6, took place from April to August 2002. It was co-ordinated by CREATE and encompassed the following phases:

1. *Selection of a working group representative of key stakeholders from Estcourt. This included representatives of disabled people, parents of disabled children and AIDS activists. There were 11 members in total.*
2. *Training this working group, in order to develop their capacity to run workshops about White Paper 6 for parents and SGB members of the project schools. A series of 5 workshops were held in order to build up the various skills needed to educate others about White Paper 6.*
3. *CREATE and the working group running workshops for parents, SGB members and community leaders. Workshops were run in a total of 11 schools, with attendance by over 636 people (which included over 22 SGB members).*
   To complement the workshops, posters and pamphlets were developed by the working group and CREATE to be given to workshop participants and project schools. At the end of the project, CREATE and DART also facilitated an evaluation meeting with representatives of all the stakeholders.

   According to the evaluation of working group members at the end of the training process, they felt that the most important things they learnt through this process were the skills of facilitating group discussion and running workshops. They felt that they had learnt more specifically about White Paper 6 through these workshops than

at any other point in the Resource and Educator Development pilot project. In the final evaluation of the project, most working group members commented that the most important skill they had learnt was self-confidence in dealing with people and an increased self-esteem.

The impact of developing the capacity of the working group to run workshops is that overall the project has been a success in educating parents and SGB members.   In addition, this will contribute to the development of inclusive education in the district because there is now a local skilled group of people with knowledge about White Paper 6 who can promote inclusive education to other parents and stakeholders in their daily lives. In other words, spreading knowledge of White Paper 6 is not dependent on a group of experts who come from outside of the district. This message was also evident to all the audiences at the workshops, as parents learning about White Paper 6 heard from people in their own communities about barriers that they or their children have experienced.

The report highlights pertinent issues on policy implementation. The workshops served to empower the local people and build their self-confidence. There is now a pool of expertise and leadership in the area to promote inclusive education. The projects used both the top-down and bottom-up approach in the policy implementation process. In this extract we see the interlocking of the top-down and bottom-up approaches. The university and the NGOs empowered the local people (the bottom sector), and the local people will now be able to carry the process forward. Fullan (2003) contends that for reform to be sustainable it has to be carried forward by those that are in the inside (the bottom).

7.3   Policy and Contradictions: The Case of Equity and Redress

7.3.1   Funding: Rhetoric and Reality

The aim of education policy since 1994 has been to achieve equity and redress (see Chapter 4; CEPD, 2001). In the introduction to Education White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) on inclusive education, the Ministry of Education states that the constitution commits the state to the achievement of equality, non-discrimination equity and redress (see Chapter 4 for a full explanation). The CEPD study (2001: 3) reports the following attempts by the government to achieve redress and equity. Whereas previously

resourcing was based on race, the new government has sought to allocate resources to one national and nine provincial departments of education. To achieve redress, the government has attempted to shift resources from well endowed provinces to needy ones, resulting in poorer provinces benefiting most from share allocations. The government has also developed school funding norms with the purpose of ensuring that the poorest schools receive the largest slice of resources. The 'Norms and Standards for School Funding' (DoE, 1998) seek to ensure that recurrent cost allocation will be addressed through schools being targeted for resources on the basis of need. Each provincial education department is required to produce a 'resource targeting list' that will be informed by physical conditions and facilities, the degree of crowding of the schools, and the relative poverty of the community around the school based on available data such as the School Register of Needs Survey, EMIS (Educational Management and Information System) and census data. Schools will be ranked into five groupings from the poorest to the richest. The main effect of this is that the poorest 40% of schools will get 60% of the provincial schooling budget allocation, and the least poor will get 5% of the resources. The allocation will be made on a per learner basis that favours the poorer segment of the populations.

Are these pronouncements merely rhetoric, or a real commitment to reform and redress or in Jansen's words, merely political symbolism (2001)? These are some of the issues that I grapple with in analyzing the policy implementation process at the site of my study. On the one hand, I see a committed effort by the consortium to build inclusive schools in the pilot project: increase the access of learners to the schools; build human resources to cater for a diversity of learners; and build social capital to deal with barriers to learning. On the other hand, I see the National Provincial and Regional Departments of Education withdrawing subsidies for the feeding scheme at Manyana amid a sea of poverty[8]; cutting down on the financial allocation to the school; not supplying the school with resource material such as text books, library resources, teaching material and not providing human resources such as cleaning staff. How does one make sense of these contradictions in the policy implementation

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[8] According to the new national norms, schools that have electricity, piped water, a fence, paved driveway to the school and a brick building are not classified as disadvantaged and therefore do not qualify for a school feeding scheme.

process? I use the lens of critical theory to analyse these issues, and look at what is happening on the ground.

Let me start with the question of funding the pilot projects in the three provinces. Donor funding from the Danish Government was used to fund the project. The Ministry of Education states categorically in White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) that there will be no increase in the fiscal envelope to fund the implementation of inclusive education. The White Paper talks about conditional grants for the implementation of the policy without indication whether this will be part of the fiscus, or in addition to the fiscus. It goes on to say that the Department of Education proposes to make much more cost effective use of specialist educators than is currently the practice (DoE, 2001 see Chapter 4). My argument is that the government will have to roll out funds to make inclusion work in schools. The 'cost effective use of specialist staff' suggests that specialist staff from the 380 special schools will be used to provide support to the full service schools and resource centres. Firstly, the personnel from special schools will not be adequate to support full service schools and resource centres. Secondly, most of the special schools are in the advantaged and in urban areas. This means another redeployment of staff is envisaged. The past attempt at redeployment resulted in many experienced educators leaving the profession. The redeployment process also negatively impacted on teacher morale (see Chapter 3). Moreover, infrastructure costs such as making buildings barrier free, providing assistive devices and other resources for schools, will require extra funding.

Economic consideration is perhaps the reason for the twenty year phasing in of the implementation of inclusive education. The community-based model of support to the schools that the White Paper proposes is one of the ways of reducing costs. The DST refers to an integrated professional support service provided by the Department of Education who draw on the expertise from education institutions and various community resources in the area. Their key function is to assist education institutions (including early childhood centres, further education colleges, and adult learning centres) to identify and address barriers to learning to promote effective teaching and learning in local education institutions (Draft Guidelines for the Implementation of Inclusive Education, DoE, 2002). This support includes classroom and organizational support, as well as curriculum, institutional development and administrative support

(ibid). The DST needs to work intersectorally with other government departments and collaboratively with community organizations, depending on the needs of the schools.

In the previous chapter I provided data suggesting that the Project Management Team, which took the place of the DST (as the DST was not formed at that stage), was able to work in partnership and intersectorially in harnessing and utilising community, governmental and NGO resources. However, my follow up investigation has indicated that the DST that was trained by the project is not currently functional. The reasons given for this are the recent restructuring of the regions and the districts in the province, and concomitant changes in the staff composition, different provincial priorities, and the lack of clarity in job descriptions. Here we see what Fullan (2003) refers to as the chaos of change constraining policy intentions.

Shortage of textbooks is a perennial problem at Manyana Primary. During my class visits I noticed that learners had to share texts, sometimes three to a book. This affected learning and teaching in the class. The lack of furniture is also a problem in the school. Classes have insufficient tables and benches. In all the classes I visited, there were eight to ten pupils to a table. About three pupils were cramped in a two-seater bench. In the foundation phase classes there were four pupils to a bench. Many of the benches had the backrests broken. This made it very uncomfortable for the children.

According to the principal and the chairperson of the school governing body the funds allocated to the school by the state are not enough to pay for the day-to-day running of the school. After paying for electricity, water, telephone and stationery the school does not have any money left to employ a cleaner or gardener. Pupils are entrusted with the task to clean the toilets, the school buildings and the school grounds. Despite all these constraints, Manyana has shown the resilience to rise above these constraints and strive towards adopting best practices and providing quality education for all learners.

In contrast to Manyana's response to a lack of resources, the following conversation among principals within the project attests to how educators negotiate their personal and professional identities to interface with policy. During one of the professional

development training workshops organized by the consortium I had an informal conversation with the principals from neighbouring schools during the break. In the following extract I attempt to reconstruct as accurately as possible the words of two of the principals.

> *Principal A: What inclusion are you talking about? It took us four years of negotiation to get electricity in our school. When the team came here and did the situational analysis with us they told us to prioritize areas that needed attention and work on it. If the department is not interested in giving us electricity what must we do? We don't have chalkboards in our school. I had to take R2300 from my own budget allocation to put up chalkboards. Now they are asking us to take on difficult children.*
>
> *PRINCIPAL B: My surrounding grounds have full of puddles of water, we do not have ramps, we do not have toilets that can take in wheel chairs, and then how can we take in pupils with wheel chairs? They must give us the resources and the teachers first before talking about inclusion.*

Firstly, the principal's notion of inclusion is still rooted within the disability or deficit model of inclusion as opposed what the project attempted to mediate to the project schools. To reiterate, the project was located within the dialogue of social inclusion and exclusion (see Chapters 5 & 6). The principals seem to suggest that a 'lack of resources' will stymie policy intentions in their schools. In Chapter 2 the literature showed that the lack of resources in developing countries can hinder the implementation of inclusive education, but resources per se cannot change the system. The principals express a legitimate concern that a lack of resources constrain educational inclusion. However, it is argued that changes in practice and attitudes are more important in effecting educational change (UNESCO-Harare, 2002).

7.3.2   Globalisation, Neo-liberalism and Poverty

There are disagreements over the definition of poverty internationally with regard to the causes and solutions (Alcock, 1993). According to Alcock, in order to do anything about poverty, we must first know what poverty is, before we can identify when and where it is occurring, or attempt to measure it. Poverty has always been a political concept with more conservative governments in the USA and the UK using narrower definitions to justify social grants (Beresford, Green, Lister & Woodward, 1999). Townsend (1993: 12) defines poverty in terms of relative deprivation as a "state of observable and demonstrable disadvantage relative to the local community or the

wider society or nation to which an individual, family or group belongs". Townsend distinguishes between two types of deprivation: material (relating to food, clothing, housing, etc.) and social (family, recreational and educational). The learners and families of Manyana and the greater Estcourt area experience both the social and recreational deprivation (as described in Chapters 5 and 6).

Today's world hands down a death sentence to thousands of children every hour through hunger and disease (Vally, 2003). In South Africa, 14.3 million children under the age of 18 live on less than R400 a month. Of these, only 15% live on child support grant (Idasa, 2002 cited in Vally, 2003). Are these statistics not rhetoric in terms of the South African Constitution's claim that every child has the right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care and social services? The next two extracts capture the wide scale poverty in the area, some of the psychosocial problems among the student population and their dependence on the school feeding scheme.

> *DEPUTY PRINCIPAL: The problem the people in the area face is poverty. Most of the people are unemployed. This place is an economic disaster. Most of the children are orphaned and we assume that this is because of the HIV/Aids. Also people lost their lives through the riots. About 70% to 80% of children do not have parents. Most of them are looked after by the grandparents, uncles, unties. Some of them have single parents.*

> *PRINCIPAL: The attendance became better since we have the feeding schemes. It's coming up now but it has been a big, big problem but now it's better. In the past some children did not have anything to eat, they were hungry. It was even difficult for them to leave home without food. Now they know even if they do not have food I will get something for them. The poor parents want to send children to school because they can get education and at the same time get something to eat.*

During my interviews and informal conversations with staff, I found frequent mention of poverty, orphans, physical and sexual abuse of learners, HIV/Aids among adults in the community, unemployment, single parents and children being reared by caregivers. The scourge of poverty as articulated in the voices above is confirmed by the survey that I had conducted in the school (see Chapter 5). According to the Resource and Educator Development Project Report (2002), 72% of the households in the Estcourt experience poverty. Poverty and unemployment is high and if sustained

for a period of time has a debilitating effect on the learners and the learning process. The most obvious result of poverty is the lack of nutrition and shelter. Learners living under such conditions are vulnerable to emotional stress, which adversely affects learning and development (NCSNET & NCESS, 1997). Poverty coupled with single parent families or no parents, places pressure on the family and further increases the risk factor for learning problems among learners. As mentioned in Chapter 5.2 the withdrawal of the feeding scheme affected pupil attendance at the school negatively. According to the 'Norms and Standards' (DoE, 1998) set by the Department of Education, Manayana Primary school was no longer considered a disadvantaged school, hence the withdrawal of the feeding scheme. Schools were rated according to a quintile rating system where the most advantaged schools are rated at five (former all White, Coloured and Indian schools) and the formerly disadvantaged schools are rated as one). Presently the schools are rated according to a decile ranking system where a rating of ten is given to the most advantaged school (well resourced) and a rating of one to the most disadvantaged (under-resourced) schools. The problem with the rating system is that it does not consider factors like the present socio-economic level of the learners at that school. The main criteria that are used are the physical building and infrastructure of the school. Even some Black schools like Manyana are rated such that they do not qualify for a government subsidy for a school feeding scheme. Here we see the rhetoric of providing for the poorest of the poor not matching the reality on the ground.

