Factors affecting the implementation of inclusive education policy: A case study in one province in South Africa

By

Sindiswa Yvonne Stofile

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for a Doctorate in Philosophy in the Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape

Supervisor: Professor Sandy Lazarus

November 2008

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1994, the general education system in South Africa enforced separate education for “indians”, “blacks”, “coloureds” and “whites” and this led to discriminatory practices that excluded the majority from access to quality education. This resulted in the duplication of functions, responsibilities and services and vast disparities in per capita funding between the different education departments (Lomofsky & Lazarus, 2001). Each department of education had a dual system that separated learners with special educational needs from the so-called “normal learners.” Learners with special educational needs were placed in special schools, and the so-called “normal learners” in mainstream schools. However, not all of these departments of education made provision for learners with special educational needs (black communities were severely marginalized), and thus many were ‘mainstreamed by default’ (Lomofsky & Lazarus, 2001).

The 1994 democratic elections in South Africa marked an end to the apartheid education system and ushered in new changes. These changes included, amongst other things, the creation of a single education system and the development of a policy that is committed to human rights and social justice. Such commitment is evident in key policy documents, including:

- The White Paper on Education and Training in a Democratic South Africa (Department of Education, 1995) which discusses the importance of addressing the needs of learners with special needs in both special and mainstream schools;

- The South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996) which compels public schools to admit learners and to serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way;
- The White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy (Ministerial Office of the Deputy President, 1997) which recommends specific action that will ensure that people with disability are able to access the same rights as any other citizen in South Africa; and
- The National Commission on Special Educational Needs and Training and the National Committee on Education Support Services Report (Department of Education (1997), which identified barriers that lead to the inability of the education system to accommodate diversity.

All of the above legal frameworks are based on international human rights agreements, such as the Salamanca Statement, which support the development of an education system that recognises a wide range of diverse needs and ensures a wide range of appropriate responses (UNESCO, 2005). These frameworks articulate the goals of equity and the rights of all learners to equal access to educational opportunities. The South African Government's commitment to "education for all" led to the development of a policy on inclusive education and training. This policy is entitled: Education White Paper 6: Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (Department of Education, 2001a). This policy formally came into effect in 2001. Several initiatives have been embarked upon to facilitate the effective implementation of an inclusive education system in South Africa in recent years, particularly through two international donor funded pilot projects: The South African Finnish Co-operation Programme in the Education Sector (SCOPE) and the Danish International Development Assistance (DANIDA) programme.

The SCOPE and DANIDA pilot projects were viewed by the Department of Education as experimental. They offered a field-testing learning experience that was to inform the implementation of Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2004a). Through these projects inclusive education was implemented

in KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape, the North West, the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga provinces, from 2000 until 2003.

The SCOPE and DANIDA pilot project evaluation reports (Da Costa, 2003; Department of Education, 2002) revealed that while inclusive education policy is considered to be the appropriate strategy for addressing the diverse needs of all learners in South Africa, the implementation of this policy is complex.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

My interest in this doctoral study began in 2001 when I co-ordinated the national Department of Education's DANIDA Project in the Eastern Cape. It was funded by Danish International Development Assistance (DANIDA) and my initial role in the project included administrative and managerial tasks. One task was to ensure that the recommendations of the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training and National Committee on Education Support Services (NCSNET / NCESS) Report (Department of Education, 1997) were translated into a programme. When the Department of Education's Education White Paper 6 was released in July 2001, my responsibility was to bring project activities into alignment with the directives set out in the policy document.

The implementation of inclusive education occurred in a context of many fundamental changes. These changes included the radical restructuring of the provincial departments of education and the movement towards outcomes-based education (OBE). The restructuring process involved the reconfiguration of regions into mega-districts and the amalgamation of districts into regions. This entailed the migration of personnel from one district to another and the re-advertising of posts. What complicated things further was that the programme had been implemented prior to the release of Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) and therefore implementation activities had to be realigned to the policy. As coordinator, I experienced organisational turbulence relating to the restructuring process. This included working with unstable management structures at all levels of the Department of Education. I also observed that although several attempts were made by the national Department of Education to

support, control and monitor the implementation process, there were variations in the way different schools implemented the policy. This experience prompted my interest in understanding the factors underlying the variations of policy implementation and my desire to gain a better understanding of those factors that facilitated or constrained implementation of this policy.

My interest in this topic was also triggered by the comment of the circuit manager responsible for some of the case study schools, who claimed that there had been noticeable differences in the outcomes of policy implementation in these schools, although they were in close proximity to one another and had been exposed to the same intervention programme. He claimed that there were marked failures and successes at the end of the implementation process. Inclusion had been relatively successful in some schools and less so in other schools. During the implementation I also noticed non-implementation in some schools as well as at district level. My interest was and still is to understand the factors that contributed to this. The SCOPE and DANIDA evaluation reports (Da Costa, 2003; Department of Education, 2002; Mathot, 2002; 2003) indicated that efforts towards inclusion were successful in some schools and unsuccessful in others. These reports aroused public interest.

As stated earlier, inclusive education policy is at the field-testing stage in South Africa. My involvement in the field-testing process reinforced my desire to understand factors that affect the implementation of inclusion. The field-testing has shown that there are identifiable challenges that have hindered the implementation process at different levels in the Department of Education. It has also revealed positive gains.

It is envisaged that the findings of this study will inform further development of inclusive education policy as well as the roll-out plan for the implementation of the existing policy. This study is not intended to provide an assessment of the extent to which certain schools have complied with policy imperatives. Rather, it aims to gain a better understanding of how the participants experienced the

implementation in their respective contexts and the reasons for successes and failures.

1.3 RESEARCH AIMS

This study seeks to explore factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education in one Eastern Cape district, examining particularly how these factors affected implementation.

The following research questions will be addressed:

- How did participants interpret the goals of the DANIDA project?
- What were the key participants' perceptions of their successes and failures in the project?
- What did the key participants identify as the factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education in the project and why?
- How did these factors facilitate or constrain implementation of the policy?

1.4 FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This study began with the premise that there were experiences of success or failure in the implementation of inclusive education policy in a particular pilot district. The study then sought to analyse reasons for the success or failure of the inclusion reform. Before undertaking this study it became necessary to search for a theoretical framework that could guide the investigation and analysis of the findings. This was informed by the following questions: What is implementation? What constitutes failed or successful implementation? And how should this research be undertaken? Policy implementation literature and inclusive education literature were reviewed for this purpose.

1.4.1 Policy implementation

Research studies conducted over three decades show that as implementation research evolved, two schools of thought emerged and were regarded as the most

effective methods for studying and describing implementation (Cerych & Sabatier, 1986; Elmore, 1980; Gornitza, Kyvik & Stensaker, 2002; Hjern & Hull, 1982; Lane, 1993; Matland, 1995; Pressman & Widavsky, 1973; Sabatier, 1986; 2005). The divergence between these approaches can best be described as "top-down" versus "bottom-up" because they focus on different aspects of the implementation process. These models strive to define implementation, how it should be studied and the conditions necessary for fulfilling the objectives of a particular policy.

Proponents of a top-down model assume that clarity of goals and control by the policy makers will lead to more effective implementation and greater success in addressing problems (Recesso, 1999). The implementation analysis that is located in this model tends to focus on factors that can be easily manipulated by policy makers at the central level (Elmore, 1980; Gornitzka et al, 2002; Sabatier, 2005). Supporters of the bottom-up approach start from a policy problem and then examine the strategies employed by relevant participants at different levels of the government as they attempt to deal with the issue consistent with their objectives (Sabatier, 2005). Heavy criticisms of these models have emerged and recently attempts have been made to synthesise these approaches by developing coalition frameworks (Matland, 1995; Sabatier, 2005).

The coalition framework (Sabatier, 2005) combines the two approaches. It begins with a bottom up unit of analysis which includes the many participants who are involved with the policy problem, as well as understanding the perspectives and strategies of all major categories of actors (Sabatier, 2005). It combines this with the top-down scholars' concerns regarding the manner in which socio-economic conditions and administrative issues constrain implementation.

This study has adopted the position that implementation implies both the execution of policy goals as well as "reformulation and re-design of original intentions and plans" (Gornitzka et al, 2002: 398).

1.4.2 Inclusive education

Inclusive education has emerged as a global movement that seeks to challenge exclusionary practices. It embodies several beliefs and principles, most notably the belief that all learners can learn, that every learner has a fundamental right to learn and that support is based on need rather than category of disability or difficulty experienced. Research has shown that although most countries seem to share the same ideology and commitment towards the implementation of inclusion, it is becoming more evident that the concept of inclusion has different meanings in different contexts (Dyson, 2001; Florian, 1998; Swart, Engelbrecht, Eloff & Pettipher, 2002; Swart & Pettipher, 2005). Some of the definitions of inclusion focus on human interaction, others on diversity, and others on organisational arrangements (Florian, 1998).

Current educational thinking underpinning inclusive education reflects a move away from a pathological theoretical approach to one which values understanding of learning difficulties. Inclusive education locates barriers to learning and development in the entire system instead of only focusing on the individual (Department of Education, 2001a). This implies that barriers may be located within the learner, within the centre of learning, within the education system and or within the broader social, economic and political context. This thinking has its foundation in systems theory. Implicit in the systems approach is the understanding that there are layers in the systems that interact with each other to produce certain outcomes. It suggests that effective implementation of inclusion requires the collaboration or interaction of multiple participants. The ecosystemic theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979) is the most commonly used theory in inclusive education. Ecosystems theory identifies four layers of systems, namely; micro-system, meso-system, exo-system and macro-system. Details about these systems are given in Chapter Four.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.5.1 The involvement of the researcher in the project

Before I proceed with the description of the research methodology used in this study, it is important to reflect on the nature of my involvement in the research process and the way it shaped its outcomes. As stated earlier, I coordinated the DANIDA project in the Eastern Cape Province for three years. My responsibility was to facilitate the selection of pilot schools, to design the project's operational plan together with the national project manager, to establish the project management and support structures, to coordinate implementation activities and report on processes to the provincial and national Department of Education. In addition, I was also involved in the current national Department of Education field-testing process as a researcher in the Eastern Cape Province for two years. As a former co-ordinator of the project in the case study and a researcher in the field-testing process, I gained experiences that led me to make certain assumptions about the policy implementation process. The first assumption was that policy implementation is a very complex phenomenon which can best be understood by exploring perspectives of diverse participants. The second assumption was that effective policy implementation is not facilitated only by clear policy goals, clear operational guidelines, pressure and support from the national office, but also requires effective interaction between the latter, the implementers at local level, the politics, and the context. These assumptions framed my research questions, the choice of research methods and how I analysed the findings.

My involvement in the DANIDA project and field-testing process in the Eastern Cape had positive and negative effects on my research role. The advantage of being involved in these processes helped me to gain easy access to the province and the schools. Also, because of the relationships that I had developed with the participants over a period of five years, trust was firmly established. This encouraged the participants to provide as much information as they could. The

second advantage was the ability to understand the context within which claims were made during interviews.

My involvement in these processes also had negative effects during interviews. Participants tended to express their anger and frustration about both processes instead of focusing on the research questions. It seems that at times the research was viewed as an appropriate space for communicating their dissatisfaction about issues pertaining to the implementation of inclusive education policy. Parents in particular, could not differentiate between my role as a coordinator of the DANIDA project and that of a researcher. Although it was important to allow participants to talk about their problems, the interviewing process became a daunting task. Interviews took longer than expected as did the validation of the data. Participants wanted to add more information, which was time consuming. On balance I feel that the fact that the participants knew me was a positive factor.

1.5.2 Research design and paradigm

I sought a research paradigm that allows for an in-depth understanding of the factors that facilitate or constrain the implementation of inclusive education. Qualitative research provides an appropriate approach for this study as it has the advantage of employing an inductive research strategy that can facilitate such understanding (Merriam, 1998). The particular relevance of this methodology in the context of the parameters of this study lies in its capacity to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the participants' perspectives on the factors that facilitate or constrain the implementation of inclusive education policy. To assist my understanding of what these factors are and how they affected implementation, a phenomenological approach was used in an attempt to capture the participants' subjective perspectives of the implementation. Such a subjective perspective is relevant to the belief that policy implementation is not a ready-made product, but rather that it is constructed and reconstructed by the participants. Therefore personal experience is crucial in understanding the topic under investigation. This approach is congruent with the "bottom-up analysis". A top-down approach was

also used to analyse factors that relate to policy objectives, resources and socio-economic factors.

1.5.3 Participants and context

Seven schools in the Eastern Cape were chosen for the study. These schools were selected from the fourteen schools which had participated in the DANIDA project. Schools in the DANIDA project were clustered according to geographical areas. One cluster consisted of six mainstream schools in an informal settlement and one special school from an urban area. The other cluster consisted of six mainstream schools and one special school in a township.

The participants in this study comprised a key educator, a coordinator of Institutional Level Support Team, a principal and a parent from each case study school. The other participants selected for the study were representatives of several other institutions namely, Department of Health, Department of Correctional Services, a non-governmental organisation, disability organisations, and the institution of higher learning involved in the DANIDA project.