Poverty at Manyana is one of the major exclusionary factors and the biggest barriers to learning. It is one of the grossest contradictions of policy to purport to addressing barriers to learning, yet the Department withdraws a feeding scheme at a school that services one of the poorest areas in the province. This scenario of wide scale poverty among the student population in the Estcourt district and the states flawed criteria in subsidising the feeding scheme at the school in constant struggle to pay the bills and acquire resources, contradict the promises of equity, equality and redress, that are enunciated in the Constitution of RSA, the South African Schools Act and Education White Paper 6 (see Chapter 3). What are the explanations for these contradictions? The argument I presented in Chapter Three is that the government's change from goals of the RDP to the macro economic neo-liberal policy of GEAR, is being influenced by globalisation and the neo-liberal policies of the rich countries. This has

resulted in cutbacks in education and other welfare services. Stromquist (2002) details how international agencies and neo-liberal policies have affected the economies and education systems of the countries in the south. Stromquist (2002) argues that the IMF and the World Bank have imposed certain economic conditions called Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) on the developing countries of the south in order to recover its loans to these countries. These programmes include liberalisation of the economy, reduced government budgets, privatisation of state enterprises and services such as education and health, free exchange rates, elimination of subsidies for agriculture, and an export orientation to production – all neo-liberal principles (ibid). The countries of the South were granted further loans on condition they followed these economic programmes. It is a travesty of justice that the countries of the South are asked not to subsidise their farmers while the countries of the North subsidise their farmers. This has created a situation where the countries of the south cannot compete with the prices of the commodities from the North. The international protests against unfair trade practices at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) meetings in the last few years are indicators of the inequity of the economic practices of the North. The constant debt repayment, the decreased international assistance and the decrease in the price of commodities produced in these countries has generated a flow of capital from the south to the North, amounting to about US$60 billion in 1998 (ibid). How have these global forces and neo-liberal policies affected education in the South? According to Stromquist (ibid) the consequences of the SAPs have been well documented. The SAPs tended to curtail educational budgets by not increasing the number of teachers to meet the rising numbers of students, by providing reduced increases in teachers' salaries resulting in a decrease in the living standards of teachers, and by promoting the decentralisation of the public school system and the privatisation of schools and universities (ibid).

Oldfield (2001: 32) argues that in South Africa, the state's role in development and transformation "has rotated in orientation" in that the state's development agenda has changed from one of prioritizing reconstruction and redistribution through state intervention to one of facilitating the delivery of social services. This change in orientation can be attributed to global forces. The author explains that the international discourse on state theory revolves around "hollowing out" or "rolling back" of the state in terms of cutting back in welfare services (Oldfield, 2001: 34).

This has led to the downsizing of the welfare system in North America and Europe indicating that the state is reducing its role as a player in services such as health care and national education (Strange, 1996 cited in Oldfield, 2001:34). This approach follows the 'logic of rationality' of the market and modernisation theories of development, which dictates that the state does not intervene in economic, social and political spheres (Oldfield, 2001:34). The reorientation of economic policy to global markets through trade and capital liberalisation has led to the concomitant cutbacks and devolution in social services and investments such as education systems (ibid).

Oldfield (ibid) argues that this dominant discourse of the North has impacted on the countries of the South, or third world countries. This is evidenced by the stringent demands that the World Bank makes when granting loans to the third world states. The World Bank promotes decentralization and privatization of national duties and functions (ibid). The tentacles of globalisation have definitely crept into the South African economic policy that has impacted on all spheres of South African life. The privatization of state assets even in the face of mass unemployment, and the fiscal austerity of the macro economic policy is a clear indication of the influence of globalisation and the World Bank. The Growth, Economic and Redistribution (GEAR) policy, the key macro economic policy of South Africa, has replaced the Redistribution and Development Programme (RDP). This policy is strongly opposed by the ANC's alliance partners, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP), because of the government's rolling back on social services, the increase in unemployment and the privatization programme. The neo-liberal leaning of GEAR is a far cry from the promises of the ANC's RDP programme of the pre-1994 period. Those who adopt the neo-liberal agenda in education strive to remove costs and responsibilities from the state while simultaneously trying to improve efficiency and raising of standards of individuals and institutions (ibid). Improving standards and raising efficiency levels is commendable but cost cutting and downsizing an education system that is so unequal with such vast disparities, is thwarting the goals of the South African Constitution and of education reform policies.

Commenting on the effects of globalisation on national states, Motala and Pampallis (2001: 2) state that global change has had a pervasive effect on the policies of national

states and have been driven by the imperatives of market forces. The intention of the GEAR policy is to rejuvenate the economy, provide a stable environment for long term growth and development (Motala & Pampallis, 2001: 21). GEAR is premised on the assumption that high levels of growth are essential for the delivery of social services and equity. High levels of growth are supposed to address the problems of unemployment. However, the cry of the unions as well as the SACP and other organs of civil society have been critical of the policy for not fulfilling the promises of growth and providing employment for the masses. On the contrary, unemployment has increased. According to Vally (1997: 82, cited Motala & Pampallis, 2001: 28), calls by the union movement to redress historical imbalances and eliminate inequalities through a policy 'growth through redistribution' have been replaced by a trickled down version of an export oriented 'growth first redistribution later strategy'. The focus of the RDP was redistribution first and then development whereas GEAR focuses on growth first and redistribution later. There has been rapid downsizing, or in South African 'speak' rightsizing, in all government departments including education. The state has used scarce resources and fiscal constraints to explain national cutbacks or lack of service delivery in education and other spheres of South African life (Oldfield, 2001: 26).

Vally and Tleane (200: 178-201) use the teacher rationalization and redeployment process as a case in point to show how South Africa's fiscal policy has stymied the goals of equity in education. Ostensibly the teacher redeployment process was meant to move teachers from advantaged schools (rich schools) where the teacher pupil ratios were low to disadvantaged schools (poor schools), where the teacher pupil ratios were high. The policy was directed at shifting resources from schools previously defined as White, Indian and Coloured to Black schools (ibid). The assumption was that additional income would not be necessary to fund the process, as it would merely require the movement of excess teachers from the advantaged to the disadvantaged schools. The Education Department proposed a teacher pupil ratio of 40:1 in primary schools and 35:1 in high schools. This teacher pupil ratio was extrapolated from research done by the World Bank. The World Bank research has been criticised as flawed by many analysts (see Vally & Tleane, 2001). In practice it was found that the actual pupil teacher ratio moved up to 46:1 as principals, deputy

principals and heads of departments do not have the same teaching loads as ordinary teachers.

This discussion shows the contradictions and tensions between policy pronouncements and the implementation process and also how global and national economic policies can subvert policy intentions.

7.4   The Equity versus Excellence Dilemma

Improving access to education, especially those learners experiencing barriers to learning is one of the goals of Education White Paper 6 (2001). Improving access to learning (both quantitative and qualitative) has been one of the pillars of government policies since 1994 (CEPD, 2001). In a quantitative sense this refers to improving the access of those that have been denied or excluded from schooling in the past. In the qualitative sense, it refers to improving the efficiency of schools. The CEPD (2001) study showed that although access in the quantitative sense improved, inefficiency in schools has manifested itself in terms of low levels of progression through the system, and high repetition and drop-out rates. Several attempts have been made to improve the efficiency of the schools and thus improve the quality of education. In KwaZulu-Natal the Department of Education informed 28 poor performing schools that they would no longer offer matric (Grade 12) classes (Mercury, 15 February, 2000). Grade 12 classes were closed down in February 2000 and learners were transferred to other institutions. Schools were warned that if their matric pass rate continued to be below average, they would face a cut in their Grade 12 classes the following year (Mercury, 15 February, 2000).

Closing down classes is a direct contradiction of the principles of inclusive education, which states that learners must be given access to the schools in their neighbourhood. Moreover, for the past 4 years the Department of Education has released the results of the matriculants via the newspapers and published the names of the top performing and worst performing schools. This is akin to the league tables of schools that are published in the media in England (see Chapter 2). By emphasising efficiency and creating competition among schools, the government is creating a climate conducive to the marketisation of schools (see Chubb & Moe, 1990; Hopkins, Ainscow & West,

1994). This is already evident in South African schools. Those parents who have the financial wherewithal send their children to better resourced schools (former white schools) and schools that produce better results. These schools levy exorbitant school fees, which only the rich can afford. It creates elitist schools and promotes the exclusion of the poor. In such scenarios, where do the values of social inclusion, equity and equality be?

The phenomenon of the quest for efficiency versus inclusion or equity has played itself out in Manyana Primary and other schools in the country. Being part of the pilot project on building inclusive education, Manyana Primary adopted an admission policy allowing access to all learners. The mission statement of the school reads as follows:

> *We are committed to provide all our clients, young and old, able and disabled, male and female, the best primary education that will develop them spiritually, emotionally, socially, physically and mentally.*

Among the 850 learners at Manyana, there are learners who are overage, learners who have had a late start at school, learners experiencing psychosocial problems and learners who are having learning difficulties. It is not uncommon to have learners who drop out of school because their parents relocate to other areas in search of employment. After a year or so, the child returns to the school when the parent returns to the area. In some cases the child misses out of schooling for a period of time. In some instances, parents enrol their children at school at the age of 9 or 10 because of a lack of identity documents. So it is not uncommon to find learners performing at different levels in a grade. Some classes have learners of multi age groups, with age differences of around 4 to 5 years. Engaging with issues of catering for diversity is one thing, but simultaneously trying to maintain high percentage passes in standardised national assessment of learners is another. The Department of Education has introduced a standardised assessment of learners in Grade 3, Grade 6 and Grade 9 that is called systemic evaluation. The rationale is to evaluate the effectiveness of schools. Thus far the Grade 3 classes have been assessed nationally. The assessment tests abilities in literacy and numeracy. The national pass rate for literacy was 44% and numeracy 38%. This has sent the Department into a flurry to get the schools to improve standards. Raising standards, improving the quality of education and

promoting excellence in education are laudable, but knee jerk reactions to improving test scores can be counterproductive to the departments policy of bringing about equity, redress and inclusive education. These were a few of the issues that principals raised with the officials from the Department of Education at an information dissemination meeting concerning of Grade 3 learners (2003, Personal Notes).

Is the same test going to be administered to all learners? (The official answered in the affirmative).
The policy of inclusive education states that we must adjust the curriculum and our testing programme to cater for the LSEN (Learner with Special Education Needs) yet the Department uses a standardised test for all learners.

Our LSEN learners may not pass these tests and the department will blame the school for being ineffective.

We have not settled down with OBE yet, then comes inclusive education, then DAS (Developmental Appraisal System), then Whole School Evaluation, and now we have systemic evaluation. The policies are too much and too confusing.

The principals have raised pertinent points. Firstly, we see the equity versus excellence clash. Are these incompatible or mutually exclusive goals? My contention is that these goals are not incompatible or mutually exclusive. The tension arises in what you value in education and the way you try to achieve these goals. Is education only about achieving high scores in tests? Stromquist (2002: 43) writes that in many schools in the USA, particularly those serving minority students, a substantial amount of time is spent in preparing students for test taking. An unintended outcome of accountability policies has been the incorporation of testing as a regular classroom practice, thus promoting pedagogies and curricula heavily focused on testing success (ibid). Thus teachers become managers of students rather than facilitators of wider knowledge and social values. Since student testing is used to evaluate schools, testing introduces competition among learners, among schools, among districts, among regions and states, and among countries, "establishing an interlocking chain of competition – all predicated on the ability to do well in multiple-choice tests, many of which bear little resemblance to the regular curriculum" (ibid). The global trend in testing has reached the developing countries and the schools are feeling its influence in South Africa. Testing has become a major practice in the developing world due to the influence of UNESCO, and international lending and developing institutions such

as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, the Organisation of Iberoamerican States and USAID (Benveniste, 2002: 91). These institutions have even influenced the design and implementation of the assessments (ibid).

In South Africa, the problem becomes compounded because the tests are taken in English, which is a second language to the majority of the people in the country. The obvious question to ask is: how accurate or how valid are these scores?

7.5   The Politics of Participation in Educational Change

A violent order is disorder: and
A great disorder is an order.
These two things are one.
(Stevens, 1947:97)

In modernist thinking, chaos is considered to be the antithesis of order or the loss of order. In postmodernist thinking chaos and order are complementary, holistic or integrative (Doll, 1993). The duality of order and disorder, contradictions and tensions were very evident in the project's attempts at changing the system of education, from one of segregated schools to inclusive schools. As Fullan (2003) would say, change is complex and well laid plans do not always unfold as predicted.   As I examine the experiences of participants in the Resource and Educator Development Programme the complexity of the policy implementation process will unfold. The participants include the change agents, i.e. the facilitators, the coordinator and district official and teachers.

The coordinator of the project, who was based at the Estcourt District Office, Department of Education, relates some of the uncertainties and tensions he had experienced in his portfolio.

I am the project co-coordinator. Actually I was seconded to this project. Before joining this project I was a deputy principal of a primary school. I was involved in the situational analysis of the schools. I liaise with schools and communities. I am involved in the organization of meetings and workshops. I also attend meetings at the district, provisional, and national levels.
These were the problems that I personally encountered. I had to use many caps (meaning I had to play many roles). Many teachers and principals thought that I was a district official i.e. the Senior Educational Manager and

they were calling on me to attend to their problems at school, which was not my job description. This became too much for me and I had to tell people that this was not my job. Sometimes when the Consortium or the district office wanted me to be at workshops I had to attend National meetings at the same time. Because national meetings were my priority I attended these meetings. This resulted in people assuming that I was not doing my duty well. There were too many things to do simultaneously.

From the above extract it could be seen that during periods of change, roles and duties (job description) and educational structures become blurred. People in different positions can be pulled in different direction and frustration can set in. The coordinator seems at odds with his unpredictable and unclear role as a coordinator. His once relatively clear and stable job as a deputy principal seems to be disordered in this new context that lacks clarity, certainty or stability. According to Hargreaves (1995), postmodern economies are characterized by more flexible work descriptions and labour processes. Whereas modern economies were characterized by standardization, job demarcation and mass production, postmodern economies are characterized by flexible work technologies where there are overlaps and rotations in job descriptions. One may ask is it possible that global trends can reach a remote a rural district like Wembezi, Estcourt? In the previous section I examined how globalization and neo-liberal economic policies affected education in Manyana Primary, a rural school in Wembezi, Estcourt. Inclusive education, as stated in Chapter Two has become a global agenda; the OBE model of education that South Africa adopted is a model that was imported from Canada and New Zealand; educational and organizational change is being experienced on a world wide scale; so the rural area of Wembezi is not impervious of the influences of global trends. OBE requires generalists and not specialist practitioners in education; practitioners of inclusive education need to reorientate attitudes and teaching practices; organizational structures need to change to meet the demands of new policies. In other words, the new organizational structures place demands of flexibility on its members.

Both the coordinator and the facilitator relate the following problems that they encountered during the educator development programmes. The educator development programmes were school based, that is, the programmes were conducted at the schools. Before any workshops could be held, the facilitators from the project would make advance arrangements with the schools on dates and times of the

workshops. Their experiences show that plans do not always go according to schedule. The agenda of the change agent does not always take priority. Local agendas or priorities can disrupt plans or processes.

> *COORDINATOR: There were times that the schools were not well organized. The facilitators would arrange for workshops on particular days. When the facilitators arrived at the venue they (staff at schools) would not accommodate the facilitators. They (staff at schools) would say that they are busy with a meeting or that they have other plans. This was frustrating for the facilitators, considering the fact that they had to drive from Durban and arrange for accommodation in Estcourt. During these times the facilitators felt unwelcome in schools.*

The self-evaluation in the following extract by the facilitator in the project touches on pertinent issues that are important for the policy implementation process. Before presenting my interpretation, I present the voice of the facilitator:

> *I think that we have not developed enough capacity in DOE officials. We worked from the bottom up (i.e. from the teacher in the classroom) and neglected to a large extent the officials at the top. We did not get a buy-in from the department officials. It is vital for departmental officials to come on board to make inclusive education successful. If we had to look at our action evaluation cycle now, I think it would be better to do it the opposite way around where we work with the department officials first and make sure that the department officials buy into inclusive education. They must take ownership from their side. There was very little evidence that the departmental officials had taken ownership of the implementation process in the district. We have done so much to build the capacity of educators but without the departmental officials to take ownership of policy change then there will be little change in our schools. Our district support team is very flimsy because we built very little capacity in that regard. We should have looked at a structured programme in building capacity of the district support team.*

The non-involvement or minimal involvement of district officials from the Department of Education in the pilot project has been a recurring finding in my interviews with a district official, the school managers of Manyana, the teachers and the coordinator of the project. It seems that inclusive education has not been integrated into the central planning and activities of the Department of Education. During my period of fieldwork and during the educator development workshops, I did not observe any district official visit the school or sit in any of the workshops. I concur with the facilitator that if there is 'no buy in' by district officials, policy

implementation will be problematic. One of the key components of policy implementation is the District Support Team (DOE, Education White Paper 6, 2001). One of the tasks of the District Support Team is supporting and giving guidance to schools. The second point that the facilitator highlighted is that the district officials should have been the first to be trained. It should be noted that the consortium had included three members from the department to be part of the Project Management Team (one from the district of Estcourt and two members from PGSES in the regional office in Ladysmith). It seems that the training had not been cascaded by the departmental officials. At the time of this interview, and during the period of this fieldwork, the District Support Team had not been formed. About six months after this interview the District Support Team was formed. It is my view that the District Support Team should have been one of the first structures to be formed because this structure is an important lever for change. However, it must be stated that the positive element of the pilot is the project's adoption of an action research approach in the implementation process. Lessons are learnt through action and reflection. It was found that more officials from the department needed in service education and training and this was accomplished in the second phase of the project, when the district support team was formed.

What further compounds the problem in the implementation process is the restructuring of the Department of Education in KwaZulu-Natal, which was previously divided into eight regions and twelve districts, has now been reduced to four regions and six districts. The rationale behind this was to make the department more cost effective and to improve service delivery. Here again we see the market influences in education. What this has caused is a whole scale movement or reshuffling of personnel. This will further hamper the implementation process as new personnel will have to be trained and the new personnel will have to start afresh in building relationships with schools. Moreover, the Estcourt District Office is now a circuit office and the people entrusted with implementation of the policy of inclusive education are located in Ladysmith.

In this discussion I examined the role of the district officials in the policy implementation process from the perspective of a facilitator in the project. Now I examine the experiences of a district official from the Estcourt District, Department of

Education. The official is a superintendent of education (SEM) who was part of the Project Management Team (PMT).

> *INTYERVIEWER: What are the positive elements in the system that will help to implement the policy?*
>
> *DISTRICT OFFICIAL: Personally, I do not see any positive elements in the system that can help in the implementation process. You see, there are so many policies that are running concurrently that implementation becomes a problem. We need sustainability in schools. When you look at the pilot project, the project will end in 30 September 2002. I am very skeptical about its sustainability and if there are people who are not committed to carry the project forward then it will collapse. In my case, for example, inclusive education was given merely as an activity to co-ordinate and it is not part of my job description. My job description is basically to manage schools.*

The above example illustrates the tensions and complexities that exist in the implementation of policy. Here we see a district official who is supposed to be driving the implementation process being sceptical of the success of the implementation of policy. The reason for his scepticism is threefold. Firstly, he speaks of policy overload as one of the impeding factors in the implementation of inclusive education. This has been the cry of many teachers and managers in the Department of Education. Policy overload will emerge again in other parts of my analysis. Secondly, he doubts the sustainability of the project because he doubts the commitment of the drivers of the policy, that is, departmental officials who are entrusted with policy implementation. Thirdly, he sees a lack of coordination between the different structures in the Department of Education. For example, he states that he is not aware what happens after 30 September 2002. The coordinator of the project also expressed this criticism. There seems to be a lack of synchronicity between the district project and the national policy. Moreover, the SEM seems to have misgivings about the fact that he was drawn into the project. His point is that his job description does not include the new policy. Here again we see the blurring of roles, uncertainty and a lack of clarity in the tasks of the SEM. The next extract continues the arguments further.

> *Interviewer: What are the district's future plans to support schools in this process?*
>
> *There is no plan built into the exit plan of the project for the future. After 30 September 2002 there is no plan. J (co-coordinator) told me that the national*

*office has no exit plan for the project to sustain inclusive education in the
school. Look at my position, for instance, after 30 September I cannot go and
call up meetings on inclusive education because firstly, I am not trained in
inclusive education and secondly, it is not built into my job description as an
SEM.*

The picture depicted by the official suggest that that the National Department of
Education has no coordinated structured plan of action after the pilot project. I
checked this information with the consortium and found that the National Department
of Education did have an exit plan and that perhaps the official was not aware of this
plan. Moreover, this was an action research project and the lessons learnt from one
cycle inform the next. The point to note is that in times of rapid change
communication patterns can become disrupted or information does not always filter
down to members of the organization. The issue that recurs in his articulation is the
uncertainty of his role (job description). A further criticism that the official has raised
is the issue of not having the capacity and not being trained for his new role. The
statement that inclusive education has not been built into my job description suggests
that the official sees inclusive education as being separate from mainstream education.
The whole point of Education White Paper 6 is building one system of education that
is inclusive, thus the implementation of this policy should be part of his job
description. This suggests a distinction between a mainstream system for 'normal'
learners and an 'inclusive education system' for learners with disabilities. Building
inclusive education requires changes to the way in which people understand,
conceptualise, explain and thus respond to different learning needs within the learner
population (Howell & Lazarus, 2003). It is evident that inclusive education has not
been integrated into the central planning at the district and the provincial levels. If this
notion persists then it would be regressing to the old structures of running two
systems of education. The next extract continues with the issue of a lack of follow up
and capacity at the district office.

*In your opinion do you think that the district has the capacity to support the
schools in this regard?*

*No. Once the project is over J, the coordinator will have to leave the district
office. Therefore when J leaves to resume his old post in the school there will
be no one in the district office to carry inclusive education forward.*

In the extracts above the district official shows the incapacity of the district in implementing the policy of inclusive education because of a lack of personnel. According to the time frame set out by Education White Paper 6 (DOE, 2001:43) by 2003 'designating planning and implementing the district support teams' should be completed. The interviews were done in August 2002 and by September 2003 the district support teams had not been launched.

In order to verify the information presented by the district, I conducted a telephonic interview with the coordinator of the project who is stationed at the district office. He added that the Education Department had entrusted the Psychological Guidance and Special Education Services (PGSES) component of the regional office (Ladysmith) with the responsibility for the implementation of the policy. I was also informed that there was a capacity building programme for PGSES and that a District Support Team was being put in place in Ladysmith. Due to the restructuring of the department in KwaZulu-Natal, Ladysmith is now a district and Estcourt is a circuit. The problem of apportioning the responsibility of implementation to only PGSES personnel of the district and not the SEMs, creates an unintegrated approach to policy implementation. The SEMs occupy a key leverage role in transformation in that they occupy the front line of support for schools and principals. At a time when the Department of Education is seeking to forge intersectoral collaboration with other government sectors, to compartmentalize the policy implementation process by apportioning the task to only one component of the district or region seems contradictory. This can perpetuate the perception of a two-stream education system, i.e. mainstream and special education.

This interview with the Superintendent of Education and the project coordinator showed how the blurring of roles, lack of clarity and uncertainty of job description could hamper policy implementation. Through the situation analysis conducted at the Estcourt District Office, it became evident that there are many factors in the work of the Superintendents of Education Management (SEMs), which are beyond their control. There are unrealistic expectations made on them and there is insufficient support and direction. This is leading to extreme frustration on their part. While most of the SEMs indicated their willingness and commitment to supporting the schools in the district, they are unable to do so effectively because of the numerous barriers that

they face. The present structures and conditions militate against SEMs promoting inclusion in schools and address barriers to learning. The following situational analysis conducted by the project's researchers reveal the constraints under which superintendents of education (SEMs) work (Resource and Educator Development Project: 2002):

> *Given the way in which district education services are structured at present, it is not possible for the SEMs to give the necessary support to schools. Such support includes monitoring and addressing problems as they arise, but also support for initiatives that contribute to promotion of 'Education For All'. Far from being in a position to promote inclusion in schools, and address barriers to learning, the SEMs are hardly able to fulfill their basic responsibilities, their roles are misunderstood, and they do not have adequate infrastructural and managerial support to fulfill their duties.*

> ### *Exploring Contextual Factors Impacting on District Education Department*
> - *The district is unique in that it is large in area and in numbers of schools.*
> - *Each SEM has a district responsibility, e.g., human resources, OBE, as well as responsibility for a large number of schools. The ability to focus on one issue is difficult, if not impossible. The result is often "management by crisis."*
> - *Time for communication among SEMs is limited so common issues and crises are not resolved in a common manner.*
> - *The bureaucracy (regional, provincial, national) places conflicting requests and demands on the district office.*
> - *Structures and policies are in place that do not allow local decisions based on local needs.*
> - *A related issue is the governance skills of the SGB members.*
> - *A lack of resources affects both the quality and quantity of facilities and staff to support the schools*
> - *Need to develop the DO professional staff to see themselves as leaders in any process or policy implemented at school*

> ### *Voices of Superintendents of Education Management*
> *It's not possible to visit all the schools. Sometimes one communicates with the schools through mail or telephonically". The group agreed that it would be possible for them to go for a whole year without seeing a school: "Some are impossible to reach because of rivers that can't be crossed, some are very far that one has to walk 12km from the road in order to reach it..." One SEM commented on the circuits of a colleague: "He is managing too many schools, and also the geographical regions, and most of his schools are inaccessible. The number of learners is also taken into consideration ..." Another even stated "There is one school I know that has not been visited in 5 years".*

> *One SEM commented, "We are not trying to apportion the blame to anyone, we are also to be blamed for some matters... but there are lots of problems in the office e.g. Fridays are meant to be our day of doing District duties, but that doesn't happen because you find out you must do something else that you*

couldn't because of other commitments and cover other gaps with this time. It's frustrating. When there is a problem with a school educator, the Department will take the educators side and the SEM will be blamed. Also the unions are given a better ear than SEMs by the Department..."