1.5.4 Data collection methods

To establish triangulation of evidence, an analysis of DANIDA documents was conducted to confirm evidence from other sources. As the first level of analysis, the study selected Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a), the Danish International Development Assistance operational guidelines (DANIDA, 1999), and two national quality evaluation reports (Department of Education, 2001a; 2002) together with provincial evaluation reports. The main aim of analysing the policy documents was to gain an understanding of what the policy objectives were, and how policy was mediated. The national quality evaluation reports were used to elicit external information about the perceptions regarding what had worked well, what did not work well and what the contributing factors were. These documents were studied before the fieldwork was conducted.

Unstructured interviews rely entirely on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of interaction. The strength of this type of interviewing is that it allows the interviewer to be highly responsive to individual and situational differences (Goodchild, 2001). One of the advantages of unstructured interviews is that "a comprehensive database can be accumulated thus establishing a holistic picture of the program" (Patton, 1980: 2000).

Unstructured interviews were conducted with officials of the Department of Education at national, provincial and district levels; parents; researchers; teachers; principals; members of non-governmental organisations; a member of disabled organisations; and a representative of the institution of higher education involved in this study. These participants were identified as key during the implementation process. These interviews were conducted before the semi-structured interviews. This approach created a space for the participants to reflect on the implementation process before they were asked to respond to a more structured interview schedule. In the unstructured interviews, participants were asked to talk about the implementation of Education White Paper 6 Policy, both during the DANIDA project and afterwards. Questions focused on how the implementation started, what roles different people played, what forms of support they received, the challenges they faced, solutions they employed, perceived successes, experienced failures and recommendations suggested.

The use of unstructured interviews in the study was aimed at eliciting stories that reflected experiences and understandings of the entire implementation process. As a researcher I did not assume that I understood the experiences of the participants in the implementation. I wanted to interpret the participants' experiences and understandings from their perspectives. With this in mind, the understanding of participants' perceptions was crucial. Unstructured interviews enabled me as the researcher to access information in whichever way it was presented, and to follow up interesting responses.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with officials of the Department of Education at national, provincial and district levels; parents; researchers; teachers;

principals; members of non-governmental organisations; a member of disabled organisation; and a representative of the institution of higher education. The advantage of using a semi-structured interview in the study was that it provided a systematic and comprehensive procedure for delimiting the issues to be discussed in the interview (Patton, 1980). In this study the semi-structured interviews focused on the following research questions:

- How did the key participants interpret the goals of the DANIDA project?
- What were the key participants' perceptions of their successes and failures in the project?
- What did the key participants identify as the factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education in the project and why?
- How did these factors facilitate or constrain the implementation of the policy?

Ethical considerations and data analysis procedures used in this study are discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THESIS CHAPTERS

The thesis is divided into the following nine chapters:

Chapter One forms the introductory chapter. This chapter presents the background and the aim of the study. It describes the research methodology used in the study and provides an outline of the order of the chapters.

Chapter Two presents the context of the study, focusing on the historical background of the implementation of inclusive education in the project. This chapter describes the context in which the implementation took place in the project.

Chapters Three and Four outline the theoretical framework of the study. These chapters focus on the conceptualisation of policy implementation and inclusive education. They also explore factors that influence policy implementation and implementation of inclusive education.

Chapter Five explains the conceptual framework used for investigating factors that impinge on the implementation of inclusive education. This chapter is devoted primarily to a theoretical discussion of the conceptual categories developed and an exploration of how these categories can be investigated.

Chapter Six describes the methodology adopted in the study as well as the research methods used in collecting and analysing data. It includes a description of the research design, the setting, and procedures for selecting participants and makes reference to questions regarding reliability and validity, as well as ethical considerations.

Chapter Seven presents a descriptive analysis of the data collected in the study. This chapter draws together the perspectives of the different participants as well as findings from the documentary analysis of the DANIDA project research reports. Perspectives have been organised under the research questions, which cover policy objectives, perceived successes, factors that facilitated success, perceived failures and factors that led to failure.

Chapter Eight discusses the findings of the study as these relate to relevant literature. The chapter is divided into two sections: The first section discusses the findings regarding factors claimed to have facilitated the implementation of inclusive education, and the second section discusses the findings on factors claimed to have constrained the implementation of inclusive education.

Chapter Nine forms the concluding chapter of the thesis. This chapter synthesises the findings and discussion presented in chapters Seven and Eight, and makes suggestions and recommendations based on the results obtained from the study.

CHAPTER 2
IMPLEMENTATION CONTEXT OF THE DANIDA PROJECT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter adopts a broad perspective on the context of the study. It narrates the history of the implementation of inclusive education policy through the Department of Education's DANIDA Pilot Project entitled: Resource and Training Programme for Educator Development: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System. The chapter first outlines the background of the project, then provides a description of the context within which inclusive education was implemented, the activities, legislation and approaches that served to guide the implementation process, and the project methodology adopted. The project was implemented in three provinces in South Africa, but this chapter limits its focus to the Eastern Cape context.

2.2 PROJECT BACKGROUND

When inclusive education policy was formulated in South Africa, the need for support and the documenting of good practices in the development of inclusive education became a priority. As a result, the Department of Education requested support from Danish International Development Assistance (DANIDA, 1999) for further development of inclusive education and its implementation. The project entitled: "Resource and Training Programme for Educator Development: Towards Building an Inclusive Education and Training System" was therefore developed. The project was implemented over a period of 36 months, from October 2000 until October 2003, in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and North-West Provinces.

2.2.1 Aim of the project

The overall objective of the project was to support the implementation of the government policy in developing an inclusive education system that would be of benefit to all learners experiencing barriers to learning. The project emphasised educator development through the development of training and resource programmes, to enable existing and new educators to meet the full range of diverse needs in the learner population (DANIDA, 1999). Within the overall objective, the project strove to achieve the following objectives:

- Capacity building in the Department of Education at national, provincial and district levels;
- Educator and materials development for building and sustaining an inclusive education system;
- Pilot initiatives in the district;
- Identification of needs in the districts through action research; and
- Collaboration with the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

It was envisaged that the project outcomes would inform further development and implementation of the policy. The project consisted of five components:

Component A: Capacity building in the Department of Education at national, provincial and district levels which raised awareness of the inclusive education philosophy and the contents of the policy.

Component B: Educator development for building and sustaining an inclusive education system which focused on in-service training and the development and testing of training materials.

Component C: Pilot projects in one district in each of the three pilot provinces which aimed at linking the philosophy of inclusive education to educational practices in the district, centres of learning and communities. The focus of the

development work in the pilot project was on whole school development to make schools responsive to diversity, systems change in schools and education departments, and the development of effective management of inclusive schools.

Component D: Action Research, which focused on the identification of needs in the districts and schools, formed the basis of development work. This component encompassed setting priorities, planning specific interventions, developing of training and curriculum materials, documenting processes of changes and disseminating knowledge for use in other provinces and throughout South Africa and other neighbouring countries (SADC).

Component E: Collaboration with the SADC which focused on contributing to the development of the capacity of the individual countries to respond to the full range of diverse learning needs within the education system. Figure 2.1 depicts the different components of the project.

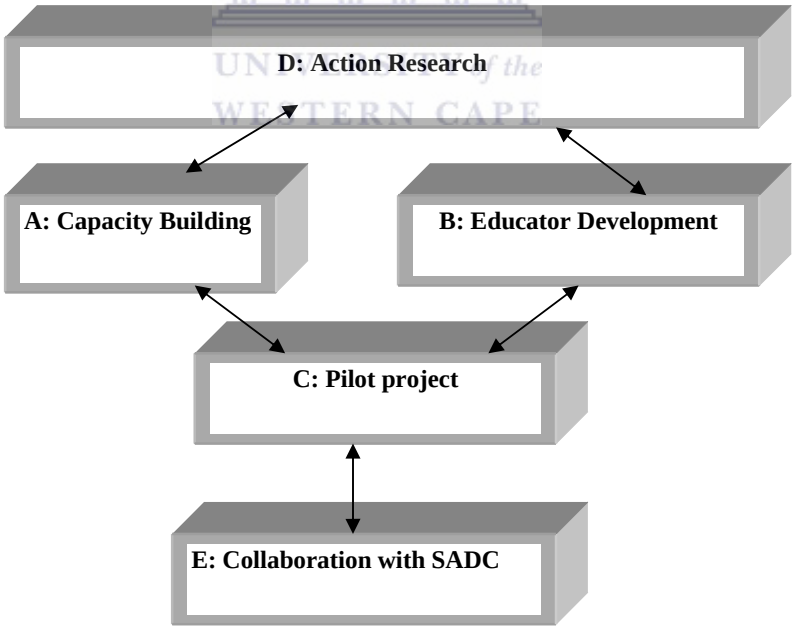

Figure 2.1: DANIDA Project components

2.2.2 Expected outcomes

By the end of the project it was expected to have:

- Contributed to the general awareness of community members and teachers of the relevance of education for all;
- Trained key personnel and established a flexible administrative structure for inclusive education at district, provincial and national level;
- Equipped a considerable number of teachers with a basic understanding of the education of learners with special needs;
- Developed and pilot-tested relevant teaching and learning materials from school to university level;
- Contributed to collaboration and networking among stakeholders, non - governmental organisations, universities, the Department of Education and SADC countries;
- Established a teacher resource centre for inclusive education in each pilot district;
- Contributed to the development of replicable examples of inclusive education in a transparent mode (DANIDA, 1999).

2.2.3 Conceptualisation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project

At its inception, the project adopted the description of inclusion that was embedded in the Draft White Paper 5: Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (Department of Education, 2000a). Inclusion in this paper was defined as:

- A process of increasing the participation of students in, and reducing their exclusion from, cultures, curricula and communities of local centres of learning;
- A system that acknowledges that all learners can learn and that all learners need support;

- A system that acknowledges and respects difference in children whether due to age, gender, ethnicity, language, class, disability or HIV status ;
- A system that acknowledges that learning occurs in the home, and the community, in informal contexts, as well as within formal contexts.

On the basis of the above description, the project strove to make schools responsive to the diverse needs of learners. When Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) was released all DANIDA project activities were aligned with the policy objectives. It is worth noting that although that change was necessary, the shift from school priorities created tensions during the implementation process.

2.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY OF THE DANIDA PROJECT

2.3.1 Research approach

This project adopted a qualitative research paradigm and an action research approach was used as the vehicle to drive the implementation process. Given the history of South African conditions, this design was relevant to researchers working in this project because it enabled the participants to express their needs and to make their contributions which could be incorporated in the research design. Preference for this approach had the advantage of facilitating service providers' in-depth understandings of the participants' problems, needs and their subjective experiences of their situation by giving an account of the contexts in which meanings had been constituted.

The project used a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches during implementation. This was characterised by policy directives, monitoring and evaluation by the Steering Committee and national Department of Education, as well as adaptations by the implementing role players. In other words, although the district worked on a systematic and structural plan that was informed by the

national operational plan, the situational analysis findings determined the choice of activities.

2.3.2 Implementation design

The project was set up to be a collaborative action research initiative that comprised a number of phases through a process of setting goals, planning action steps, implementation, reflection, evaluation and setting new goals. The project comprised four phases (DANIDA, 1999):

Phase One involved the situational analysis of districts in each province with respect to available capacity and resources.

Phase Two involved a needs analysis of each school and its community – exploring barriers to learning and development, strengths, opportunities and threats to the development of an inclusive system. This included an audit of learners with disabilities who were not in school.

Phase Three involved the researchers working with schools and districts to set priorities for development while taking into account data obtained through the need analysis.

Phase Four involved interventions through awareness-raising and capacity building workshops in each district, and the documentation of participants' experiences.

2.3.3 Participants

The project had many role players at different levels of the Department of Education and other structures. These role players formed different coalitions (subsystems) according to their roles and responsibilities in the project. Figure 3.1 presents the coalitions in the project.

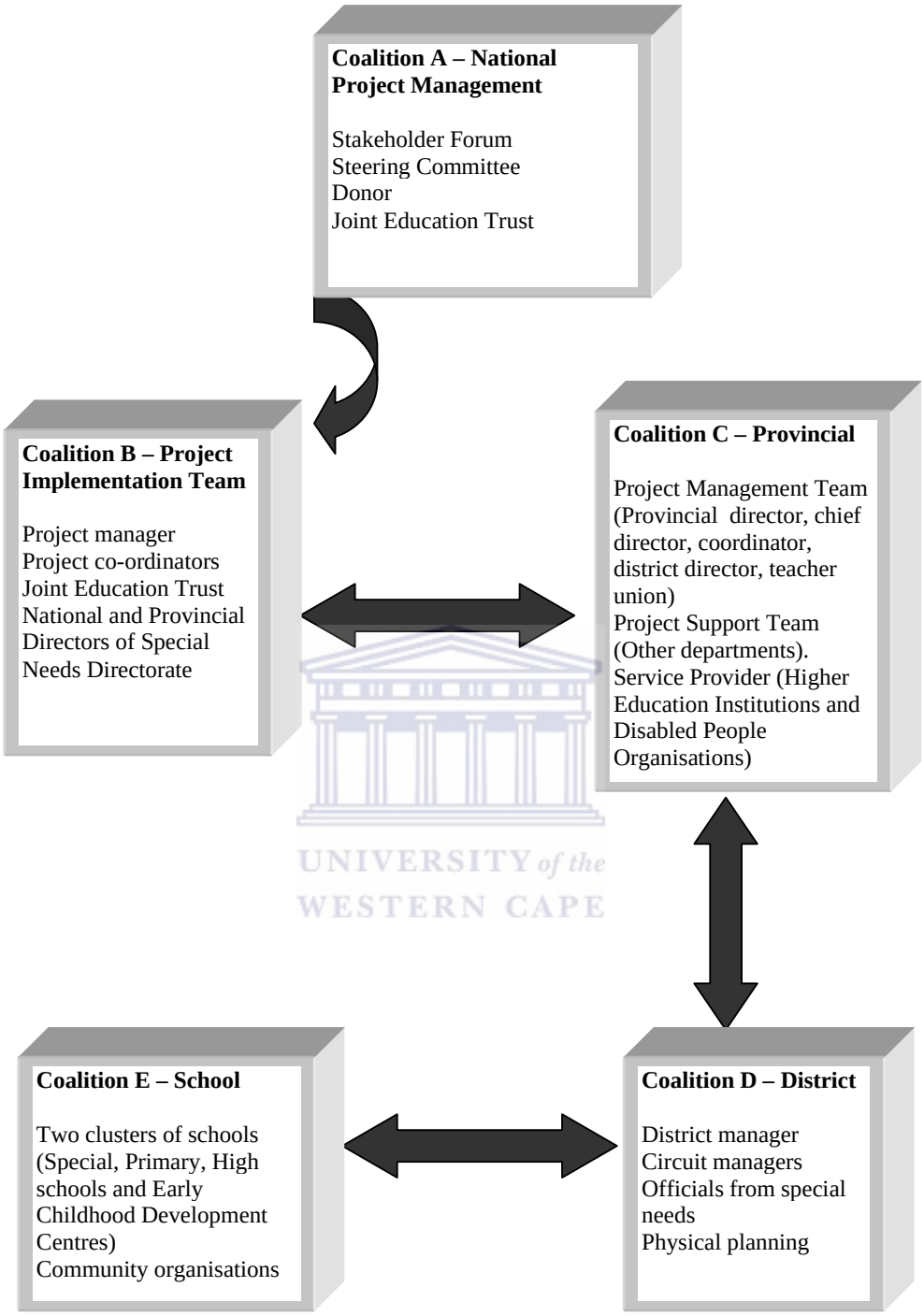

Figure 2.2 Coalitions in the project

All provinces selected pilot schools using the criteria stipulated in the policy document (DANIDA, 1999). In the Eastern Cape the district managers selected fourteen schools. These included three Early Childhood Development Centres

(ECD), two Special Schools, two High Schools and seven Primary Schools. Thirteen of the fourteen schools were situated in Xhosa-speaking environments. Schools were not compelled to participate. The process of selecting schools was not easy as most schools met the criteria for the study. Schools that were not chosen were dissatisfied but unfortunately it was not possible to involve every school.

2.4 PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Although the project operated at district level, it had a strong national focus, particularly in terms of providing strategic direction and ongoing monitoring while ensuring the active participation of key stakeholders. The project fell under the responsibility of the Directorate of Inclusive Education in the National Department of Education, and was managed by a National Steering Committee that included senior education officials from each province in each of the three piloting provinces. A project manager was appointed and the overall responsibility of this manager was to direct the project at provincial, district and school levels. Provincial coordinators were also appointed to coordinate all the implementation activities in the project.

The provincial Departments of Education, in collaboration with the project coordinators, established project management teams (PMTs) and project support teams (PSTs). The overall responsibilities of these teams included decision making about the activities of the project and its support systems. Both structures included representatives from the Department of Education, the Department of Correctional Services, the Department of Health, the Department of Social Services, the Department of Public Works, and teacher unions.

2.5 IMPLEMENTATION CONTEXT IN THE EASTERN CAPE

This section describes the historical and economic landscape of the Eastern Cape Province. The relevance of this context to the study is that it provides the main characteristics of the backgrounds of the learners, parents, teachers and education officials in the case study. This section begins with the description of the demographics, socio-economic and historical trends in the province more broadly and proceeds to the description of the learning sites in the case study district.

2.5.1 Eastern Cape Province

Demographics

The Eastern Cape Province is situated between the Indian Ocean in the south, the escarpment in the north and west, and the KwaZulu-Natal border in the east. It is one of the largest provinces of approximately 198 000 square kilometres, with an estimated population of 6, 8 million. Of the total population, the Report on the School Register of Needs 2000 Survey (Department of Education, 2001b) shows that in 2000, 1 113 387 were learners and 66 702 were educators. The Eastern Province is made up of the former Transkei, former Ciskei and South African administrations. It is predominantly rural with only one Metropole and consists of 23 education districts.

Socio-economic trends

The Eastern Cape Province is generally described as the second poorest province in South Africa (Human Sciences Research Council, 2006). Poverty in the Eastern Cape is widespread across rural and urban localities. Former homelands such as the Ciskei and Transkei had significantly high levels of poverty in relation to income. The province is one of the most under-resourced provinces, with a high rate of unemployment, especially in the rural areas. Over a third of all formal employment in the province is provided by the Nelson Mandela Metropole. Government is the major employer in the former-Transkei and Ciskei (Cole, Godden, Lawrence, & England, 2006). The Rapid Assessment of Service

Delivery and Socio-Economic Survey (Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research [FHISER] & Development Research Africa [DRA], 2006, indicates that unemployment in the Eastern Cape was pegged at 29,6 % in 2005. Specifically, the report reveals that one in three isiXhosa speaking adults between the ages of 16 and 65 were currently employed. The report further indicates that three in four informal settlement households had an income of less than R1500 a month and that they spent their income largely on food. Consequently there was a high reliance on social grants and a large migration from rural areas to the Western Cape and Gauteng as people went in search of jobs.

Over and above poverty, teachers and families in the Eastern Cape experience a rising incidence of HIV/AIDS. Cole et al's (2006: 30) recent study in the Eastern Cape Province notes that "the impact of HIV/AIDS in the Eastern Cape is difficult to gauge with precision because of the non-disclosure of the disease." However, there is a noticeable increase of orphans and significant increase in mortality rates for teachers (Cole et. al., 2006).

Historical trends

As mentioned earlier, the Eastern Cape Province is characterised by demographic shifts outside and inside the province. This can be attributed to the political climate after 1990. When the African National Congress (ANC) was unbanned, it declared its support for land seizures by dispossessed urban communities. This political endorsement of land seizures, according to the Rapid Assessment Report (FHISER & DRA, 2006), led to the rapid establishment of informal settlements throughout the province, especially in the small towns. The migration report of Cross and Baker in (FHISER & DRA, 2006) reveals that about 3 million of the 5,7 million residents in the Eastern Cape had moved at least once during their life time.

2.5.2 Learning sites

The DANIDA project was piloted in the East London district which had an estimated population of 597 774 at the time of implementation. It consisted of 323 schools, 4 199 educators and 29 434 learners (Eastern Cape Education Management and Information Systems [EMIS], 2001). The vast majority of schools (95%) are located in the rural, poverty stricken areas with Buffalo City Municipality Council being the source of employment. Most schools are under-resourced, some are dilapidated mud structures and others are prefabricated structures with broken windows. In 2000, approximately 17,2% of the classrooms were prefabricated and 6,0 % were shelters (Eastern Cape EMIS, 2003). In 2000 when the DANIDA project started, the Eastern Cape had the highest proportion of schools without power (53,6%), without water (41,1%), without toilets (18,8%), and 41% without telecommunications (Department of Education, 2001b). The School Register of Needs Survey (Department of Education, 2000b) showed that the Eastern Cape had the lowest number of schools with computers (8, 8%). In addition, the Eastern Cape had the highest percentage of under-qualified educators.

As stated earlier, the DANIDA project included Early Childhood Development Centres (ECD), two special schools, two high schools and seven primary schools. Thirteen of these schools are situated in predominantly isiXhosa-speaking areas. District managers selected schools according to the criteria outlined in the project document. The criteria stipulated that:

- The centres be in fairly close proximity to one another in order to facilitate networking and collaboration;
- The clusters represent the three phases: Early Childhood Development (ECD), primary and secondary education;
- The centres (educators and school management) be motivated to participate in the project on a voluntary basis;
- The centres should have demonstrated some capacity in working with parents and community organisations, including the disability sector.

Schools were clustered according to geographical areas. One cluster consisted of six mainstream schools in an informal settlement and one special school from the urban area. The other cluster was made up of six mainstream schools and one special school in the township.

2.6 THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS IN THE EASTERN CAPE DANIDA PROJECT

The implementation of the DANIDA project had its origins in the situational analysis which was conducted with the case study schools. The findings of the situational analysis then informed capacity building, teacher development and the implementation activities. These activities are described in the sub-section that follows.

2.6.1 Action research

As outlined earlier, the guiding operational principle of this project was action research. This component was charged with the following plan of action:

- To conduct a situational analysis and audits in the district;
- To use the above to inform the project activities;
- To document all events that take place during the project;
- To monitor project activities;
- To evaluate the project.

The situational analysis of the case study schools was conducted and the needs identified informed the implementation activities. Ongoing monitoring and evaluation was carried out internally by the service providers in collaboration with the local role players, and externally by the International and National Quality Evaluation Teams.

2.6.2 Capacity building

During the implementation phase, many opportunities arose for capacity building at different levels of the Department of Education. The main goal of the capacity building components was to develop the capacity of the national, provincial, regional and district providers to plan, implement, manage and monitor strategies towards the development of an inclusive education system in their provinces. Although this was the main goal, the service providers extended their brief to expand capacity development and awareness raising in the community and within schools. The objective was to improve the accessibility of schools to all learners.

As part of capacity building, the Department of Education officials at national, provincial, district and school levels were awarded financial support to pursue studies in the areas of inclusive education and administrative support. The national Department of Education initiated and facilitated a series of inclusive education workshops and conferences provincially, nationally and in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). On a monthly basis, the designated national department official visited provinces to monitor and support the implementation process. The National Steering Committee provided the overall strategic direction to the project by reviewing the project's implementation plan and re-aligning the project with the policy throughout the project process. At provincial level, each Project Management Team developed operational plans for capacity building, taking into consideration the different needs of each province. These plans included training and purchasing of support materials. The district officials were engaged in many forms of capacity building and these included, amongst others, study tours to other provinces to observe inclusive cultures and best practices, the exchange of experiences with other districts and attend conferences.

In order to create an environment more conducive to the implementation of inclusive education at school level, a series of training workshops was facilitated

to improve the management skills of school management and school governing bodies. The primary purpose of the workshops was to identify strengths and to deal with barriers that relate to the successful implementation of an inclusive education and training system. The schools established Teacher Support Teams (TSTs), having agreed on their own criteria for the selection of members of these teams. The criteria varied and included representation across the various school phases, including educators with an interest and expertise in addressing barriers to learning. It was envisaged that the role of the TST would be to facilitate the school based training and expand the foundation for school-based support. In addition it was hoped that the TST would engage the staff in collective problem solving to identify and address barriers to learning and development.

2.6.3 Educator Development

Since educator development was seen to be the most crucial part of the project, the main emphasis was placed on the development of a wide range of training and resource programmes and systems. The project document (DANIDA, 1999: 15) recommended that:

- The project should focus on in-service training as on-going professional development.
- A training package should be developed and tested in the pilot districts consisting of 10 hour training over three years (a total of 30 hours) to be ready for inclusion in the in-service and possible pre-service educator training programme.

Initially all provinces tried to follow the guidelines of the project document in developing modules, but later individual provinces and schools responded to the needs expressed in situational analyses reports (Department of Education, 2004b). Although training modules were context based, they strove to achieve common goals such addressing issues that relate to barriers to learning and development. In addition to the aforementioned training, two educators from each school were selected for intensive and ongoing training in strategies and skills to develop an

inclusive education system. Twenty nine educators received bursaries from the DANIDA funds to study in the area of inclusive education. Of the total number of teachers who received bursaries, 34,4% registered for post graduate degree, 17,2% registered for undergraduate degrees, and 48,2% registered for short courses.

2.6.4 Initiatives in the pilot project

After the release of Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a), all pilot projects in the three provinces strove to support the implementation of the policy by engaging in the following activities:

- Assisting special schools to become resource centres;
- Improving access to schools;
- Community awareness and intersectoral collaboration;
- Mobilisation of out-of-school youth.

With regard to assisting the special school to become a resource centre, the district conducted a resource and skills audit in the selected pilot special school. Negotiations with the school community took place. Among the issues discussed in the negotiations was the new role the special school was going to assume and the implications for the staff, management, governance, and administration, as well as for space, telephone and other resources. The second phase involved the strategic planning for capacity building, procurement of resources, the establishment of management structures and the strengthening of security. The capacity building, procurement and security processes were informed by the findings of the audit conducted through the action research process.

The improvement of access to mainstream schools was done through consultative meetings with the school community, and situational analysis findings. The Department of Education, in partnership with DANIDA, provided funds for the following activities: Building constructions, fencing of schools, building of ramps and pathways, repairs and conversion of toilets. The research component of the

DANIDA project included audits of out-of-school youth resulting in the development of a district database. A task team was established to plan for the placement of the youth.