A crucial precondition for the successful realization of the policy maker's goals is to capacitate and train people to become successful change agents. How change agents and consumers of policy interpret, articulate and mediate policy is imperative in the successful implementation of policy. However, people give different meaning to policies as will be depicted in the data from the workshops I observed. During my fieldwork I observed three educator development workshops that were organized by the project. The project engaged the services of consultants from the private sector to conduct the workshops. The following policy issues were workshopped:

- Implementing the Developmental Appraisal System (DAS).
- Discipline in schools.
- Conflict resolution.

How are the above policies linked to White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System? The project used the 'whole school development approach' to mediate the policy of inclusive education. Hence professional development of the leadership and staff at schools was part of the programme. Moreover, schools requested capacity building in understanding and implementing the plethora of new policies (Resource & Educator Development Project, 2002).

The Development Appraisal System seemed to cause major anxiety among educators and managers. There seemed to be a lack of a common understanding of the purpose and process. One participant commented as follow:' What I learnt, which caused DAS process difficult to start implementing in my school is that almost everyone had information in different directions. Now I know a good start is to have a common understanding and knowledge of the process, which I think are now going to achieve by having staff workshop where everything including criteria and expectations, will be discussed and explained.' Another said that, ' Now I fully know that the DAS is there not to criticize but to develop our weaknesses and strengths. I have gain more confidence about DAS.'

Lack of awareness and knowledge of educational policies:
It became evident from the evaluations of the professional development sessions that most educators lack information on the current policies affecting education. According to participants, ' Surprisingly, more than 50% per

school of staff members do not know the details of South African Schools Act;
Employment of Education Act, and other laws affecting educators. '

Before commenting on the workshops, I provide a brief background to the topics covered. The Developmental Appraisal System is a new policy that is currently being implemented by the National Department of Education. After protracted consultation and negotiations with the unions, the system was accepted by the teacher unions. During the latter part of the apartheid years when the unions were unbanned, the unions rejected all officials from the Department of Education from evaluating teachers on the grounds that evaluations were generally punitive or a witch-hunt. 'School inspectors' as they were called in the apartheid days, were deeply distrusted in the Black communities for their assumed complicity with the process of maintaining social control through education. For many years since then, appraisal of teachers did not take place in many of the former racially segregated Departments of Education. Teachers viewed appraisal systems with suspicion. According to the new proposals, the new appraisal system seeks to develop rather than evaluate teachers.

Student discipline is a burgeoning problem in schools (refer to situational analysis). Corporal punishment has been abolished and many teachers need help in addressing the problem of discipline in their schools.

The situational analysis conducted also revealed that conflict between management and staff and among members of staff was rife in schools, hence the need to develop conflict resolution skills among the leadership and staff.

The workshops were well received by the principals. The workshops were very interactive and involved group discussions, brainstorming sessions, problem solving activities and plenary or report back sessions. However, many ambiguities in policy interpretations and implementation arose during the workshops.

In our conversation before the workshop, one of the consultants informed me that during his workshops he found that the Western Cape was focusing on inclusion from a different perspective. They were looking at disability issues within the classroom and focusing on curriculum matters, whereas KwaZulu-Natal was looking at broader

concerns, such as all barriers to learning. According to the consultant, there seems to be a different policy focus in both provinces.

The consultant started the workshop by making the following comments: "I find it strange that I am asked to do a workshop on DAS when other provinces have moved on to Whole School Evaluation. I can't see how both systems can be used – it becomes too complicated for schools to do both. Cape is not implementing DAS." Here again we see perceptions of inconsistencies in policy implementation. Another point that the facilitator mentions is the complexities with implementing both policies simultaneously: DAS and Whole School Evaluation are too complicated for schools to handle. According to the consultant, DAS is a time consuming process and requires many personnel. Schools do not have the personnel and the time to complete the process if one sticks rigidly to the document. Therefore, they need to be flexible and creative in the way they implement the document. According to the consultant, there is much overlap in DAS and Whole School Evaluation. I checked with the National Department of Education if provinces have the option of not implementing DAS. The answer was that, although provinces have a certain amount of autonomy in education, it was incumbent for all provinces to implement national polices. There are two crucial issues for policy implementation in the statements made by the consultant. Firstly, people construct their own meaning of policy both locally and across provinces and this can cause disparity between policy intention and implementation. Secondly, ambiguous statements by a change agent or mediator of policy create more confusion among people on the ground.

The workshop on discipline in schools also raised some controversial issues. There was general agreement that discipline was a problem in some schools. The principals agreed with the facilitator that schools ought to be formulating policies to address the issue. However, there was disagreement about the administration of corporal punishment. There were a fair number of principals, about one third of the group, that were of the view that corporal punishment should not be abolished. It was even suggested that there was an increase in bad behaviour in schools because of the abolition of corporal punishment. Some principals raised the issue that since corporal punishment is culturally acceptable, the government should have consulted with the communities first before abolishing it. One person mentioned that everyone in the

group was raised with corporal punishment and it worked for them. After much discussion it was agreed that it was a human rights issue and that legislation protected the rights of the child. However, I am still skeptical about the 'dissident' group (the group that was against the abolition of corporal punishment) had a change of thinking at the end of the workshop. The above issue accentuates how certain cultural practices can run counter to policies and create dissonance in the thinking of people.

Another case in point, is the placement of a thirteen year old learner in a Grade one class because scholastically he was functioning at this level. I do not have any objections to having multi-age age learners in the same class but I did find that in this particular case that the learner was misplaced. After spending some time observing him I found that he was being mocked and teased by the older learners in the school. Although the learner enjoyed a sense of power over the six-year-old learners he seemed out of sync in his socialization patterns with the younger learners and tended to bully the other learners. When I revisited the school the following year to do follow up fieldwork, the deputy informed me that the student had left school and joined a gang of delinquent boys. Is it possible that the learner had left school because the school environment was not enabling? Did one form of inclusion lead to other forms of exclusions? These are some of the tensions relating to policy issues that I found in the school.

7.6   Sustainability of the Project

We are applying knowledge as we create it.
We are creating knowledge as we apply it.
(Fullan, 2003: xii)

In my interrogation of the complexities of policy implementation, the impression created is perhaps that the project had failed in its attempts at building an inclusive education and training system in the pilot district. Thinking in such binaries as success/failure does little to help in understanding the complexities of policy implementation. The complementarity of order and disorder in the change process is to be expected. This dual, paradoxical, contradictory focus becomes schizophrenic from a modernist perspective, but integrative, complementary and holistic in a postmodern perspective (Doll, 1993: 89). Amid the messiness and chaos in affecting change the project has attained many gains. Before I delve into what the project

attempted to achieve in terms of ensuring sustainability, I scrutinise what the concept 'sustainability' means.

'Sustainability' in educational parlance is defined in terms of maintenance of change and development within education (Pather, 2004). It is about the capacity of individuals and their institutions to continually respond to challenges in a meaningful way. It is a dynamic process involving continuous development (ibid).

In order to maintain change and development, the project put in place certain structures, procedures, and processes as depicted in the following report.

> *[The term] relates to structures, procedures and processes that need to be developed and in place to support education institutions to implement and develop inclusive education practices. This includes, in particular, the establishment and successful operation of institutional-level support teams (ISTs), district support teams and leadership and management capacities of education officials at provincial and national levels. The capacity to lead and manage and to provide ongoing support to institutions needs to occur within and between these different levels of the education system. This includes an integrated approach to strategic planning as well as collaborative working relationships or partnerships within and across government departments* (Resource and Educator Development, National Quality Evaluation, 2003).

In the chapter on building social capital as a transformative agenda I explored some of the gains the project has made in the policy implementation process. In this section I discuss the sustainability of structures that have been developed such as the IST and DST and the capacity of the district and the school.

The quotation that commences this section is very apt for this project, as it articulates the dialectical nature of knowledge production and application. The action research approach that the project adopted afforded the opportunity to apply knowledge as it was created and to create knowledge as it was applied. The participants also shared in the in the co-construction of knowledge. This active participation in the construction of knowledge enhances the taking of ownership of the change process and the sustainability of the change.

In order to effect large scale systemic change, the project adopted a top-down and bottom-up approach. Educator development and professional development was

affected by outsiders or people from the consortium (top) and from people the district and schools (bottom). According to Fullan (2003), large scale systemic reform needs to be both centrally (people from the outside/top) and internally (local/bottom-up) driven. However, for reform to be sustainable, people from within the system (internal) have to take ownership of the reform. Another important element in the change process is the reculturing of schools. Restructuring is easier to achieve than reculturing (2000). Restructuring can be legislated but reculturing involves changing values beliefs and norms. In the chapter on building social capital I showed how the project used bridging social capital to affect cultural change at Manyana Primary and its community. Evidence from the data in Chapter Five showed that the IST as a structure creates possibilities for addressing institutional needs. Affecting cultural change is a complex matter. In Manyana we saw a positive shift of attitude in its engagement with the policy of inclusive education (see Chapter 6 for a full discussion of this aspect). Key features in the project were the professional development of the leadership at all levels, the setting up of structures such as the institutional support teams and district support team. Extracts from reports of the KwaZulu-Natal Project and the National Quality Evaluation Reports indicate that the project has developed structures and human resources to provide sustainability for the project:

Professional Development of Managers for Sustainability of Inclusive Education

The contents of this professional development program were decided upon after careful consideration of the outcomes of the situation analysis, after consultation, workshops and meetings held with school management and district officials to establish developmental priorities for education managers. This approach ensured that the workshops were based on the needs of the education managers in the district.

Leadership in Change
Participants were invited to share ideas on the positive and negative effects of moving from an authoritarian to a democratic and inclusive management system. This activity was a bridge to their identifying their tasks as both leaders and managers of change. Leadership was defined as setting the vision, planning strategically, and motivating and inspiring; management was defined as monitoring the implementation of the vision, designing and evaluating the plan, and influencing and using authority to get people to work together. The purpose of this activity was two-fold: to help them appreciate the work they presently do in the two roles and to develop methods for the SEMs to support the principals. The first purpose was met somewhat after the principals had an opportunity to work together; the second purpose went unmet due to the lack of SEM attendance. (The erratic attendance by the SEMs throughout the workshop resulted in little if any interaction between the

principals and the SEMs even though that interaction was one of the primary purposes of the workshop). (Resource and Educator Development, National Quality Evaluation, 2003).

The above extract shows that leadership training was conducted for the leadership in schools and district officials; unfortunately, attendance by district officials was erratic. As stated earlier, one of the shortcomings was a lack of full involvement of the district officials and the late formation of the district support team. These shortcomings pose a threat to some of the gains of the project.

7.7 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the discursive influences on the implementation of Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (DoE, 2001) in the pilot project.

The lack of capacity of the state has influenced it to seek the expertise of outside agencies in the pilot projects. The main players in the policy mediation process were the university, NGOs, CBOs and DPOs. This partnership model, though complex, proved successful in policy implementation. It involved bringing together universities, community organisations and the Department of Education to provide opportunities for training, research and community service. The consortium developed relevant training and capacity building programmes and materials for educators and other role players. They also supported the implementation process through ongoing action research in the schools and the district as a whole.

The aim of education policy since 1994 has been to achieve equity, redress, equality and non-discrimination. The project has made many gains in achieving some of the policy pronouncements but fiscal austerity in policy implementation may reduce or reverse these gains. Globalisation and the neo-liberal policies of multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have influenced South Africa's macro-economic policy, hence South Africa's reduction in social spending. Countries of the North have a monopoly on world trade and the poorer countries of the South have to compete in an iniquitous global market, thus increasing unemployment and poverty in developing countries like South Africa.

Poverty is a huge exclusionary factor in this rural area and if the state does not address this problem then some of the gains made by the project can be reduced or reversed.

Another challenge to equity, redress and inclusivity is the Education Department's quest for standards and excellence. This quest is laudable, but making it the only priority can cause tensions and ambiguities in schools. It creates opportunities for schools to exclude or deny learners admission because they want to maintain a good pass rate and thus avoid censure by the Education Department.

Policy implementation for change or reform is complex and challenging. In the project's attempts at building inclusive schools and communities, the duality of order and disorder, contradictions and tensions were very evident. During periods of change, roles, duties (job description) and educational structures become blurred. People in different positions can be pulled in different direction and frustration can set in. The district officials have not played a major role in the policy implementation process for various reasons. Given the way in which district education services are structured at present, it is not possible for the district officials to give the necessary support to schools. Such support includes monitoring and addressing problems as they arise, but also support for initiatives that contribute to promotion of 'Education for All'. Far from being in a position to promote inclusion in schools and address barriers to learning, the SEMs are hardly able to fulfill their basic responsibilities. Their roles are misunderstood, and they do not have adequate infrastructural and managerial support to fulfill their duties. Another problem is that apportioning the responsibility of implementation to only PGSES personnel of the district and not the SEMs, creates an unintegrated approach to policy implementation. The SEMs occupy a key leverage role in transformation since they are at the front line of support for schools and principals. At a time when the Department of Education is seeking to forge intersectoral collaboration with other government sectors, to compartmentalize the policy implementation process by apportioning the task to only one component of the district or region seems contradictory. This can perpetuate the perception of a two-stream education system, i.e. mainstream and special education. According to Education White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001), the District Support Team is a key lever in the transformation process towards inclusion and one would expect the district officials to be front runners in this process. However, it is hoped that the newly formed District

Support Team will continue supporting the schools in the project and create avenues for its sustainability.