2.6.5 Southern African Development Community

Inclusive education was seen as part of a global development and therefore a commitment to partnership and network links was high on the agenda of the project. The main objective for South Africa was to share ideas, first locally within schools, and then within the SADC region. This was to be achieved through replicating, planning and implementing collaborative initiatives by sharing information, materials and experiences of good practice (DANIDA, 1999). The SADC established a Technical Committee on Education and Training for People with Disabilities and Special Needs. One of the roles and responsibilities of this committee was to drive and manage the implementation of the strategic plan. Since the commencement of the project, four SADC Technical Committee meetings were held (Department of Education, 2004b). Two conferences were held in South Africa where the three pilot projects shared the successes and challenges of the implementation process. The Technical Committee was later disbanded. Although this component could not achieve the planned outcomes, some progress towards SADC collaboration was made (Department of Education, 2004b).

2.6 EASTERN CAPE DANIDA PROJECT OUTCOMES

The DANIDA Completion Report (Department of Education, 2004b) indicates that at the end of the DANIDA project in the Eastern Cape there were positive gains as well as challenges. These outcomes were judged against the expected outcomes stipulated in the project components outlined earlier, namely action research, educator development, capacity building, SADC collaboration, and pilot project components.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the expected outcomes of the educator development component of the DANIDA project included that: All teachers in the pilot schools and 10% of teachers in the district would be trained for inclusive education that teachers would be exposed to international inclusive practices; and that context-based training materials would be developed. The Completion Report (Department of Education, 2004b) shows that 520 teachers in the Eastern Cape were exposed to Education White Paper 6. Out of the total number, 212 teachers were exposed to three in-service training modules that were developed in the project. 120 of these teachers received accredited competence certificates from the Rhodes University and University of Fort Hare and 90 teachers received certificates of attendance. The remaining 208 teachers attended three day orientation sessions that were conducted by the service provider. Some teachers were awarded bursaries to pursue further studies in the area of inclusive education. With regard to materials development, three modules were developed by the teachers, district officials and the service provider in the Eastern Cape. These materials were evaluated by the material assessors. Six key educators and three district officials participated in the local study tour.

The capacity building component was aimed at developing the capacity in the Departments of Education at national, provincial and district level to plan, to develop, implement, manage and monitor inclusive education (Department of Education, 2004b). This was extended to advocacy for inclusive education and the training of School Management Teams, School Governing Bodies, Institutional Level Support Teams, and District-Based Support Teams. The DANIDA Completion Report (Department of Education, 2004b) shows that advocacy workshops were conducted by the service provider and the aforementioned groups participated. This report also shows that two Eastern Cape provincial officials and three district officials were awarded bursaries to register for inclusive education courses.

The action research component was responsible for conducting the situational analysis; informing project activities; and monitoring project activities; carrying

out an audit of out of school youth and evaluating the project. According to the DANIDA Completion Report (Department of Education, 2004b), the action research component achieved its goals space. Figure 2.3 presents a summary of the outcomes in each component.

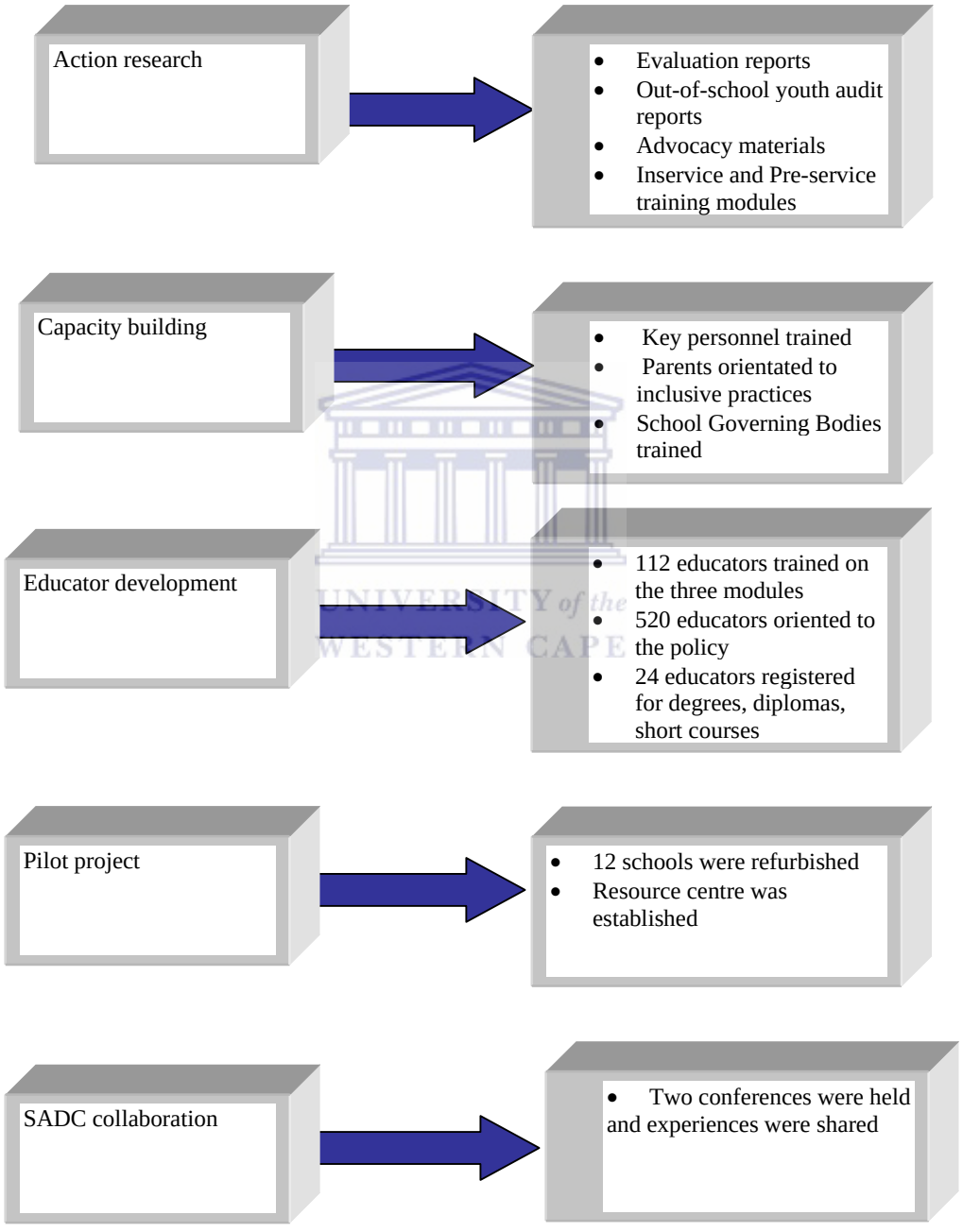

Figure 2.3: A summary of the DANIDA project outcomes in the Eastern Cape (Department of Education, 2004b)

It is worth noting that DANIDA like other development agencies had a great influence on the implementation of inclusive education in the Eastern Cape. Firstly, although schools were given the opportunity to identify problems and solutions in their schools, DANIDA had its own operational plan which could have influenced the way implementation activities were organised by the schools. Secondly, DANIDA funds were centralised and the disbursement of those funds was based on DANIDA's budget line items. This implied that what got funded in the project was based on what was considered important by DANIDA and not the schools.

2.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the implementation of the South African inclusive education policy through the DANIDA pilot project in the Eastern Cape context. The project commenced before the formal release of the policy and its overall aim was to support the implementation of inclusive education. The context within which inclusive education was implemented in the Eastern Cape was characterised by extreme poverty, rationalisation in the provincial Department of Education, poor service delivery, poor infrastructure, and lack of resources. The DANIDA project used a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches during implementation, the former being characterised by policy directives and monitoring by the national Department of Education, and the latter through the activities directed by the discretion of the implementing actors. The Completion Report (Department of Education, 2004b) reveals that there were positive gains as well as challenges in the DANIDA project. It is reasonable to conclude that although inclusive education was implemented under difficult conditions in the Eastern Cape, that there were successes. The successes and failures of the implementation process and contributing factors are discussed in chapters Seven and Eight.

CHAPTER 3
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in Chapter One, the central aim of this study is to advance a conceptual and practical understanding of factors perceived to have facilitated or constrained the implementation of the inclusive education policy in one province in South Africa. In focusing on these factors, my intention is not to make a comparative assessment of the extent to which certain schools have complied with policy imperatives. However, it would be naïve to pretend that analysis of this kind can be done without references of this nature.

This study takes as its point of departure the assumption that policy implementation is a complex process that cannot be fully understood without an analysis of the complexities, tensions, conflicts, perceptions and dilemmas related to those engaged in the implementation. A review of the different implementation perspectives, together with a review of policy implementation studies, forms the critical basis for understanding these complexities. This chapter thus serves to review the different theoretical perspectives that inform the investigation in the study. It reviews literature relating to factors that impact on policy implementation and insights derived from policy implementation studies. Policy implementation is explored from two different theoretical perspectives that are described later in the chapter.

Before I discuss these perspectives, it is pertinent to expose the beliefs and values that I bring to the study. What emerged for me in my role as coordinator and manager of the DANIDA project between 2000 and 2003 is that clear designation of administrative responsibilities and well-defined objectives of the policy do not necessarily yield the desired outcomes. There were variations in the way different participants received, understood and implemented inclusive education during the project. Also, the strategic and operational plans prescribed by the National

Steering Committee and national Department of Education were not always followed as planned. This led me to conclude that successful implementation is not influenced solely by the guidelines and control of the authorities, but also by other factors and certain conditions that impact in significant ways. It appears to me that implementation is a product of the interaction between factors that emanate from the top (macro-level) *and* from the bottom (micro-level). The theoretical framework used in this study comprises a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches. This was viewed as a useful framework for the investigation due to its congruence with the purpose of the study.

3.2 POLICY-MAKING: RATIONALIST AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORKS

The policy making process can be conceptualised in terms of two broad perspectives, namely, rationalist and political frameworks (Fataar, 1999).

3.2.1 Rationalist approach

The development of the rationalist framework can be traced back to the 1940s. It is firmly grounded in functionalism and the sociology of regulation. This framework assumes that policy making is a rational process involving decision making which can operate linearly through different stages (De Clercq, 1997; Fataar, 1999; Kruss, 1997). Policies are viewed as "blue prints which exist prior to action, and are implemented on the external world through a controlled process which is assumed to be a consensual one" (Kruss, 1997: 2). This implies that decisions will flow from decision makers at the top to grassroots implementers at the bottom. The essence of the rationalist framework is captured by Colebatch (2002: 23) who views the rationalist approach as a vertical dimension of policy. He explains:

> The vertical dimension sees policy as rule: it is concerned with the transmission downwards of authorised decisions: The authorised decision-makers (e.g. the government of the day) select courses of action which will maximise the values they hold, and transmit these to subordinate officials to implement … This is a dimension which stresses instrumental action, rational choice

> and the force of legitimate authority. It is concerned about the ability of subordinate officials to give effect to these decisions (the implementation problem) and with ways of structuring the process of government so as to achieve this compliance.

The rationalist approach perceives policy-making as a process that occurs in a cycle. Scholars use various terms to label the policy cycle. May and Wildavsky (1978), and Badat (1991) termed it "policy cycle", Sabatier (1991; 2005) has termed it "stages heuristic", while Nakamura (1987) termed it the "textbook method". These theorists depict policy making as a process that is divided into a series of sequential steps. The first stage is agenda-setting, which involves stipulating policy priorities. The second stage is policy formulation. The third and fourth stages involve policy adoption and policy implementation. In stage five, policy is evaluated to determine the success of policy implementation. This linear depiction of the policy-making process suggests that the stages occur separately.

According to Sabatier (2005), dividing the complex policy process into discrete stages serves a useful purpose. It enables researchers to conduct in-depth studies on specific stages. The most highly researched stages to date are agenda-setting (Kingdon, 1984; Nelson, 1984) and policy implementation (Hjern & Hull, 1982; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983; McLaughlin, 1987; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973). While the delineation of these stages is regarded as useful, heavy criticism has been levelled at the idea of dividing a policy cycle into stages. Some of the criticisms are clearly outlined in Sabatier (2005: 18):

- Separation of stages is not really a causal theory since it never identifies a set of causal drivers that govern the process within and across stages. Instead work within each stage has tended to develop on its own, almost totally oblivious to research and other stages.

- The proposed sequence of stages is often descriptively inaccurate. For example evaluations of existing programmes affect agenda setting and policy formulation/legitimation as bureaucrats attempt to implement vague legislation.

- The stages heuristic has a very legalistic, top-down bias in which the focus is typically on the passage and implementation of a major piece of legislation. This neglects the interaction of the implementation and evaluation of numerous pieces of legislation.

- The assumption of a single cycle focused around a major piece of legislation oversimplifies the usual process of multiple, interacting cycles involving numerous policy proposals at multiple levels of government.

  Some of the critics argue that the policy process cannot be put into a linear sequence, and that the rationalist approach is likely to distort people's understanding of what actually happens in the policy process (Bowe & Ball, 1992; Christie, 2008; Fataar, 1999; 2006; Gornitzka, Kyvik, & Stensaker, 2005; Mclaughlin, 1998; Sabatier, 2005)

3.2.2 Political approach

The political framework by contrast, seeks to understand the policy process from a different perspective. The political perspective acknowledges the contested nature of policy and the need to understand the political nature of the policy process (Barret & Fudge, 1981). It is critical of the notion that "implementation is a matter of automatically following a fixed policy text and putting legislation into practice" (Bowe & Ball, 1992: 12). Ball (1987; 1993; 1994; 1997) contends that policy meanings are shaped by conditions on the ground as well as by the willingness and commitment of the grassroots implementers to implement policy. In other words, this framework recognises the interaction between policy texts and implementation in practice. Fataar (1999) describes this position as an attempt to expose the political and ideological dimensions embedded in policy.

These two frameworks form the basis of what has developed into two approaches to implementation analysis, namely, top-down and bottom-up, both of which are further explained in the section that follows.

3.3 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: TOP-DOWN AND BOTTOM-UP APPROACHES

A review of literature on policy implementation reveals that two schools of thought have evolved. Different scholars term them differently. Some talk about "forward and backward mapping" models (Elmore, 1980), while others term them "top-down" and "bottom-up" models (Fataar, 1999). The top-down and bottom-up schools of thought are seen as providing the most effective methods for studying and describing implementation (Dyer, 1999; Elmore, 1980; Gornitzka, Kyvik, & Stensaker, 2005; Lane, 1993; Maharaj, 2005; Matland, 1995; Sabatier, 2005; Sehoole, 2002; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Top-down theorists see policy makers as the central actors and concentrate on factors that can be controlled at a central level. Bottom-up theorists emphasise a focus on participants and service providers, arguing that policy is made at the local level (Gornitzka, et. al., 2005; Matland, 1995).

3.3.1 Top-down model

The essential features of a top-down approach were developed by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973). This model assumes that policy implementation is a linear process that is characterised by a hierarchically ordered set of events, which can be centrally controlled (Cerych & Sabatier, 1986; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1981; 1983; 1989; Pressman & Widavsky, 1973; Sabatier, 1986; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). In this model, policy process is divided into sequential steps, each of which is treated as functionally distinct (Badat, 1991; Christie, 2008; Fataar, 1999; Maharaj, 2005; Sehoole, 2002; Sabatier, 2005). Policy implementation viewed through the lens of this perspective is regarded as the "rational administrative activity of a political neutral bureaucracy whose actions are directed at the achievement of the policy objectives or directives of the politicians" (De Clercq, 1997: 146). This view separates implementation from formulation, suggesting a separation between theory and practice (Badat, 1991; Fataar, 1999; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1981; 1983; 1989; Sabatier, 1986). Supporters of this linear view describe implementation as the execution of policy

objectives. One example of this interpretation can be found in Hayes' (2001) description of policy implementation. Hayes describes implementation as a composition of organised activities by government directed towards the achievement of goals and objectives stipulated in the policy. Similar descriptions can be found in Sabatier and Mazmanian. These theorists define implementation as "the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually made in statute" (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980: 153). With regard to methods of policy analysis, this framework provides a hierarchical model of policy analysis as well as the analytical tools for actors to use to regulate, measure, and control the policy processes.

The policy implementation that is planned in line with this model follows sequential steps such as:

- Establishing implementation structures;
- Designing a programme that incorporates task sequences and clear statements of objectives;
- Developing performance standards;
- Building in monitoring and control devices to ensure that the programme proceeds as intended.

Implementation analysis that is located in this model tends to focus on factors that appear to centralise control and that are easily manipulated by policy makers. These factors include funding formulae, organisational structures, authority relationships among administrative units and administrative control (Elmore, 1980). An earlier study by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) provides an example of top-down thinking. In their model of how to analyse the implementation process, variables such as policy standards and objectives and policy resources are regarded as critical. Pressman and Wildavksy (1973) were the first implementation analysts to indicate that the outcomes of even the best supported policy initiatives depend eventually on what happens when the individual

implementers throughout the policy system interpret the policy (McLaughlin, 1987).

There are several criticisms that are directed at top-down models. Firstly, top-down models take policy decisions as their starting point in the analysis and thus fail to consider the significance of actions taken during other stages of the implementation process (Matland, 1995). Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) contend that this linear conception of policy in which theory and practice are separated, distorts the policy process. They argue further that this top down model is not the best start for research into the practical effects of policy, as the policy process is not simply a matter of implementers following a fixed text and putting the policy into practice. Rather, policy is contested. A similar argument was made by Elmore (1980: 603) when he contends that "the notion that policy makers exercise – ought to exercise –some kind of direct and determinant control over policy implementation might be called a noble lie of conventional public administration and policy analysis." Lowry (1992: 50) argues that "Policies are not simply created by national officials and then routinely implemented by state and local governments as if they were unquestioning automatons in some Weberian machine."

Proponents of the top-down approach have been accused of seeing implementation as a purely administrative process, either ignoring political aspects or trying to eliminate them (Matland, 1995; Saetren, 1986). These authors argue that the call for clear, explicit and consistent goals distorts the reality of how legislation is passed. Finally, the top down model has been criticised for its emphasis on policy makers as key actors. It is argued that this approach has a tendency to neglect local implementing officials' initiatives and to underestimate the strategies used by implementing actors to divert central policy for their own purposes.

3.3.2 Bottom-up model

In contrast to the top-down approach, those emphasizing a bottom-up approach such as Berman(1980), Hjern and Porter (1981), Hjern (1982), Hjern and Hull (1982) , Hull and Hjern (1987), Elmore (1980), and Lipsky (1978), suggest a model that starts from the bottom of implementation. The bottom-up approach of Hanf, Hjern and Porter (1978) starts by mapping the network of actors in the actual field where implementation is to take place and asks them about their goals, strategies, activities, and contact persons. This, according to Sabatier (2005), provides a vehicle for moving from the actors at the bottom to policy makers at the top.

One of the key proponents of this approach is Elmore (1980). He argues for "backward mapping" approach as an alternative to "forward mapping". Elmore challenges the assumptions of the top-down approach on the grounds that they are an inappropriate way of describing real life policy implementation. Further illustrations of such an approach are found in the work of bottom-up scholars, such as Berman (1978; 1980); Hjern and Porter (1981); Hjern (1982); Hjern and Hull (1982); Hull and Hjern (1987); and Lipsky (1978). Their point of departure is dismissive of illusions of central control. They argue that a more realistic understanding of implementation can be gained by looking at the policy from the view of the target implementers and the service providers. These theorists argue that successful implementation depends more on the skills of local implementers than upon efforts of central government officials. Matland (1995: 148) notes: "At the macro-implementation level, centrally located actors devise a government programme, at the micro-implementation level, local organisations react to the macro-level plans, develop their own programs and implement them."

While a bottom-up approach is regarded as a useful starting point for identifying actors involved in a policy arena, Sabatier (2005: 24) argues that "it needs to be related via an explicit theory to social, economic and legal factors which structure the perceptions, resources and participation of those actors." Criticism has been levelled at the bottom-up approach for underestimating the role of the policy

objectives (Gornitzka, 2005; Matland, 1995; Sabatier, 2005). It is argued that in a democratic system, policy control should be exercised by central actors whose mandates come from their accountability to their voters (Matland, 1995).

The bottom-up approach views policy implementation as an integral part of the policy making process and regards policy formulation and implementation as iterative processes (Barrett & Fudge, 1981; Bowe & Ball, 1992; Dyer, 1999; Elmore, 1980; Fataar, 2006; Fullan, 1982; Lowry, 1992; McLaughlin, 1998). Policy implementation is thus defined as all the activities and interactions that are directly related to the achievement of the envisaged policy intentions.

3.3.3 Synthesis of bottom-up and top-down approaches

In an effort to reconcile the two major schools of thought on policy implementation, different groups of researchers such as Matland (1995), Goggin, Bowman, Lester and O'Toole (1990), Sabatier (1986; 1988; 1991; 1998; 2005) and Elmore (1982; 1985), have proposed different ways of combining the two approaches. Elmore's concept of "forward" and "backward mapping" was an early attempt to combine top-down and bottom-up perspectives. Elmore argues that policy makers need to consider both the policy instruments and other sources at their disposal (forward mapping), as well as the incentive structure of target groups (backward mapping) because success in implementation depends on combining the two (Matland, 1995; Sabatier, 2005). The second attempt at synthesis was made by Goggin et al. (1990). They developed a communication model of intergovernmental implementation in the United States of America. They view states as the critical actors. They claim that messages are received from the top (government) and from the bottom (local actors).

In 1995, Matland sought a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches that would identify the conditions under which policy recommendations would be effective (Matland, 1995). Matland proposes that these approaches should be used when appropriate, and not simultaneously. He argues that they are applicable in the following four different situations:

- In situations of low-policy conflict and low-policy ambiguity, "administrative implementation" is the appropriate strategy - in other words a rational decision- making process (top-down perspective) is more appropriate;
- In situations of high-policy conflict and low-policy ambiguity, where actors have clearly defined objectives (top-down perspective) but they cannot agree on appropriate objectives, a top-down approach is appropriate; Matland terms this "political implementation";
- In situations of high-policy ambiguity and low policy conflict, the emphasis should be on learning (bottom-up perspective); Matland terms this "experimental implementation";
- In situations of low- policy conflict and high- policy ambiguity, letting local actors find local solutions, "symbolic implementation" is the appropriate strategy; this suggests a bottom up perspective.

This comprehensive implementation model is captured in Figure 3.1

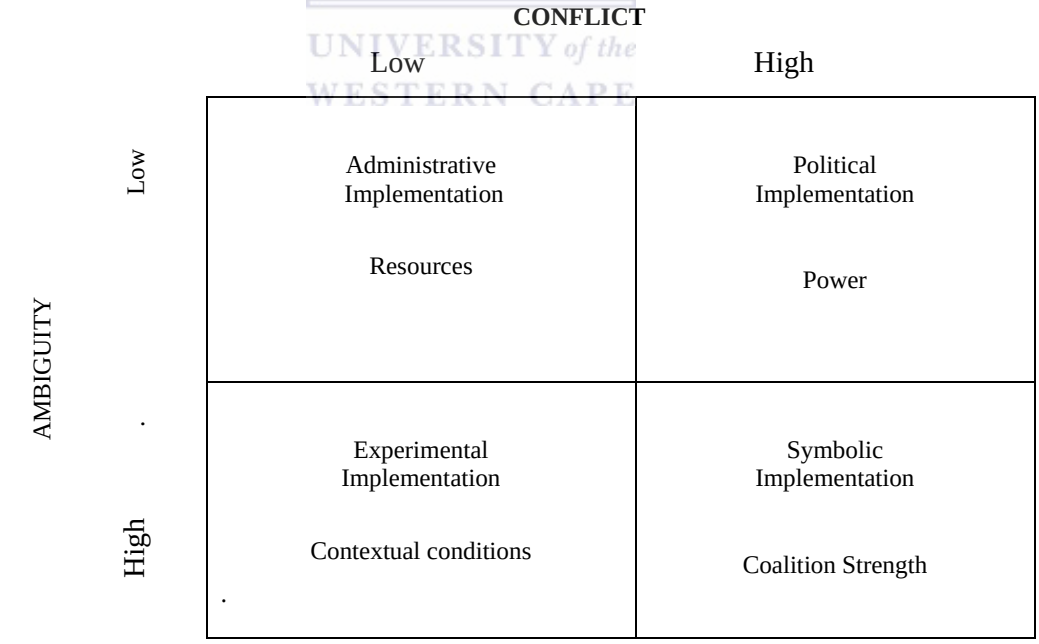

Figure 3.1 Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix: Policy Implementation processes (Matland, 1995: 160).

A fifth model was proposed by Colebatch (2002). This model also combines top-down and bottom-up approaches. Colebatch suggests that a policy process should be perceived as a product of two intersecting dimensions: vertical (top-down) and horizontal (bottom-up) sets of activities (Christie, 2008). The vertical dimension in this model covers authorised decision-makers and their decisions. The horizontal dimension covers the activities of many actors in the policy process, both inside government and in non-governmental organisations. This dimension emphasises the importance of negotiations and consensus. Colebatch's model, unlike Matland's Ambiguity-Conflict Model, involves both approaches simultaneously. This model is captured in Figure 3.2.