The project has made many gains in moving the school towards inclusive education, but there are still many challenges along the continuum towards inclusive schools and societies. In the final chapter I present my conclusions, implications and limitations of this study.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

8.1 Introduction

I reiterate the rationale for this study to examine to what extent my investigation has fulfilled its aims. There has been a growing call internationally and within South Africa for a move towards inclusive schools and societies. The literature shows a paucity of research on the policy implementation process in South Africa. Much attention has been devoted to the formulation of education policy, but limited attention has been paid to how policies are implemented and received in South Africa (Sayed, Soudien & Carrim, 2003). Effective access to education, especially at the lower levels, depends on how policies are implemented and received at the institutional, community or individual levels (Sayed, 2003). The literature also shows that policy development and legislation does not necessarily translate into practice. Another rationale for this study is that the literature indicates that philosophical thought and changes in the theoretical landscape of inclusive education has outpaced practice. Hence, my search for educational practices that reflect the theoretical basis of educational inclusion. Based on these literature findings I embarked on an investigation of the experiences of one school and its community in the policy implementation process of Education White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System.

In this final chapter I discuss my conclusions, methodological and theoretical insights from the research, implications for future research and policy implementation, and the limitations of the study.

8.2   Entering the Micro-world of Education through Ethnography

When I reflect on the seed that germinated in my mind, how it was nurtured, grown and has borne fruit; I realise that it is time to sit in this garden and reflect on the method I used to nurture the tree. Using the metaphor of a growing tree I commence my scrutiny of the ethnographic mode of enquiry and the methodological challenges

that I encountered as a researcher. I will not enter into the debate on subjectivity and objectivity or validity issues in qualitative research. Neither will I delve into the spat between positivists and post positivist proponents of research. Others have adequately dealt with these issues over the years.

I used the ethnographic mode of inquiry because I was "concerned with subjective truth, with the way humans construct meaning and thus interpret and act upon the social context in which they find themselves" (Skrtic, 1995: 652). I wanted to understand the complex realities that shape the lives of the teachers within the organisation of the school and its community. Ethnography helped me to study the interface of macro and micropolitical processes with the micro-cultural and interpersonal identity work through which policy is enacted (Benjamin, 2002: 22). Ethnography also helped me to interrogate change and reform at the level of the interpersonal in the context of wider social and political power relations (ibid: 23). A broad based survey would not have captured the rich, thick meaning that I was looking for in this study. A questionnaire would not have yielded the 'on site' experiences that direct observations or context as discursive space had yielded. However, the positivists may argue that the deeply contextualized nature of the study would have implications for its generalisability. My argument is that a quantitative methodology would not have yielded the multiplicities of meaning that the ethnography had yielded. I chose a single site hoping that my insights would resonate with other contexts. The trustworthiness of the research derives from, whether the reader finds the data credible rather than whether the data proclaims the eternal truth (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Instead of being concerned with representativity of research (external validity), Guba and Lincoln (ibid) suggest the use of the construct "transferability". The naturalist inquirer should describe as "thickly" as possible the specificities of the research context under review. This type of reporting will enable the reader to compare the context being described with his or her own context. It is left to the reader to decide whether to transfer ideas, interpretation or insights across their own contexts. Therefore, the generalisability of this research will depend on the reader or the audience and the context in which they wish to use it in.

Ethnographic studies yield a mountain of data. In attempting to construct meaning out of data and present a coherent, mellifluous narrative, I edited out significant chunks of

the data. The field of reality with which I, as an ethnographer was concerned was subject to a series of interpretational and selective stages before presentation in this thesis (see Hammersley, 1983). Some events, actions and utterances were selected as relevant while others were deliberately excluded. This filtering of reality was a necessary process or else the sheer weight of the data would have overwhelmed me. This selective use of data can pose methodological concerns surrounding objectivity and validity. It also poses concerns of misinterpreting data, the use of unreliable data or inaccurate interpretation of data. These are some of the dilemmas that I had to grapple within the self-reflexive exercises in which I indulged. I was also acutely concerned with the so-called "blank spots" that Gough (2001) speaks of, when I was reconstructing the data. I was even more concerned about what I term "ideological blank spots". My ideological positionality as a westernized Indian could have been hegemonic in my interpretation of the data. It is hoped that the triangulating techniques and member checks that I used have uncovered the blank spots if they did occur. Perhaps future researchers can pick out the 'blank spots' that my finite lenses did not see.

As a researcher, one of the challenges that I was faced with was examining a Black African culture through the lens of a western Indian identity. In my act of crossing cultures, perceiving or observing the teaching situation and the day-to-day activities of the school, how accurate was I in capturing the data? Initially I was 'otherised' by the teachers and perhaps I 'otherised' them. Their coldness, aloofness and attempts to shun my presence in their classrooms were tangible. To an extent, the ethnography created the cultural space to cross borders. My prolonged stay at the school, sharing meals, and socializing with the staff outside school hours created a social bond that binds humans together. This gave me entry into their social circle and allowed me space to get an insider view of their lives as teachers.

To check the authenticity of my recording and reporting of data, I used the process of member checks. Teachers were asked to check my field notes and a draft of this thesis for accuracy in reporting. I wondered whether the asymmetrical power relations between the researcher and researched had precluded any negative comments on my reporting.

Language created another hazard in data collection. Although I have a basic knowledge of IsiZulu, I may have not picked up the nuances in meaning that a first language speaker of IsiZulu would have found. In ethnographic study, data is often picked up informally, sometimes in conversations along the corridor or interactions in the staff room. Many of the informal conversations among the teachers, and students were in IsiZulu. In these instances too, I may have lost valuable data.

Researching in unstable and uncertain environments is complex and may require many descriptive data collection plans (Valero & Vithal, 1998). Basing analysis and conclusion on a single set of data strategies may not yield a fuller picture and level of complexity of the research context (Samuel, 1998). The environment that I researched was fraught with uncertainty and instability. For example, during the period of my investigation, the districts were restructured, and teachers were constantly on the move because to rationalization, redeployment and promotions. Moreover, new policies were emerging and the Department of Education was in the process of revising Curriculum 2005 because of widespread criticism. There were days when I would travel 130 kilometres to the site of my study for data collection and find no teachers at school because they had been called to workshops. In these circumstance, an ethnographic approach with multiple and prolonged data collection strategies provided me with a fuller picture of the realities within the school. A five or ten day blitz of collecting data at the school would have produced a different narrative.

My examination of the literature indicates that no ethnographic study of the policy implementation process of inclusive education had been conducted in South Africa. Pather's (2004) recent ethnographic study on sustainable inclusive education was her own action research project on developing inclusive education in a rural school in KwaZulu-Natal. Although she devotes much attention to the National pilot projects on the implementation of White Paper 6, the main focus of her study was not an ethnography on the government's attempt at policy implementation. Therefore it could be claimed that my ethnographic investigation of the policy implementation process adds to the debate and understanding of policy implementation at the micro-level.

8.3   Linking Theory and Practice

8.3.1   Developing Learning Schools

The literature in Chapter Two supports the theory that one of the ways of bringing about change in schools is to develop schools as learning organizations (Senge, 1990; Davidoff & Lazarus 1997, Clarke, 2000). Empirical evidence from this investigation suggests that developing learning schools and communities helps to bring about educational change and build inclusive schools. The pace at which the environment changes, places demands on the school and community to engage in lifelong learning. Everyone is in need of learning and the continuous development of the capacity to learn has become more important than the learning of specific competencies in the early stages of life (Visser, 2001). There are various interlocking factors of the learning school that creates spaces for educational change. No single factor should be privileged as these factors intersect within a matrix. For example, good leadership by the management may not necessarily be effective if there is no collaboration from the staff, or bad management may thwart collaborative work by the staff. From a systemic thinking perspective, the school is more than the sum of its parts. Privileging any one aspect may not bring the desired results. The following are some of the interlocking factors that create spaces for educational change towards an inclusive school community.

8.3.1.1 Creating Spaces for Collaborative Cultures

Empirical evidence in this study indicates that collaboration in the form of team teaching, peer coaching, mentor relationships, professional dialogue, action research, and collaborative partnerships with and between members of the community provides a crucial plank for teacher development and school improvement. In the modern era great emphasis was placed on individual learning while in the postmodern era the focus is changing to collaborative learning or learning to learn together. Individualism, isolation or privatism, was traditionally the culture of teaching in the modern world (Hargreaves, 1994: 164). Recently, in the fields of school improvement, staff development and educational change, individualism has come to be regarded as ineffective. The qualities and characteristics that fall under the label

individualism or isolation are widely perceived threats to professional development, the implementation of change and the development of shared educational goals (ibid). The shift in focus in the twenty first century calls for learning around the notions of sustained collaboration and dynamically evolving dialectic relationships between individuals and communities (see Visser, 2001). Using collaborative learning for teacher development transcends personal, individual reflection, or the dependence on outside experts, to a situation where teachers learn from one another, and share and develop their expertise (Hargreaves, 1994: 186). The sharing and support that comes with collaboration and collegiality fosters self-belief among colleagues and leads to greater motivation to try out new approaches and take risks. In the project collaboration was not only seen as a means of internally generating school improvement but also as a way of implementing externally generated change, i.e. inclusive education (see, Hargreaves, 1994; Hopkins et al, 1996; Stoll & Fink, 1999).

Thus far, I have scrutinized collaboration through the western lens and quoted literature from the North to justify collaborative cultures. Among the indigenous Black Africans of South Africa collaboration, working together or '*ubuntu*' is part of their culture. The African word '*ubuntu*' means: "I am, because you are". It is not uncommon to see Blacks sitting together and sharing a meal or drink from the same utensil. It was no surprise that teachers at Manyana so readily embraced the concept of collaborative learning. For too long South Africans have followed a colonial system of education with rigid timetables, discrete subject divisions, and subject specialist teachers. The system created a culture of individualism from which we are now trying to break free, to move towards collaboration.

In recommending collaboration and collegiality for school improvement or change, I would caution that one should not overlook the micropolitical dynamics in the school. A preoccupation with the cultural perspective which collaboration emphasises, i.e. consensus, shared values, norms and beliefs may create an ideological blind spot for micropolitical issues such as power relations. Collaboration can be perceived by some as resulting from organizational power wielded by control-conscious administrators (Hargreaves, 1994). Hence if teachers view collaboration as being imposed from the outside or a ploy for administrative control, this can serve as a barrier to working together. Also, power relations among teachers, power struggles among staff

(Davidoff and Lazarus, 1997), the formation of cliques and the lack of trust can militate against the development of collaborative cultures.

8.3.1.2 Shifting Mental Models

When exploring teacher identities in the face of change, I took the poststructuralist position that the teacher has no fixed identity but assumes different identities at different times so that identities are constantly in a state of flux, a fleeting multiplicity of opportunities (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). My investigation showed that teachers are not always passive and powerless. In certain spaces they position themselves as passive while in other spaces they are active and exert their agency. Teachers are implicated in the making of their own identities. Even in the most constraining of circumstances they are able to exercise choice as to what they will accept or not (Soudien, 2003: 273).

Empirical evidence from this study suggests that teachers' experiences in professional development can influence their identities for policy change. What is crucial for this shifting of the "mental model' (Senge, 1990) or identity, is how the policy is mediated to the incumbents. The literature has shown that an externally designed one-off, five-day cascade model of policy was ineffective in the policy implementation plan (see Jansen, 2001 & Malcolm, 2001). In Section 8.4.2, I will show that possibilities for educational change lie in the approach to implementation. Soudien (2003) and Samuel (2003) contend that biographical history influences the identity formation of the teacher. I agree, but add, that teacher professional development can shift this early identity.

Changing mental models or deeply established conceptions is crucial in developing learning organizations (Senge, 1990). The professional development workshops at Manyana have served to shift, disturb or change the deeply established conceptions of most of Manyana's educators with regard to inclusive education policy and practice. The training had served to broaden the understanding of most of the educators in terms of inclusive education policy and practice. The project did affect a paradigmatic shift in thinking among the majority of the teachers but there is still work to be done in terms of changing classroom practice (personal mastery) to cater for diversity. The

data also revealed that attitude change or a change in perception, although an important component of change is not sufficient, more professional development workshops needs to be conducted to assist teachers in mediating the curriculum to a diverse group of learners.

The development of personal mastery or capacity of the teachers and the leadership in the school is crucial in bringing about change. However, before developing personal mastery, mental models or images or established conceptions, generalizations or assumptions have to be challenged and changed. In their research in England, Hopkins et al (1996) found that because change is a process whereby individuals alter their ways of thinking and doing things, most changes fail to progress beyond early implementation. As gleaned from the experiences at Manyana, feelings of anxiety and incompetence that are associated with re-learning and lack of knowledge characterized the early phase of implementation. This phase can cause dissonance or internal turbulence within the teachers, which I call the implementation hiatus. If addressed sensitively and creatively, this hiatus can be worked on to move to the next phase. Conditions need to be created within the school to ensure that teachers are supported through this difficult and challenging phase. The school based in-service education and training that the Project offered and the kind of leadership at the school created the space for change to take root.