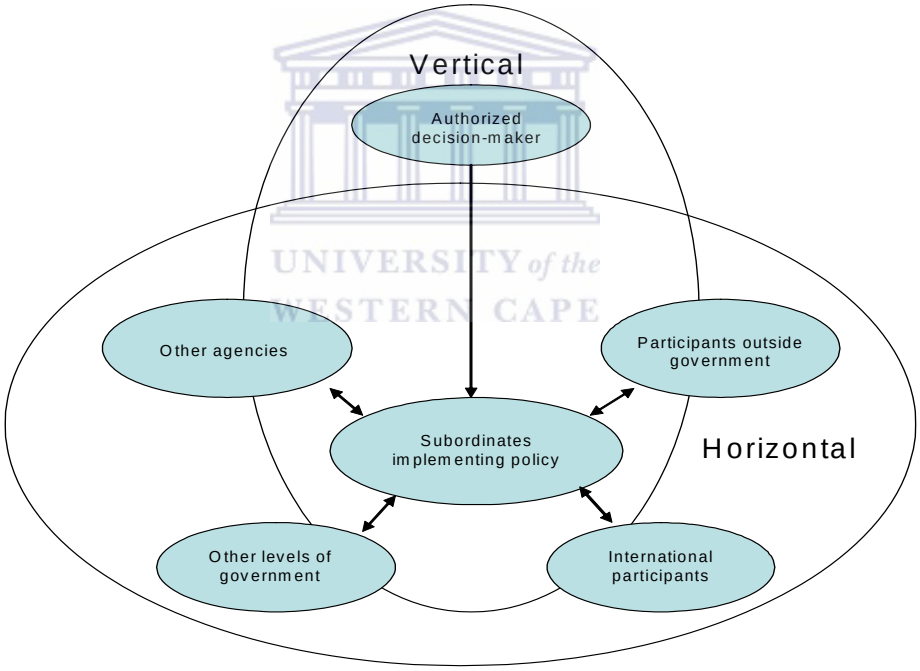

Figure 3.2: The vertical and horizontal dimensions of policy (Colebatch, 2002: 24)

A sixth approach, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier, 1998), was developed as an attempt to combine the best features of top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation (Sabatier, 1998; 2005). This framework draws from both top-down and bottom-up models. It starts from the premise that the most useful unit of analysis for understanding policy change is a policy subsystem - those actors from a variety of public and private organisations who are involved with the policy (Sabatier, 2005).

This framework assumes that these subsystems can be grouped into a number of coalitions, which consists of interest groups, politicians, agency officials and intellectuals who share common beliefs. It argues that "actors perceive the world through a set of beliefs that filters information consistent with pre-existing beliefs" (Sabatier, 2005: 28). In an attempt to implement policy, these coalitions might use conflicting strategies which could create tensions. These tensions are then mediated by "policy brokers" to find compromise. The end product of this process would be policy outputs.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) also assumes that there are stable and dynamic variables which affect the constraints and resources of subsystem actors. The stable variables include basic distribution of natural resources, the basic socio-cultural values and social structure (Sabatier, 2005). There are also dynamic factors, including changes in socio-economic conditions and systems which provide principal sources (funding and resources) for change. This is typical of a top-down model. Figure 3.3 presents an overview of an Advocacy Coalition Framework.

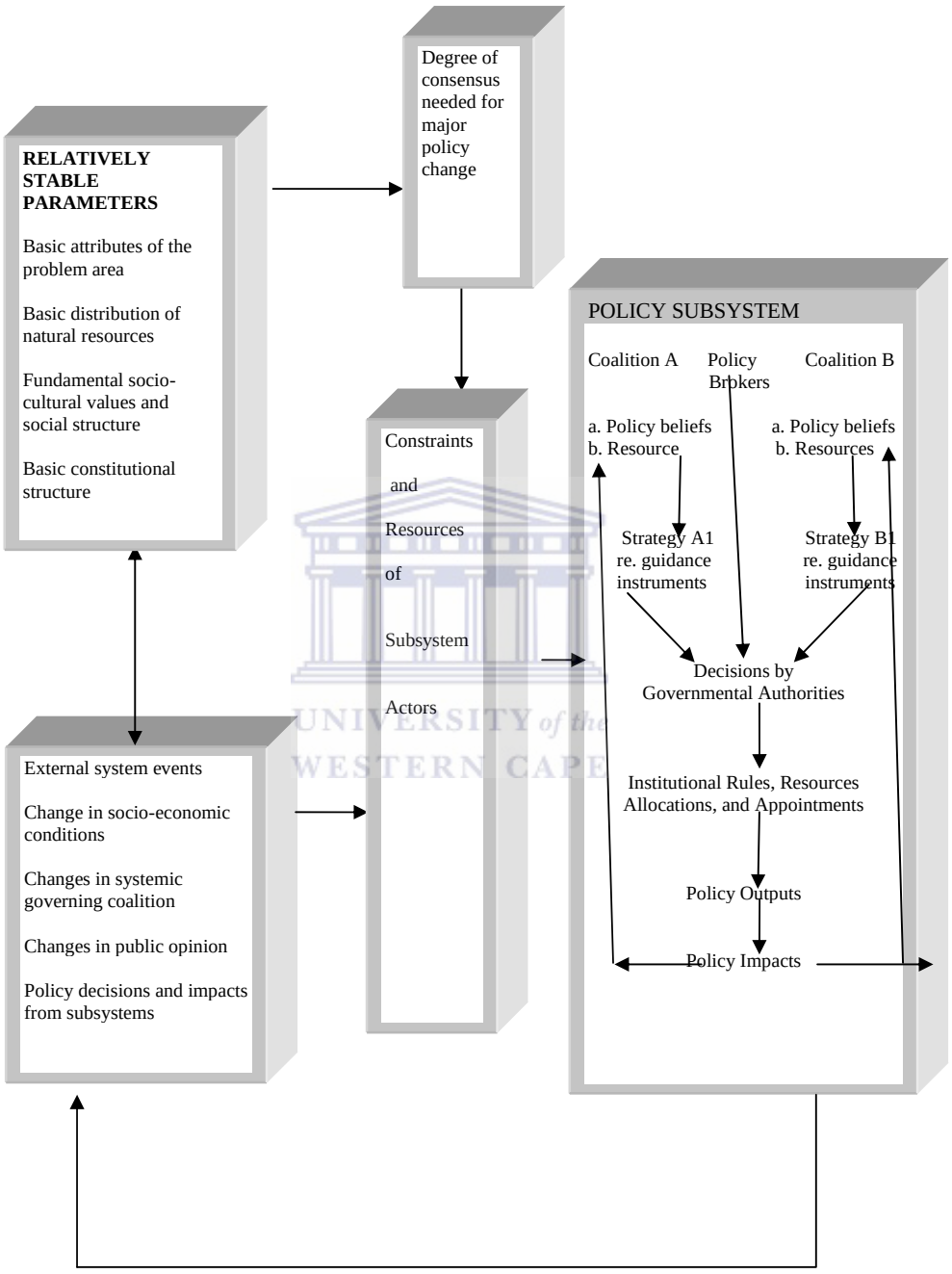

Figure 3.3: Advocacy Coalition Framework - Sabatier (2005: 27)

3.4 WHAT IS SUCCESSFUL AND FAILED IMPLEMENTATION?

Policy, by its nature, is not value neutral but it is "a matter of authoritative allocation of values" (Ball, 1990: 2). Ball argues that policies cannot be divorced from interests, from conflict and from domination or justice. "Policies are contested, negotiated and fought over by different interest groups or policy communities." Therefore, how one judges the implementation outcomes is subjective and depends on whose values are validated in policy. Implementation failure, like implementation success, is therefore a highly contested concept. Its description depends on the intentions, expectations and values of those involved in policy implementation.

The majority of donor-funded programmes are evaluated in order to determine the success or failure of the programme. In most cases failure or success is measured against the agreed upon indicators for success or the target objectives. This approach to determining success is mainly used by those who perceive policy implementation as a simple and linear process that entails compliance with stipulated goals. Researchers like Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) who adopt a top-down approach, desire to measure success in relation to the expected outcomes tied to stipulated policy goals. One such example can be found in Ingram and Schneider's (1990**)** definition of successful implementation. These authors define successful implementation in terms of compliance with statutory guidelines, indicators of success and achievement of policy goals.

By contrast, if one sees implementation as a complex process, then one is likely to consider outcomes resulting from a negotiated process as well as unintended positive gain. Researchers who prefer this bottom-up approach start by looking at how local actors solve societal problems in different areas, and examine the role that the government plays in that (Gornitzka, 2005). The criteria for successful or failed implementation are then not focused on the degree of match or mismatch between formal intentions of the policy and actions of the implementers, or on the deviant behaviour of implementers. Instead, they measure the programme in terms

of the positive gains. These gains might be due to intended or unintended outcomes. Jansen (2001) argues that policy itself can affect implementation negatively. For example, policies that are launched during election campaigns and policies that are announced to appease donors are not always meant to be implemented.

Jansen (2001) uses a theory of policy symbolism as explanation for non-implementation of policies. He terms these policies "symbolic policies" and argues that they were never meant to be implemented in the first place. He argues that policy implementation failures in South Africa are due to over-investment of the state in the political symbolism of policy rather than its practical implementation. This includes lack of attention to policy implementation strategies and poorly managed policy decisions. Christie (2008: 152) shares the same view. She argues that the South African government "has favoured structural changes with high symbolic value." Sehoole (2005), in support of Jansen, argues that education policy development in South Africa has taken place in the context of the restructuring of apartheid education departments, and that the pressure of change and contestation over power is one of the main factors that impinge on the implementation of policy in South Africa.

3.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In an attempt to understand factors that impinge on the implementation of education policy, two dominant approaches that are used in explaining and analysing policy processes were explored, namely, top-down and bottom-up. In addition, different frameworks that seek to synthesise these approaches were examined. A top-down approach begins with the objectives and goals of the policy, and measures implementation success or failure in terms of the original objectives. This approach assumes that clear objectives and control by policy-makers will lead to a more effective implementation. The bottom-up approach, on the other hand, places value on the role of local implementers and on the organisation that is trying to solve the problem. This approach acknowledges that policy is not the only determinant affecting the implementation, but that local

conditions influence implementation. Theories that combine top-down and bottom-up approaches acknowledge the role of policy objectives, as well as the discretion of local implementers and the effects of local conditions. The conclusion that can be drawn is that policy implementation is a complex process and there are many factors that contribute or hinder effective implementation. These factors can be best captured by using a combination of these approaches. A simplified combination model has been constructed in order to organise the data collected in this study.

CHAPTER 4

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in the introductory chapter, the central focus for this study is on factors that impinged on the implementation of inclusive education policy in one South African district. In order to understand these factors, it became necessary to review some of the literature on the implementation of inclusion. This chapter is an attempt to present a theoretical outline of the fundamental elements in an inclusive education system internationally, and reviews literature pertinent to the implementation of inclusion. The chapter is divided into three sections. It progresses from a historical overview of inclusive education internationally, and the conceptualisation of inclusion in the first section and then focuses on the inclusive education practices internationally in the second section, and development and implementation of inclusive education in South Africa. The third section explores factors that impinge on the implementation of inclusion internationally and in South Africa.

4.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION INTERNATIONALLY

4.2.1 The development of inclusive education internationally

One of the greatest challenges facing individuals in most societies throughout the world is exclusion from participation in the economic, social, political and cultural life of communities (UNESCO, 2005). Inclusive education has evolved as a movement that seeks to challenge exclusionary policies and practices. It can be regarded as part of a wider struggle against the violation of human rights, and unfair discrimination. It seeks to ensure that social justice in education prevails.

It is generally agreed that inclusive education has its origins in the human rights pronounced in the United Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (UNESCO, 2005) which states that:

> Everyone has the right to education….Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary Education shall be compulsory. Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (Article 26-Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

Inclusion has been indirectly advocated since the United Nations Declaration (UN) in 1948 and has been cited at all phases in a number of key UN Declarations and Conventions (UNESCO, 2005: 13 -14). These include:

- The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which ensures the right to free and compulsory elementary education for all children.
- The 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which ensures the right to receive education without discrimination on any grounds.
- The 1990 World Declaration on Education for All (Jomtien Declaration), which set the goal of Education for All (EFA).
- The 1993 UN Standard Rule on Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities, which not only affirms the equal rights of all children, youth and adults with disabilities to education, but also states that education should be provided in "an integrated school settings" as well as in the "general school setting."
- The 1994 Salamanca Statement and Framework of Action on Special Needs Education, which requires schools to accommodate all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic or other conditions.
- The 2000 World Education Forum Framework for Action, Dakar, EFA and Millenium Development Goals, which stipulates that all children have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education by 2015.
- The 2001 EFA Flagship on the Right to Education for Persons with Disabilities: Towards Inclusion.

- The 2005 UN Disability Convention which promotes the rights of persons with disabilities and mainstreaming disability in development.

It is estimated that more than 300 participants, representing 92 governments and 25 international organisations, met in Salamanca in 1994 under the auspices of UNESCO and the Spanish Government to further the objectives of Education for All (Ainscow, Farrell & Tweedle, 2000; Dyson, 1999, Enabling Education Network [EENET], 2004; Peters, 2004; UNESCO, 2005). The Salamanca Statement on Principles, Policy and Practice in Special Needs Education was drawn together with the Draft Framework for Action (Peters, 2004; UNESCO, 1994, UNESCO, 2005). The statement proclaims five principles that reflect the rights in respect of education that are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) and the United Nations Standard Rules on Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (UN, 1993). These include the following:

- Every child has a fundamental right to education, and must be given the opportunity to achieve and maintain an acceptable level of learning;
- Every child has unique characteristics, interests, abilities and learning needs;
- Educational systems should be designed, and educational programmes implemented, to take into account the wide diversity of these characteristics and needs;
- Those with special educational needs must have access to regular schools, which should accommodate them within a child-centred pedagogy capable of meeting these needs.
- Regular schools adapting this inclusive orientation is the most effective means of combating the discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building inclusive society, and achieving education for all; moreover they provide an effective education to the majority of children, and improve efficiency and, ultimately, the cost-effectiveness of the entire educational programme (UNESCO, 1999).

Most countries in the world have adopted an inclusive education philosophy and are committed to its implementation. What remains questionable is whether these countries interpret and implement inclusive education the same way. The next section seeks to explore that question.

4.2.2 The conceptualisation of inclusive education

As stated in Chapter One, there is a growing realisation that inclusion means different things in different contexts (Dyson, 2001; Florian, 1998; Forlin, 2004; Green, 2001; Swart, Engelbrecht, Eloff & Pettipher, 2002; Mitchell, 2006; Swart & Pettipher, 2005). Dyson (1999: 37) attributes multiple definitions of inclusion to "different discourses through which different theoretical notions of inclusion are constructed." He refers to the rights, efficacy, political and pragmatic discourses. Dyson argues that the discourse of politics is concerned with the extent to which a particular school realizes and protects the rights of its students and monitors power distribution accordingly. This discourse is concerned with the eradication of injustice in schools. If one looks at Dyson's explanation of political discourse, one can understand why some definitions of inclusive education focus on equity and social justice in education. One such example is found in Engelbrecht (1999) who sees inclusive education as a proposed strategy for achieving a democratic and just society. A similar view is expressed by Swart and Pettipher (2001). They regard inclusion as the development of an inclusive society where all members participate optimally and contribute in a democracy. The discourse of efficacy is about the cost-effectiveness of educational services. In other words, more emphasis is on cost-effective ways of providing educational services. In India for instance, because of limited resources, special education is unaffordable, and hence inclusion is the only option (Mani, 2001). Pragmatics discourse on the other hand, is more interested in the effectiveness of the school. In other words it is concerned with what an inclusive school should look like in practice. Hence this provides an illustration of an approach whose focus is on the inclusive practices and cultures within a school community.

The following sub-section presents some of the different descriptions of inclusive education internationally. UNESCO (2005: 12) defines inclusion as "a dynamic approach of responding to pupil diversity and of seeing individual differences not as problems, but as opportunities for enriching learning." Consistent with this definition, UNESCO Section for Special Needs Education in EENET (2000: 1) defines inclusive education in this way:

> Inclusive education is concerned with removing all barriers to learning, and with the participation of all learners vulnerable to exclusion and marginalisation. It is a strategic approach designed to facilitate learning success for all children. It addresses common goals of decreasing and overcoming all exclusions from human rights to education, at least at the elementary level, and enhancing access, participation and learning success in quality basic education for all.

Some authors describe inclusion in a way that contrasts it with special education. The following description seeks to mark the difference between inclusion and special education. Lipsky and Gartner (1999: 15) contend that inclusive education is not a special education reform but the:

> convergence of the need to restructure the public education system, to meet the needs of a changing society, and the adaptation of the separate special education system, which has been shown to be unsuccessful for the greater number of students who are served by it.

Barton (1999: 58) explains that inclusive education is:

> Not integration and is not concerned with the assimilation or accommodation of discriminated groups or individuals within existing socio-economic conditions and relations. It is not about making people as "normal" as possible….It is ultimately about transformation of a society and its institutional arrangements such as education.

Some definitions focus on the inclusion of disabled learners in the mainstream schools. One such definition is reflected in Green's (2001: 4) explanation of inclusion. Green describes one understanding of inclusive education as "a term

used to describe educational policies and practices that uphold the rights of learners with disabilities to belong and to learn in mainstream education". Forlin (2004) claims that inclusion is much broader than simply inviting children with disabilities into mainstream classrooms, but rather that it is as a means of extending educational opportunities to a diverse range of potentially marginalised students worldwide who are still unable to attend school.

Other definitions of inclusion are operational. The NCSNET / NCESS report (Department of Education, 1997: 55) provides one such useful operational definition.

> The separate systems of education which presently exist ('special' and 'ordinary') need to be integrated to provide one system which is able to recognise and respond to the diverse needs of the learner population. Within this system, a range of options for education provision and support services should be provided. Learners should have the ability to move from one learning context to one another (e.g from early childhood education (ECD) to general education and training (GET), from formal to a non-formal programme). The system of education should be structured in such a way that, irrespective of the learning context, opportunities for facilitating integration and inclusion of the learner in all respects of life should be provided.

Although variations are to be found in the way different people describe inclusive education, there are also common elements that tend to feature strongly in the conceptualisation of inclusion. Some of these elements are cited by Green (2001: 4) and they include "a commitment to building a more just society, a commitment to building a more equitable education system". The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2005: 15) outlines four principles that are common to all definitions of inclusion: Inclusion as a process has to be seen as a never-ending search to find better ways of responding to diversity; inclusion is concerned with the identification and removal of barriers; inclusion is about presence, participation and achievement of all students, and inclusion involves a particular emphasis on those groups of learners who may be at risk of marginalisation, exclusion or underachievement.

In summary, it has been the intention in this section to demonstrate that inclusive education has its origins in the human rights discourse and it commits itself to the promotion of social justice and equity in education. However, it must be acknowledged that inclusive education is an elusive concept, differently interpreted by different people in different contexts.

4.3 INCLUSIVE EDUCATION PRACTICES INTERNATIONALLY

Inclusive education literature indicates that many countries across the globe have adopted inclusive education. Peters (2003: 1) notes that although different countries are committed to inclusive education, "no coherent approach is evident in literature". She further states that the implementation of inclusive education in many countries is often based on a range of motives embracing different goals. This section explores the inclusive practices in seven countries. These include the developing and developed countries - India, Malaysia, Namibia, Lesotho, Norway, Spain and Australia. The reason for selecting these countries was the desire to understand factors that impinge on inclusive education in other countries that are characterised by poverty and underdevelopment, as well as those countries that are economically well off.

This section focuses mainly on when inclusion was introduced in each country, how it is conceptualised and the implementation approaches used in these countries. In the next chapter, factors that have impinged on the implementation of inclusive education in these countries are discussed.

India was one of the signatories to the Salamanca statement and has committed itself to the development of inclusion. Singal (2005: 335) notes that while inclusive education is defined as providing equitable opportunities to all learners in India, such an assertion seems to operate only at the level of rhetoric. This comes to light in the two projects: Project Integrated Education for the Disabled (PIED), and the Multi-Site Action Research Project that were implemented in

India. These projects, according to Singal, were aimed at providing equal opportunities as well as equal educational experiences for disabled children. The way in which inclusion was implemented in these projects suggests that, in theory, inclusion is about provision of equal opportunities for all learners, but in practice, inclusion is an ideal opportunity for children with disabilities who have no access to education (Singal, 2005). Singal indicates that the evaluation of these projects showed remarkable results that relate to increased enrolment of disabled children, comparable achievement with their non-disabled peers, and improved school environments. It is worth noting that researchers such as Mani (2002) have suggested different models for implementing inclusive education in the Indian context. These range from the strengthening of special schools and inclusive education with technical support from Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) programmes. Singal observes that while one of the arguments for inclusive education is to reduce the costs of special education provision, more special schools are being developed in India.

Namibia, has, in line with other countries, committed itself to the provision of equal opportunities and equal access to all learners. According to Zimba, Mowes, and Naanda (2007), Namibia's educational reform is based on educational goals of access, quality, equity and democracy. This is to be achieved through the integration of learners with special needs and learners with disabilities. Zimba et.al. (2007: 40) note that although the Namibian National Policy on Disability commits itself to inclusion philosophy, it does not provide the "current Ministry of Education with clear legislative power and mandate on how inclusive education should be conceptualised, contextualised and implemented." In other words, there is no specific policy and legislative framework on inclusive education in Namibia. In addition, although Namibia is one of the signatories to the Salamanca Statement, inclusive education rarely features on the agendas of meetings and conferences (Zimba et.al. 2007).

Lesotho's national movement towards inclusive education began as early as 1987

(Johnstone, 2007). The rationale for this movement was based on the cost-effectiveness of inclusive education and its cultural congruence with Lesotho's traditions. In addition, inclusive education in Lesotho is based on the rights of disabled people and it is about the integration of disabled learners into primary schools. The focus on rights, rather than charity, has been an important influence on the development of an inclusive education in Lesotho (EENET, 2000). The government through its Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) established Special Education Unit to implement inclusive education. According to Maqelepo (2008), this unit was mandated to implement and support integration / inclusion of learners with special educational needs (LSEN) in the mainstream education. LSEN in this country are classified under four main categories, namely, learners with physical disability, visual impairment, hearing impairment, and intellectual disability (Maqelepo, 2008). To support integration / inclusion Lesotho has appointed inspectors, assistant inspectors and itinerant teachers that are responsible for specific disability category. Lesotho, like other countries, started off with the integration of all learners, but experienced challenges at all levels of the education system (Johnstone, 2007). The biggest challenge for the education system of Lesotho has been widening access at all levels of education and providing opportunity for excellence (De Waal, 2008). More details about the factors that constrain integration / inclusion in Lesotho are discussed in Chapter Five.

The initiative by the Ministry of Education to implement inclusive education in **Malaysia** started through the Malaysians' involvement at an international level in workshops hosted by the United Nations (Ali and Jelas, 2006). These workshops, according to Ali and Jelas, paved the way for a change of emphasis from integration to inclusion. Inclusion was formally introduced in the mid 1990s as part of the reform initiative. Students in Malaysia are either partly or fully included depending on their level of ability to follow instructions in the mainstream classes (Ali and Jelas, 2006: 38).

During the 1990s, comprehensive changes took place within the **Norwegian** school system with respect to inclusive education (European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education Report, 2004: 55). This report indicates that these changes led to a re-organisation of "special pedagogical initiatives" for learners with special needs, which included the closure of special schools, and the integration of learners into in their local schools. The definition of integration in Norway asserts that the learner will belong to the group, the learner will share in the benefits that being part of the group provides, and the learner will have joint responsibility for tasks and obligations (European Agency for Development in the Special Needs Education Report, 2004: 56). Special pedagogical support services or "pedagogical-psychological advice services" have been established by the government. Changes to the 1998 education law (Education Act) have given all learners the right to receive tuition specially adapted to their needs. The European Agency for Development in Special Education Report on inclusive education and classroom practice in secondary education (2004) reveals that although there are assertions that Norway has shifted from integration to inclusion, the difference is to date minimal.

Spain started the process of integration between 1992 and 1993 due to the introduction of the educational system reform driven by the General Regulation Law for the Educational System of 1990 (European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education report, 2004). This law gave learners with special educational needs the right to receive education that responds to their personal needs and characteristics in the school closest to them. However, special schools still exist to serve as a bridge towards high levels of integration. It is estimated that about 4% of students with special educational needs receive tuition in this kind of centre. The European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education Report (2004: 72) reveals that in theory, there are many teachers in Spain who accept integration, but that the actual presence of students with difficulties in their classrooms is a challenge. It is evident that this causes attitudes to become less positive.

Australia is one of the countries that embrace the principles of inclusive education. Forlin (2005: 13) claims that mainstream schools in Australia are becoming "progressively more multifaceted as they include students with a wide range of diverse abilities". Forlin (2004b) indicates that there are variations in the way learners are supported in Australia. These range from segregated special schools to autonomous education support centres attached to mainstream schools to special classes within mainstream schools

South Africa is also one of the countries committed to the inclusion of all learners. The South African inclusive education theory and practice is described in detail in the following section.

4.4 INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Firstly, this section provides a brief insight into the context of inclusive education policy development in South Africa. Secondly, it explores how inclusive education is conceptualised in the policy focusing particularly on the philosophical shifts proposed by the policy. Thirdly, it presents a brief description of the key levers of the policy. Finally, this section describes provides implementation initiatives since the release of the Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) and offers critical analysis of the implementation processes.

4.4.1 Development of inclusive education policy in South Africa

Chapter one has provided a brief history of special needs education support services during the apartheid era. This chapter reflects on the gross inequities in the provision of support services for different racial groups within the Department of Education, which resulted in highly "specialised and costly provision of special needs education and support services for a limited number of learners" (Muthukrishna & Schoeman, 2000: 315). As indicated in Chapter One, special needs education was fragmented by legislation and policy that segregated learners

along racial lines and segregated them according to their abilities. Learners with disabilities and those labelled as "learners with special needs" were "relegated to the periphery of educational concern" (Muthukrishna & Schoeman, 2000: 317). These learners were excluded from mainstream school educational provision and where such existed, placed in special schools. However, not all racial groups enjoyed the so-called privilege of being supported in special settings with special curricula. The Department of Education did not provide adequate special schools for African learners and this led to many learners with disabilities being marginalised and excluded.

When the democratic government assumed power in 1994, its purpose was to establish a society based on democratic values such as human rights, social justice, liberty, and equality (Muthukrishna, 2002). These values provided the framework for the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 (Swart & Pettipher, 2005).