8.3.1.3 Leadership for Change

Sharing leadership roles at different levels at Manyana proved a crucial factor in effecting change. A transformational, democratic style of leadership with shared decision making, accountability, commitment and risk taking were important factors that created a climate for change. More importantly, the principal was an avant-garde for inclusion, which made an immense difference in the change process. In IsiZulu culture much respect and deference is shown to the leader, elder, and chief in the society. At Manyana, without being obsequious, much respect and deference was accorded to the principal. Since the principal took the lead in creating structures and an ethos to welcome and encourage inclusive practices, the teachers followed.

Indigenous practices such as the informal African oral tradition and open air gatherings, where every member is given the opportunity to air his or her views, was an effective organizational strategy that was used at Manyana. The teachers felt more comfortable in these meetings than in the formal, minute taking meetings in the staff room. The '*legotla*' and the '*imbizo*' are types of meetings that are called by the chiefs or the leadership of the community to discuss important social, political or community issues. At these meetings the leadership and the people air their views. I agree with Migbi (1999) that in South Africa we tend to focus on western leadership and management practices with little attention paid to indigenous practices. The indigenous leadership together with transformational leadership opens up possibilities for fostering effective schools.

The "effective schools" and the 'school improvement' literature have identified leadership, among other conditions, as important in fostering effective schools (see Caldwell & Spinks, 1993; Levin & Lockheed, 1993; Reynolds & Stoll, 1997; Stoll & Fink, 1999). There is considerable evidence that leadership in schools is an important element in bringing about changes in school policy (see Fullan, 1992; Caldwell, 1993; Levin & Lockheed, 1993; Ainscow, 1995 & 1997; Davidoff & Lazarus, 1997, 1999; Wolger, 1999).

Currently, as schools are more complex and experience constant change, there is a call for a change in leadership styles from a "transactional" approach, which maintains traditional (bureaucratic) concepts of hierarchy and control, to a "transformational approach" which distributes power and empowers people (Stoll & Fink, 1999). Transformational leadership is a leadership style of choice in unstable and uncertain times (Stoll & Fink, 1999: 106). This leadership style is more concerned about gaining cooperation and participation by members than being task oriented. Effective leadership requires an approach to transform the feelings, attitudes, and beliefs of followers (ibid). This study showed that a combination of the hierarchical, indigenous and transformational style of leadership worked. I am skeptical of whether a flat organizational structure that McLagan and Nel (1999) propose, will work in today's schools. I would argue for more flexibility in organizations.

8.3.1.4 A Pedagogy of Possibility

The constructivist approach for the delivery of an "Inclusive Outcomes-Based Education" (DoE, Draft Guidelines 2002: 143) posed many challenges for teachers in this study. Evidence from this research showed a mixed response to the constructivist approach to teaching. While some teachers used constructivist learner centred pedagogy effectively, others grappled with the principles of constructivism. Some teachers created possibilities for an inclusive curriculum for all learners by using constructivist principles, a learner centred pedagogy, active learning, cooperative learning, curriculum differentiation and multilevel teaching. This approach not only created a pedagogy of possibility (Giroux, 1983; McLaren, 1995) for academic learning, but also a hidden curriculum that created spaces for life skills such as social skills, cooperation between learners, hygiene, collaborative learning and respect for others. Cooperative learning, curriculum differentiation, and multi-level teaching produced possibilities for learners with learning disabilities to participate in a broad and balanced range of learning experiences. The skilled teacher used cooperative learning activities to create opportunities for all learners to contribute to activities according to their level or ability. However, in some cases, the hegemony of traditional practices such teacher dominated lessons, rote learning, and a 'one-size-fits all' approach closed up possibilities for some learners to access the curriculum. The impact of the dominant mode of teaching (one-size-fits-all) is inscribed in the selection and presentation of knowledge. A counter hegemony of a 'curriculum for all' or 'pedagogy of possibility' needs to displace the ideology of 'one-size-fits-all' teaching practice.

In attempting to apply the learner centred approach some teachers resorted to 'mimicry', using the superficial aspects of group work, i.e. 'rearranging the deck chairs' so that learners sat in groups but the lessons were still teacher dominated. Mattson and Harley (2003: 293) maintain that a number of researchers in South Africa have found some teachers to "assume that once learners are in a group, participation and learning will occur automatically". They add that teachers are struggling to understand the new emphasis on group work, learner activity and the principles of cooperative learning. When teachers cannot meet the demands of policy,

'mimicry' is one of the strategies used by teachers to create a semblance of policy ideals (ibid).

Different forms of assessments or a flexible assessment system generates opportunities or possibilities for a more equitable and non-discriminatory assessment procedure. The formative assessment together with alternative forms/techniques of assessment opens up spaces for a more inclusive and equitable system of assessment. However, the Department of Education's recent 'Systemic Evaluation' procedure of evaluating 'how the system is working' with standardised assessment procedures, may subvert the ideals of the new assessment proposals of 'Inclusive Outcomes-Based Education' (DoE, Draft Guidelines 2002). In order to perform well in these 'Systemic Evaluation' tests, schools may become preoccupied in subjecting learners to drills designed to improving scores rather than engaging with enriched programmes and moving towards an equitable system of assessments. Standardised tests, which assess low level, decontextualised facts, are often used as the sole measure of achievement and capability, despite the fact that they provide a fragmented picture of the learner (Goodwin, 1997: xiv). Such contradictions in policies create dissonance or anxieties among the teaching corp.

In closing this section on a pedagogy of possibility, the evidence suggests that teachers who opened up spaces for inclusive practices seemed to have a repertoire of strategies that they could use at different times, with different students, with different curriculum content, to achieve a range of out comes. However, there are no dead certainties on teaching strategies. Looking for mechanistic solutions without taking cognizance of wider contextual realities may not achieve the desired goals in moving towards inclusionary practices.

Some of the biggest hurdles that the teachers experienced in Manyana were using the multi-level teaching approach, curriculum differentiation and how to mediate the curriculum and the teaching methods to cater for a diverse group of learners. Despite the in-service education and training conducted by the Department of Education in OBE, and the Resource and Educator Development Project, some teachers were still grappling with how to mediate the curriculum to a diverse group of learners. Teachers have requested more in-service education and training concerning a curriculum for all.

Change takes place over time and learning new skills is incremental. Eighteen months seem too short a time for the pilot project to achieve a total transformation to a new system. Inclusive education is a process and not an event. It is a process of addressing a continuum of needs of the learners.

8.3.1.5 The Institutional Support Team and the Problem Solving School

A strategy for change proposed by White Paper 6 is the institutional level support team (IST). An institutional level support team is an internal support team within institutions. This structure assumes a community based model of support in that it moves away from the specialised model of support, as is the case in the North. Although specialists may play a significant role in supporting schools, the IST should be strengthened by expertise from the local community (NCSNET & NCSNET, 1997). Education support service is conceptualized as a flexible network of service providers. In such a system, networking and co-ordination of all available local services rather than the reliance on a predetermined core of specialist service providers, becomes important (NCSNET & NCESS, 1997: 88). Evidence from the cases handled by the institutional support team at Manyana suggests that this structure opens up possibilities for internal support for the institution rather than a reliance on specialized outside help. Collective problem solving by the IST addressed systemic, social, pedagogical and cultural barriers to learning and development. The devolution of power and decision making to the IST also augurs well for the development of democracy in the school.

However, the IST faces many challenges. The competing priorities and demands by a host of other policies cause a pull and push tension on members of the IST. Meetings and cases were sometimes shelved. There is the perception that the IST is a panacea for all teacher and institutional problems. In some cases, there is a tendency for teachers to pass the buck to the IST. The politics of power can serve to impede the smooth functioning of the IST. Although not overt at Manyana, the undercurrents of the threat that the IST has power can stymie the functioning. Trust and openness are essential for the IST to function as an effective structure in the school.

8.3.1.6 Tensions within the Learning School

As mentioned before, the course of change is complex and not unidirectional. Manyana Primary has journeyed a long way in its learning continuum towards inclusive education, but still faces many complex challenges. The multiple roles that the teachers take on place a tremendous load for teachers to carry. The constant change in the pupil teacher ratios and redeployment of teachers cause great uncertainty and affects the morale and climate of the school (see also Vally & Tleane, 2001). Moreover, the ever increasing teacher pupil ratio and large crowded classes threatens the quality of learning and teaching (see Sayed & Jansen). Policy overload also creates anxieties and tensions among teachers and the leadership. The lack of synchronicity in policy implementation between the national department of education, the province and the district causes uncertainties and a perception that policy implementation process is chaotic. This demotivates leaders and teachers in schools in their quest to implement policy. The lack of support to schools from the circuit and district officials has to be addressed in order for the project to be sustainable.

8.3.2   Accessing Social Capital, benefits Inclusive Schools and Communities

If social capital refers to a set of useful resources available to individuals and groups through engaging in the appropriate social interactions, then engaging in those interactions is the means to drawing on social capital. Empirical evidence from the school and the community suggests that accessing and building of human and social capital within the school and the community is one of the ways of implementing inclusive education and reducing exclusion in the school and the community. The corollary is that in attempting to implement inclusive education in schools, human and social capital within the school and the community is developed. The building and drawing of social capital are not two discrete processes; they can occur simultaneously in one set of interactions. The building of human and social capital can co-evolve e.g. in the collaborative partnership of the school, the DPO and the consortium, human capacity and partnerships were built in three sectors, the teachers, learners and members from the DPO. It should be emphasised that in this study the notion social and human capital was not viewed in the narrow market related sense. I

used these concepts to refer to the building of capacity of individuals and the community to reduce social exclusion from the curricula and the community.

In this study many of the benefits of learning involved participants having acquired the capacity to obtain resources held by groups that they had access to previously. Such capacity is evident in the web of networks and partnerships that the school and the project developed through the process of bridging, bonding and linking. Empirical evidence from this research demonstrates that collaborative partnerships with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community-Based Organisations, Disabled Peoples Organisation (DPO), intersectorial networking with government departments and people from the community, played a major role in the implementation of the policy of inclusive education. Because of a lack of capacity and expertise by the state to carry out policy implementation at the local level, the state forged a collaborative partnership with a consortium led by the university. The university has played a major role not only in capacity building and materials development but also in being the catalyst to bring the role players and stakeholders together. This collaborative model of policy implementation provides possibilities for replication or scaling up.

The Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) approach was a valuable methodological tool in bringing stakeholders together to conduct the situational analysis. This approach emphasises participation and giving voice to a wide range of stakeholders. The school community involved: educators, learners, members of the school governing body (SGB), NGOs, parents, members of local community-based organizations (CBOs) and community members. It is through community empowerment that individual empowerment occurs (Freire, 1972).

The participation of the various stakeholders in the PLA process created spaces for stakeholder voices and a shared understanding of some of the problems that exist in the schools and the community, and their common aim of ameliorating these problems. Having a shared understanding of goals and outcomes is important for the process of building social capital. This does not negate the richness of individual thought but creates spaces for individuality to be located in social connectedness. Moreover, the process allows for stakeholders to take ownership of their own development. This is unlike what Hoppers (2001: 22) calls the incapacitation of the

poor by development agencies of the North. The 'knowers' of third world realities arrived in Africa to impose condescendingly imported solutions to indigenous problems. The development ideology with which the agents of the North came caused more underdevelopment and poverty than improvement.

In a desert of poverty, battling the ravages of diseases and a lack of medical facilities, the health promoting schools strategy provided an oasis. Harnessing the support of community organizations and some parents has provided some relief to the school and the community. The strategy helped in addressing some of the psychosocial barriers to learning. The project found that HIV/Aids was a serious problem in the area. Funds were inadequate to deal with the problem. By linking up (vertical dimension of social capital) with DramAide, an NGO, the project was able to harness the necessary expertise to raise awareness on the issue of HIV/Aids among the schools and the community. Here we witness the drawing in of social capital to achieve a common outcome.

Group membership is one of the main measures of social capital (Putnam 2000). The formation of a health promoting club in the vicinity is an indicator of bonding which promotes support and reciprocity. Building of social capital in the formation of the health promoting club also added to the learning process. Acquiring new knowledge and change are deeply embedded in human interactions, relationships and networks.

The Community Based Rehabilitation facilitator played a decisive role in developing positive community-school relationships in the area. This experience shows the important role health workers can play in helping to build inclusive schools. The challenge is to get the Department of Education or Health to fund this post to ensure sustainability.

Working collaboratively and networking with various organisations is very complex and requires strong and creative leadership. Also, politics and power relations can be a serious barrier to cooperation between leaders and organisations. The meaning of a particular reform or policy implementation system may not necessarily be shared because of the distribution and application of power within an institution or context. There can be disagreement or conflict over the meaning of actions, events, and even

the system itself. For collaboration to work, all participants must see one another, and themselves, as 'knowers' whose ideas deserve to be heard (Olsen, 1997). All participants can learn from one another, each strengthening their own knowledge to be used in their own practice (ibid). If consensus arises then it is achieved, not given. Consensus is sometimes achieved through negotiation or often through conflict or strife; it does not arise naturally from a shared culture.

8.4   Implications for Policy Implementation

8.4.1   Educational Policy Implementation as a Conditional Matrix

Neither human social life nor school transformation in particular takes place automatically, in isolation, or in discrete autonomous situations. At the same time, social actions do not arise spontaneously in locally organised contexts. I borrow a concept called the conditional matrix from Hall and McGinty (1997) to capture the interrelations between the different social contexts in the policy implementation process. The authors express this concept as a web of interrelated conditions and consequences, where the consequences of actions in one context may become the conditions for the next (Hall & McGinty, 1997:461). The interactions in one context generate outcomes such as policy statements and new rules and procedures, which in turn condition the interaction of other actors along the policy chain. Educational policy implementation takes place in face-to-face interactions among real people facing real problems in concrete social contexts, such as classrooms, staff meetings, professional development meetings and district offices. Some educators may initiate reform; some may sustain them while others may resist or subvert them.

The implementation of policy is often depicted as a linear sequence or mechanical process of programmme testing, adoption and institutionalisation. Educators in schools are assumed to be passively responding to directives mandated by higher bureaucratic levels (Carlson, 1965; Havelock, 1969). These models assume that educational social life proceeds in one direction in that forces emanating from higher levels of context cause or determine action at lower levels. Policy implementation expressed as a conditional matrix avoids the constraints of the notion that social life is unidirectional. In this study I use the construct of the conditional matrix to include the

intersecting, sometimes conflicting conditions that affect policy implementation: micropolitical and micro-cultural conditions in the school, teacher identities, macro-economic policy of the state, globalisation and neo-liberalism, competing policies and multiple approaches to policy implementation. To understand the implementation of a generic policy to all schools in a country, the contextual conditions within this conditional matrix needs to be understood first.

8.4.2 A Tripolar Approach to Policy Implementation

As pointed out by Jansen (2001) and Malcolm (2001), for various reasons the cascade model proved ineffective in educational policy implementation in South Africa (see Chapter 3). Within the conditional matrix of policy implementation, this study suggests a tripolar or three-pronged approach for replication or scaling up of this policy in the rest of South Africa. This tripolar approach is a combination of three dimensions of teacher development: the 'top-down', 'bottom-up' and I add another dimension, which I term the horizontal dimension. Fullan (2001) advocates a combination of the 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to policy implementation.

8.4.2.1 'Top-Down', 'Bottom-Up' Dimension

According to Fullan (ibid), a combination of the top-down (outsider team) and bottom up (insider) approaches to teacher development is a viable option in the policy implementation process. Centralization (top-down) errs on the side of over control; decentralization (bottom-up) errs towards chaos (see CEPD, 2001; Fullan, 2003). School reform where the principles, implementation strategies and training of teachers are externally designed, tend to exert too much control of the policy implementation process. An externally imposed change agenda where local realities are not given sufficient attention does not work (Fullan, 2003). However, if each school is left to design its own reform programme, this can lead to a situation where anything goes. Decentralization such as site-based management of reform often flounders when left alone (ibid). Using either one of the approaches exclusively for large-scale change does not seem to work, but the combination of both approaches was successful, according to data from the project. The top-down and bottom-up dimensions of the approach included the following:

- Collaborative Partnerships: Collaborative partnerships included both the top-down and bottom-up dimensions. The Department of Education and the Consortium made up the top-down dimension while the educators, parent body, DPOs and CBOs made up the bottom-up dimension. In my discussion on the building of social capital I presented adequate empirical evidence to suggest that the Education Department's collaborative partnerships with Universities, NGOs, CBOs, DPOs, the community and parents contributed enormously to the policy implementation process.

- Action Research: Action research was used as a bottom up dimension in the project. Action research created the space for the various stakeholders in education to participate in the implementation process. It also allowed for the voices of educators to be heard. The democratic, participatory and inclusive approach inherent in action research is a valuable tool to disseminate information, change attitudes and build capacity of the educators.

I use evidence from this study to explain another dimension, which I term the horizontal dimension.

8.4.2.2 'Horizontal Dimension'

A third dimension of policy implementation that emerged as a spin-off from the project is what I call the horizontal dimension or what Southward (2000) calls collaborative development. The horizontal dimension is where teachers themselves are involved in the mutual development of one another or get involved in their own professional development. This approach to educator development is consistent to the 'lifelong learning' approach, a continuous process of professional growth and not a sporadic event for specific interventions (Southward, 2000). In order to support such development, we need to foster a culture of professional growth as an integral part of an educators experience and recognize development as a continuous process of

learning. It is the horizontal dimension of policy implementation that adds to the sustainability of a project.

It should be noted that a combination or intersection of all three approaches is necessary for large scale and sustainable change. There is no, one-to-one relationship between policy and practice. It is a fallacy to think that there is a perfect fit between policy and practice or that policy directives have a direct impact on the school or student achievement. Policy cannot mandate what happens on the ground. At best it can provide a guide or set out the directions or parameters for change. What matters is what happens at the school or the local level. Therefore high levels of centralized change often meet with failure.

8.4.3 Constraining Factors in Policy Implementation

8.4.3.1 The Neo-liberal Fallacy

Within the interrelated web of this conditional matrix we see how globalisation, and South Africa's neo-liberal macro-economic policy impact on educational policies. The aim of education policies since 1994 has been to achieve equity and redress. In the introduction to Education White Paper 6 on inclusive education, the Ministry of education states that the Constitution commits the state to the achievement of equality, non-discrimination, equity and redress. A question often posed in the South African literature is whether these pronouncements are merely rhetoric, a genuine commitment to reform and redress or merely political symbolism (see Motala & Pampallis, 2001; Sayed & Jansen, 2001). This study shows that one of the paradoxes of this policy implementation process is the co-existence of both commitment and rhetoric. On the one hand, the data reveal a committed effort by the consortium and the school community to build inclusive schools in the pilot project: to increase the access of learners to the schools, and to build human resources to cater for a diversity of learners. On the other hand, the Department of Education uses a funding norm that sees the withdrawal of subsidies for the feeding scheme amid a sea of poverty; cuts down on the financial allocation to the school; does not supply the school with resource material such as text books, library resources, teaching material and does not

provide human resources such as cleaning staff. Donor funds were used in the pilot project. As the policy document states there was no increase in the 'fiscal envelope' in the implementation process. Global forces such as the World Bank and the IMF have influenced the South African State in adopting cutbacks in social spending, health and education. The dominance of the countries of the North in world trade has increased unemployment and poverty in countries of the South. Thus the neo-liberal macro-economic policy of the state has a negative effect on the policy implementation process. The project has made many gains in the implementation of policy but fiscal austerity may reduce or reverse these gains. As Chisholm et al (1997 cited in Vally & Tleane, 2001: 179) maintain the original intention of bringing about equity in the schooling system was "subverted by the imperatives of budgetary constraints linked to macro-economic policies". Poverty is a huge exclusionary factor in this rural area and if the state does not address this problem then some of the gains made by the project can be reduced or reversed. According to the Resource and Educator Development Project Report (2002), 72% of the households in Estcourt experience poverty.

8.4.3.2 Depolarising the Equity/Excellence Dichotomy

Improving access to education, especially those learners experiencing barriers to learning, is one of the goals of Education White Paper 6 (2001). Improving access to learning (both quantitative and qualitative) has been one of the pillars of government policies since 1994 (CEPD, 2001). Improving access in the quantitative sense refers to improving the access of those who have been denied or were excluded from schooling in the past. In the qualitative sense, access refers to improving the efficiency of schools. A challenge to equity, redress and inclusivity is the state's quest for standards and excellence. Paradoxically, the quest for quality or excellence in education sometimes stymies the goals of equity and redress. The quest for excellence is laudable, but making this the only priority can cause tensions and ambiguities in schools that exclude or deny learners admission because they want to maintain a good pass rate and thus avoid censure by the Department of Education. In Section 8.3.1.4, I showed how the Department of Education's 'Systemic Evaluation' assessment policy produces possibilities for exclusionary practices. The notion that excellence and equity are incompatible or bipolar human values is based on fallacious or binary logic.

One of the ways to depolarize the equity/excellence dichotomy is to value both and not privilege any one at the expense of the other. Schools need to create spaces for both excellence in education and to address the issue of equity by creating an inclusive climate in their schools. By introducing market principles in schools the Department of Education is creating competition among schools, and this has a concomitant effect of making it difficult for certain groups of pupils to get admission to schools. There is much pressure on poor performing schools because of the threat of closure and the publishing of schools' results in the mass media. Schools thus adopt covert strategies to be selective in admitting pupils to schools.

8.4.3.3 Blurred Identities

Policy implementation for change or reform is complex and challenging. In modernist thinking chaos is considered the antithesis of order or the loss of order. In post-modernist thinking, chaos and order are complementary, holistic or integrative (Doll, 1993). The duality of order and disorder, contradictions and tensions were very evident in the project's attempts at transforming schools to become inclusive schools. During periods of change, roles, duties (job description) and educational structures become blurred. People in different positions can be pulled in different direction and frustration can set in. The district officials have not played a major role in the policy implementation process for various reasons. Given the way in which district education services are structured at present, it is not possible for the SEMs to give the necessary support to schools. Such support includes monitoring and addressing problems as they arise, but also support for initiatives that contribute to promotion of 'Education for All'. Far from being in a position to promote inclusion in schools, and address barriers to learning, the SEMs are hardly able to fulfil their basic responsibilities because their roles are misunderstood, and they do not have adequate infrastructural and managerial support to fulfil their duties. Role definitions or apportioning the responsibility of implementation to only one sector (Psychological Guidance and Special Education Services personnel) of the district, and excluding the SEMs and subject advisors from the sub-directorate of Teaching and Learning Services, and other sub-directorates create an unintegrated approach to policy implementation. The SEMs and subject advisors occupy a key leverage role in transformation in that they are at the front line of support for schools and principals. At a time when the Department of Education is

seeking to forge intersectoral collaboration with other government sectors, to compartmentalize the policy implementation process by apportioning the task to only one component of the district or region seems contradictory. This can perpetuate the perception of a two-stream education system, i.e. mainstream and special education. According to Education White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001), the District Support Team is a key lever in the transformation process towards inclusion and one would expect the district officials to be front runners in this process. However, it is hoped that the newly formed District Support Team will support the schools in the project and create avenues for the sustainability of the project.

8.4.3.4 Issues of Sustainability

At Manyana much has been accomplished by the project. Will these gains from the project be sustainable? A restructured and recultured ethos of inclusion has taken root. A receptive attitude towards inclusion has been developed. Local people including teachers, NGOs, CBOs, DPOs and people from the community have been empowered with expertise to carry inclusive education forward. The challenge for the school and the new District Support Team is to maintain this networking, bonding and linkage with the NGOs, CBOs, DPOs and other governments departments.

An important aspect of the change process and its sustainability at this school is that the principal has been the torch bearer for change, her school management team is strong and she has earned the respect of the staff. The school is also working inter-sectorally with other government departments in addressing some of the psychosocial problems of the learners.

The project has made many gains in moving the school towards inclusive education, but there are still many challenges along the continuum toward inclusive schools and societies.

For sustainability, all relevant senior education officials at provincial and district levels need to be developed professionally, capacitated and made aware of the value and importance of this policy in order to play a pivotal role in ensuring that it is

implemented. This relates to the need for 'top-down' support to schools for successful implementation of the policy to occur.

It is imperative that at school, district, provincial and national levels, concrete steps are taken to integrate the policy implementation process into the Department's central strategic planning and programme development. This is necessary not only to ensure that the implementation takes place, but also to ensure that systemic transformation of all aspects of the curriculum and education system occurs. This is fundamental to the principles and framework of inclusive education outlined in White Paper 6.

8.5   Limitations of the Study

The District Support Team and the conversion of special schools to resource centres are two important structures in supporting schools in the transformation process. The impact of these structures on the school was not investigated because they were still in the embryonic stage during the period of this study.

8.6   Implications for Future Research

This investigation focused on a pilot project where certain key structures for change were in their fledgling stages of development. Evidence from this research suggests that these areas need rigorous investigation for the purposes of scaling up or replication of the process.

- Levers for change: The District Support Team and the Institutional Support Team are key structures for change towards inclusive schools. These structures need to be thoroughly investigated to input into the next phase of the policy implementation process.

- An inclusive curriculum: What constitutes an inclusive curriculum needs thorough interrogation and research. Are there limits to curriculum differentiation or multi-level teaching? Does curriculum differentiation or multi-level teaching create new forms of exclusions?

8.7 FINAL WORDS

I conclude with Fullan's (1992: 2) apt description of educational reform:

> *Educational reform is complex, non-linear, frequently arbitrary, and always highly political. It is rife with unpredictable shifts and fragmented initiatives...*

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APPENDIX ONE: SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

PRINCIPAL / MANAGEMENT

N.B. Although the interview schedules had structured questions all the interviews took on both a structured and semi-structured format as many unplanned issues and questions arose during the interviews.

1. When was the school established?
2. For how long are you the principal / deputy principal / head of department of the school?
3. What is the total student population in your school?
4. How many level-one teachers and management staff are there in the school?
5. What is your vision for this school and do all roll players share in this vision?
6. Do you have pupils in this school who are experiencing barriers to learning and can you explain the nature of these barriers?
7. Do you have pupils who have disabilities? Elaborate.
8. Are the teachers and management staff well informed on White Paper 6: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System?
9. What is your notion or what is your understanding of inclusive education?
10. What are your experiences with educational policies and comment on its implementation?
11. Did the department of education have a workshop on the policy of inclusive education? If yes how many workshops were held and how effective was the workshop?
12. What support do you get from the district office?
13. Did any non-governmental organizational or institution have workshops or in-service training on inclusive education with staff? If yes explain the duration of the training and comment on the effectiveness of the training.
14. What structures have management put in place to assist the teachers in implementing inclusive education? Comment on the effectiveness of the structures.
15. Did you experience any resistance to inclusive education from members of staff?
16. Do you have a teacher support team? How many people comprise the team, how often do they meet and comment on the effectiveness of the team?
17. What are the role functions of the team?
18. What in-service training did the teachers have in outcomes based education (OBE)
19. Comment on the progress of OBE in your school.
20. What staff development programmes have been planned for this year?
21. Would you say that OBE is compatible with inclusive education? Elaborate.
22. Do your teachers engage in collaborative teaching e.g. planning programmes together, problem solving as a group, team teaching lessons, etc.?
23. How often do you have management meetings?
24. How often do you have staff meetings?
25. Describe your daily pupil attendance in your school.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE *(continued)*

PRINCIPLE / MANAGEMENT

26. Describe your daily teacher attendance in your school.
27. Describe the teacher morale in your school and how do you tackle problem areas.
28. Describe the interpersonal relationships among staff, and staff and management.
29. What is your view on peer tutoring? Do your teachers encourage this in their lessons?
30. What adaptive organizational strategies does management use to accommodate students experiencing barriers to learning and development?
31. Are teachers involved in decision making in the school? Explain.
32. Describe the resources in your school in terms of physical, material and human resources.
33. Describe the parent/community involvement in your school?
34. What is the community and parents' perception of the school?
35. How often do you have parent meetings?
36. What would you say are your strengths and weaknesses?
37. What are your problem areas and what are your plans to overcome them.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

TEACHERS

GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is the nature of your appointment e.g. permanent, temporary, locum tenens?
2. What is the total number of years of teaching experience do you have?
3. What are your qualifications and what are your areas of specialisation?
4. Are you currently engaged in any studies?
5. Do you have any training or qualification in specialized education?

INSERVICE TRAINING / PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

6. Do you have any knowledge on the new policy on inclusive education and the contents of White Paper 6?
7. What is your understanding of inclusive education?
8. Did you have any in-service training on inclusive education? If yes who provided the training?
9. Comment on the quality and duration of the training?
10. Did you receive any training in OBE and do you think that OBE can accommodate the principles of inclusive education? Elaborate.
11. What staff development programmes has the school arranged? Did you conduct any of these programmes?

12. How do you manage teaching the learning areas that are not within your specialisation?

TEACHER SUPPORT

13. What support do you receive from management? Explain.
14. How often do you have staff meetings? Comment on the effectiveness of staff meetings.
15. Do you have a say in decision-making? Explain.
16. Do you have a teacher support team in place? If yes, comment on the support you receive from this team and how often they meet?
17. Do you receive any support from the education department or your district office in terms of inclusive education? Discuss your feelings or opinions in this regard?
18. Do you receive any support from your colleagues or peers? Discuss.
19. Are you a member of any committees in school and outside school?
20. Is the developmental appraisal system operating in your school?
21. Describe the interpersonal relations among staff, and management and staff?

LEARNER INFORMATION

22. Please provide the following information: number of learners in your class, age range and grade.
23. Do you have any learners in your class who are experiencing barriers to learning?
24. If yes to the above question explain the nature of the barrier to learning?
25. How did you identify these barriers to learning?
26. Where there any standardized tests or psychological tests administered to these learners?
27. Explain the socio-economic background of the majority of your learners.
28. What distance does the majority of learners travel to school and how do they travel?
29. Describe the average attendance of pupils in your classes.
30. What is your impression of the general attitude of the learners to school?
31. What is your impression of the attitude to school of the learner who are experiencing barriers to learning?
32. Do you find learners discriminating against or being prejudiced against learners experiencing barriers to learning? Discuss.
33. Describe the socialization/friendship patterns of learners with disabilities.
34. Describe the progress of learners experiencing barriers to learning in terms of social, emotional and academic development.

CURRICULUM AND TEACHING

35. Is the teaching resource material and physical resources of the school adequate?
36. Do you offer an individualized education programme for learners experiencing barriers to learning? If yes, describe.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: TEACHERS *(continued)*

37. Do you engage in groupwork in your class lessons? Describe the group dynamics e.g. how the leaders and peers operate, comment on how learners who experience barriers to learning engage with the group.
38. If you employ peer tutoring or the buddy method? Comment on its effectiveness.
39. Do you engage in the thematic approach to teaching? Discuss.
40. Do you engage in collaborative teaching e.g. planning lessons as a team, discussing problem areas and finding solutions to problems, and team teaching a lesson in the classroom? Comment on the effectiveness of collaborative teaching practices.
41. Do you often reflect on your teaching or lessons? Do you write down these thoughts or discuss these thoughts with peers or friends?
42. Comment on the usefulness of the above exercise.
43. Do you adapt or use curriculum differentiation to cater for different ability levels in your classroom? Explain.
44. Do you find that you have to make adjustments to your lesson format or your instructional arrangement to accommodate the needs of all learners? Explain.
45. Are the testing and assessment criteria the same for all learners?
46. When you encounter problems or dilemmas in your teaching or curriculum matters do find solutions to your problems at the school level or do you get help from the outside e.g. education department or other institutions. Explain.
47. Do you think you need special expertise or special resources to teach learners with disabilities?
48. What extra-curricular activities are you involved in?
49. Express your view on inclusive education.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

50. Do you meet with parents or people from the community? Describe the nature of these meetings and how often you meet.
51. Do you meet with parents on a one to one basis or in groups?
52. What role do parents play in curriculum matters, suggestions and other inputs? Explain.
53. Do you belong to any community organizations? Explain.
54. Express your views on community / school partnerships.
55. What are the perception of the parents and the community of the school?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

LEARNERS

1. Do you like your school? Probe feelings according to response.
2. What do you find good about your school? Probe.
3. Is there any thing that you don't like about the school?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: LEARNERS (*continued*)

4. Who are your friends at school? Tell me about your friends?
5. Tell me about the other children in your school.
6. Who do you play with at home?
7. Tell me about your family?
8. Does anyone tease, bully or fight with you? Probe.
9. What do you do if you have problems with other pupils?
10. Tell me about the lessons in your class. Probe.
11. Do you do the same work as the other pupils in the class?
12. Which lessons do you like the most? Explain.
13. Do you understand when the teacher teaches the lesson?
14. How do you feel when you do not understand the teacher?
15. What do you do if you do not understand the work set for you?
16. What happens when you fail to complete your work?
17. Do you work in groups?
18. Do you get help from others in the class or group?
19. Do you like working in groups?
20. Describe your house?
21. How do you come to school?
22. Have you been to another school before coming to this school? Explain.
23. Do you get home work to do?
24. Who helps you with your homework?
25. What would you like to do when you grow up?

The next three questions were only for learners who did not experience any barriers to learning.

26. Does the school supply you with all your textbooks to take home?
27. How do you feel about having friends with disabilities or learning difficulties?
28. Do you find anyone teasing or bullying the pupils with learning difficulties or disabilities?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

COORDINATOR: RESOURCE AND EDUCATOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

1. Give a brief outline of the Resource and Educator Development Project.
2. What were the aims and objectives of the project?
3. Explain your role in the project?
4. In your evaluation do you think that the project had achieved its goals and objectives? Explain.
5. What parts of the projects do you think have worked the best? Explain.
6. What parts of the project do you think have not worked well? Explain.
7. What were the problems that you personally encountered?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: COORDINATOR *(continued)*

8. What were the problems that the project facilitators encountered?
9. In your evaluation what steps ought to be taken to see that inclusive education is sustainable in these school?
10. From your experience what structures need to be put in place for schools to move towards inclusive education?
11. What was the initial reaction of teachers and managers to the projects attempts to introduce inclusive education in the thirteen schools in the Estcourt area?
12. Do you find any changes in the attitude of teachers and managers during the duration of the project?
13. What are some of the factors that hinder the implementation of the policy of inclusive education in schools?
14. What support did you get from the regional and district offices?
15. What suggestion would you offer to other schools that are implementing inclusive education in their schools?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

DISTRICT OFFICIAL

1. Is the district involved in the implementation of the policy of inclusive education as enunciated in White Paper 6 of 2001? Explain.
2. Did the District Office conduct any in-service training or workshops to equip educators for the implementation of inclusive education? Explain.
3. What is your view on inclusive education?
4. Is inclusive education practicable? Explain.
5. What would you regard as the main challenges to the implementation process?
6. What are the positive elements in the system to implement the policy?
7. What is the districts future plans to support schools in this process?
8. In your opinion do you think that the district has the capacity to support the schools in this regard?
9. Did the district office collaborate with the consortium in their Educator and Resource Development Project: Towards Inclusive Education? Explain.
10. Do you think that the project achieved its aims?
11. Do you think that the schools have the capacity and commitment to implement the policy? Explain.
12. What are some of the steps the department can take to accomplish the short-term and long-term goals of White Paper 6?
13. What structures need to be put in place to move towards inclusive education?
14. What are some of the factors that hinder the implementation of inclusive education?
15. What was the initial reaction of educators and district officials to inclusive education? Do you find any change in attitude since the consortium had undertaken this project?
16. What suggestions would you offer in the implementation process?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CHAIRMAN OF THE SCHOOL GOVERNING BODY

1. Was the School Governing Body (SGB) informed of the Education Department's policy on inclusive education and who informed you?
2. Do you think that the parents understand what inclusive education is all about?
3. What are your views on inclusive education?
4. What role can the SGB play in assisting the school in bringing about inclusive education?
5. Explain how decision-making takes place within the SGB?
6. How often does the SGB meet and how often does the SGB meet with the parents?
7. Do you get a large percentage of parents coming to meetings?
8. Describe the SGB's relationship with the teachers?
9. Do you think that the school has the capacity to implement this policy?
10. What do you think are the main strengths of the school?
11. What do you think are the main factors that hinder inclusive education in this school?
12. Do you think that the school has sufficient material and human resources?
13. Are there any community structures or other role players networking with the school? Explain.
14. What are the parents' and the community's perception of the school?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SERVICE PROVIDER: RESOURCE AND EDUCATOR AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

1. Give a brief outline of the Resource and Educator Development Project.
2. Describe the in-service education and training that the consortium provided for the educators?
3. What were the aims and objectives of the Project?
4. Who funded the project?
5. How many schools were involved in the project?
6. Explain your role in the project?
7. In your situational analysis what were your findings in terms of the prevalence of barriers to learning in the Estcourt district?
8. In your evaluation do you think that the project had achieved its aims and objectives?
9. Explain the evaluation procedures you used to gauge the effectiveness of the project?
10. Did any of the Project's researchers do a qualitative study of the project e.g. classroom observation of lessons?
11. What parts of the project do you think worked the best?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: SERVICE PROVIDER *(continued)*

12. What parts of the project do you think have not worked well?
13. Describe the initial level of awareness of the educators to the concept of inclusive education and White Paper 6 of the Republic of South Africa?
14. To what extent did the Project raise this level of awareness?
15. Describe the initial reaction of the educators to the Project's attempts to introduce inclusive education in the targeted schools in the Estcourt district.
16. Did you find any changes in attitudes of educators during and after the project was completed?
17. What in-service education and training did the Project provide in terms of curriculum development to cater for diversity?
18. What were the problems that the project facilitators encountered?
19. What support did you get from the District Office personnel in the Estcourt district or any education officers in the Department of Education in KwaZulu-Natal?
20. In your evaluation what steps ought to be taken in order that inclusive education is sustainable in the project schools?
21. What do you think are some of the factors that hinder the implementation of inclusive education in South Africa?
22. What suggestions would you offer to other schools that are attempting to implement the policy of inclusive education?

APPENDIX TWO: QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire. All information will be treated as strictly confidential.

GRADE: _____

ROLL: _____

State the number of learners in your class whose father is deceased	
Number of learners whose mother is deceased	
Number of learners whose both parents are deceased	
Number of learners who are living with one parent because their parents are separated	
Number of learners who are living with care-givers e.g. granny, relatives	
Number of learners who have only one parent that is employed	
Number of learners who have both parents that are unemployed	
Number of pupils who are living in poverty	
Number of learners who have been physically abused	
Number of learners who have been sexually abused	
Number of learners who are experiencing learning difficulties	
Name the types of barrier that the pupils experience in your class	