One of the key commitments in this Constitution is the provision of equal rights to all citizens. Section 9 (3) of the Constitution states that:

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

This commitment was to be translated into educational policies that embraced the principles articulated in the South African Constitution. These principles include education as a basic human right, quality education for all, equity and redress, the right of choice, curriculum entitlement, and the rights of parents (Muthukrishna & Schoeman, 2000). The key policy documents that reflect such commitment were described in page two of Chapter One.

The Ministry of Education appointed the National Commission on Special Educational Needs and Training and the National Committee on Education

Support Services (NCSNET / NCESS) in 1996 to investigate and make policy recommendations on all aspects of special needs and support services in South Africa. The investigation was to "cover all levels or bands of education: early childhood development (ECD), general education and training (GET), further education and training (FET), higher education and adult education" (Muthukrishna & Schoeman, 2000: 320). In addition, the investigation had to explore all aspects of education, including organisation and governance, funding, curriculum and institutional development, utilisation and the development of human resources.

The two commissions identified factors that were conceptualised as the key barriers to learning and development in the education system (Lomofsky & Lazarus, 2001). These were socio-economic barriers, discriminatory negative attitudes and stereotyping, an inflexible curriculum, the use of an inappropriate language of teaching and learning; inappropriate communication, an inaccessible and unsafe physical environment, inappropriate and inadequate provision of support services, lack of enabling and protective legislation and policy, lack of parental recognition and involvement, disability and lack of human resource development strategies (Department of Education, 2001a). The Commission made recommendations that were to inform the development of a policy on inclusive education. The policy in question is Education White Paper 6 on Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (Department of Education, 2001a).

4.4.2 South African inclusive education policy (Education White Paper 6)

Education White Paper 6 declares in its proposals, recommendations, and objectives the intention to transform the education system to one which effectively responds to and supports learners, parents and communities by advocating the removal of barriers to learning and participation that exist in the education system (Da Costa, 2003). This policy outlines the government's intervention strategy aimed at ensuring that children who experience various barriers to learning and development have access to quality education. It presents

a vision which recognises the rights of all South African children to an equitable education, reflecting their constitutional rights to human dignity and quality education. Inclusive education is described in the Education White Paper (Department of Education, 2001a) as one which:

- Acknowledges that all children and youth can learn and that all children and youth need support;
- Enables education structures, systems and learning methodologies to meet the needs of all learners;
- Acknowledges and respect differences in learners, whether due to age, gender, ethnicity, language, class, disability or HIV status;
- Acknowledges that learning occurs in the home, the community, and within formal and informal contexts;
- Requires changing attitudes, behaviour, teaching methods, curricula and environment to meet the needs of all learners; and
- Maximises the participation of all learners in the culture of educational institutions and the curriculum.

This policy has outlined six strategies or levers for establishing inclusive education and training system.

The first strategic lever is the implementation of a national advocacy and information programme in support of the inclusion model. The second lever is the conversion of special schools into resource centres. The inclusive education policy proposes converting these schools into resource centres as part of its integrated strategy. The staff members of these schools are to be gradually integrated into District-Based Support Teams to support Institutional Level Support Teams and neighbourhood schools. In addition, special schools are expected to provide advice to neighbourhood and share resources (Department of Education, 2001; 2005b).

The third aspect of the policy's strategy is the establishment of full service schools. The Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) argues

for the need to establish thirty "full service schools" in South Africa as part of its short term goals. The Conceptual and Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of Inclusive Education: Full Service Schools (Department of Education, 2005a) defines a "Full Service School" as a mainstream school which provides quality education for all learners and students by meeting the full range of learning needs in an equitable manner. It is envisaged that this school will work in collaboration with other schools and provide assistance and support. Full service schools are expected to share resources, skills, as well as models of good practice with the neighbouring schools.

The fourth strategic intervention is the establishment of District Based Support and Institutional Level Support Teams. The Department of Education holds the belief that barriers to learning and development can be reduced by strengthening the education support services. The policy proposes the establishment of District-Based Support Teams which comprise staff from provincial, district, regional and national offices and from special schools (Department of Education, 2001a). According to this policy the primary function of these teams is to build the capacity of Institutional Level Support Teams through training, evaluation of programmes and assessment (Department of Education, 2001; 2005b). These teams are to comprise special educators, psychologists, remedial/learning support educators, curriculum specialists, administration experts and so on. Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) also proposes the establishment of support teams at school level. These support teams are termed Institutional Level Support Teams. The primary function of these teams is to co-ordinate learner and teacher support. This involves the identification of learner, teacher and institutional needs and the development of strategies to address these needs. The process is facilitated through liaison with the District-Based Support Teams and Institutional Level Support Teams.

The fifth strategic initiative is the general orientation and introduction of management, governing bodies and professional staff to the inclusive education

model and the targeting of early identification of disabilities for intervention in the Foundation Phase.

The sixth approach in this strategy is the mobilisation of approximately 280 000 disabled children and youth of compulsory school-going age who are outside of the school system.

Inclusive education as a new reality in South Africa brings along major philosophical shifts for the entire education system. Firstly, inclusive education implies the demise of the pathological model utilised in identifying learners who experience barriers to learning which takes as its point of departure the assumption that a learning difficulty is the result of a pathological condition that learners have. The new policy adopts an ecosystem perspective which suggests a shift away from locating problems within the learners and locates them in all the systems that act as barriers to learning. These include the family, the school and aspects of community functioning (Hay, 2003). In addition, it suggests a shift from focusing on the category of disability to the level of support needed by the learners identified during assessment (Department of Education, 2005b). This shift is evident in the new South African Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support Strategy (Department of Education, 2005c), which provides guidelines on assessment of the level of support needed to maximise learner participation in the learning process. With regard to instruments that are used for the identification and assessment of learning difficulties, inclusive education policy suggests a shift from "standardised tests to predominantly teacher-produced diagnostic tests that measure the learners learning potential" (Naicker, 2000: 109).

Secondly, the "human rights foundations of inclusive education suggests that the parent of a learner experiencing barriers to learning should have a substantial say in the decision as to where their child is educated" (Hay, 2003: 135). Linked to this, is a shift from the Special Education Act, which encourages the segregation

of designated groups of learners to the South African Schools Act, which enables all learners to go to neighbourhood schools.

Thirdly, inclusive education suggests a shift away from structural arrangements that were meant to deliver a segregated system of education (Naicker, 2000). The conversion of special schools into resource centres and the establishment of District-Based Support Teams, as well as Institutional Level Support Teams is an example of such shift. Lastly, Naicker (2000) asserts that inclusive education calls for a shift from functionalism to radical structuralism. He claims that this shift "entails moving from racist, disabilist, sexist and classist assumptions to non-racist, non-disabilist, anti-class and non-sexist assumptions" (Naicker, 2000: 110).

4.4.3 Implementation of inclusive education policy in South Africa

The policy on inclusive education formally came into effect in 2001 and has been implemented through the international donor funded pilot projects – (SCOPE and DANIDA), as well as through field testing. The significance of these initiatives is that they aimed to implement inclusive education in mainstream schools at a time when the policy framework was still under discussion and not yet a declared policy (Da Costa, 2003). As indicated in Chapter One, these pilot projects were viewed by the Department of Education as necessary pilot initiatives that would inform the implementation of Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2004a). Through these projects, inclusive education was implemented in one district in KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, North West, Northern Cape and Mpumalanga Provinces from 2000 until 2003. At the termination of each project, the Evaluation Reports (Da Costa, 2003; Department of Education, 2002) indicated that pilot schools had made tremendous efforts to include learners who were excluded from school. However, there were realities and challenges that have acted as barriers to the desired outcomes. The Progress Report on Special Needs / Inclusive Education (Department of Education, 2004a: 17) outlines several lessons learnt from these initiatives. These insights include the following factors:

- Relevant and accessible materials played an important role in supporting the pilot projects to understand inclusive education;
- Training teachers and developing the capacity of School Governing Bodies, Institutional Level Support Teams, education officials and members of the District-Based Support Teams is essential;
- Learning theories that focus on experiential and mediated learning need to be included in a strategy for capacity building programmes;
- Action research is a very valuable strategy for helping teachers to improve or change the way they teach;
- Understanding the barriers that interfere with successful teaching and learning helps teachers to teach better and to prevent the exclusion of learners;
- The District-Based Support Teams have a crucial role to play in supporting schools to address barriers to learning in their contexts.

With regard to field testing, the Progress Report on Special Needs/Inclusive Education (Department of Education, 2004a) indicated that the Department of Education had assigned 500 schools to be converted to Full Service schools in 30 districts that were part of the national Schools District Development Programme. District-Based Support Teams were established in thirty districts. The Department of Education also contracted the Sisonke Consortium (Rehab, Inclusive Education Western Cape, the Catholic Institute for Education, Centre for Augmentative and Alternative Communication, Create, University of Witwatersrand, Down's Syndrome South Africa, South African National Council for the Blind, Guide Dogs South Africa, South African Institute for Distance Education, Thabsile Levin and Sign Language Education and Development) in 2006 and 2007, to provide training or orientation in the thirty primary schools that would be converted into full service schools, thirty special schools that would be converted into resource centres, the thirty District-Based Support Teams and in four reform schools. The training was based on the following two implementation documents of the Department of Education:

- The Draft National Strategy on Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support (SIAS), which provides guidelines on the assessment of the level and extent of support needed to maximise learners' participation in the learning process (Department of Education, 2005c).
- The Draft Guidelines on Inclusive Learning Programmes (ILP), which provides guidance to teachers, administrators and other personnel on how to deal with diversity in the classrooms and schools of our country (Department of Education, 2005d).

The training or orientation sessions served as an opportunity to field-test these documents. In addition, it was envisaged that these sessions would yield information that could be used as a guideline for the development of human resources to support the implementation of an inclusive education system. The government is currently implementing a national advocacy and information programme focusing on the roles, responsibilities and rights of all learning institutions, educators, parents and local communities (Department of Education, 2004a).

4.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As stated in the earlier chapters, this study focuses on factors that have facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education in the Eastern Cape context. This chapter gave a historical overview of the inclusive education movement internationally, and outlined its theoretical underpinnings. In trying to understand what inclusive education really means and how it should be implemented, different definitions were then examined. The inclusive education models and practices in different countries were explored. It is clear that inclusive education is not a clearly defined, unitary concept. It means different things to different people in different contexts and the common language of inclusion disguises multiple strands of thinking. In some countries inclusive education means the integration of disabled learners. The challenges of implementing inclusive education in these countries and factors that impinge on the implementation of inclusion are discussed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 5
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: IMPLEMENTATION OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION POLICY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

While the previous chapters discussed relevant literature and conceptual issues relating to inclusive education and policy implementation, this chapter concentrates on the development of a conceptual framework to guide the investigation and analysis of the findings of this study. The objective of this chapter is, firstly, to illuminate and clarify the conditions necessary for the effective implementation of policy, and secondly, to identify the conditions that constrain the implementation of inclusive education policy

This chapter is devoted primarily to a theoretical discussion of the elements of the conceptual framework and how these elements can be investigated. The chapter first reviews literature on factors that affect the implementation of policies. Second, it reviews literature on factors that affect the implementation of inclusive education internationally and nationally. Thirdly, it describes the theory that informs the development of the conceptual framework used to guide this study. Finally, it describes the elements of this framework which was eventually used to analyse the findings of this study.

5.2 FACTORS THAT AFFECT POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

As stated in Chapter Three, policy implementation in this study is conceptualised as one of the stages of the policy-making process, although it is acknowledged that the implementation stage cannot be divorced from other stages of the policy-making process, nor can other stages be divorced from implementation. This implies that implementation analysis requires understanding of all stages which

interact and influence each other. It should be recognised, however, that not all implementation problems can be identified during the stages that precede it. Many of the problems can only be discovered during the implementation stage, which is the primary interface between policy and practice. It should be noted that this study confines its scope to the implementation stage. The choice of this focus does not dispute the fact that some of the complexities that manifest during the implementation stage are as a result of events that occurred in other stages.

This study has adopted a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation in analysing reasons for success and failure in the implementation of inclusive education policy. These approaches informed the selection of literature to be reviewed, and the factors to be extracted. While it is acknowledged that the context in which policy implementation takes place is unique, factors that affect the implementation in different contexts were synthesized in this study. These factors emerged from different scholars adhering to different perspectives, working with different policies, in different countries. Those who utilize a top-down approach emphasise central control as a means to secure successful implementation while a bottom-up approach focuses more on the discretion of the actors in the implementation context. The central characteristic of both top-down and bottom-up studies is the assumption that if implementation processes can be controlled by relevant variables, implementation will be successful. For example, Sabatier (1986: 23) proposed five requirements necessary to maximise successful implementation. Sabatier argues that efforts must be made to ensure that:

- The programme of action is based on sound theory, which relates changes in target group behaviour to the achievement of desired and stated objectives;
- The statute or other basic decision is composed of unambiguous policy directives of the implementation process;
- The leaders of implementing bodies possess the necessary managerial and political skills, and are committed to statutory objectives;

- The programme being implemented is actively supported by organised constituency groups and by a few legislators or chief executives throughout the implementation process, with the courts being neutral or supportive;
- The relative priority of objectives of the programme is not significantly undermined over time by the emergence of conflicting policies or changes in relevant social conditions that undermine the technical theory or political support of the programme.

These factors are also cited in a study on policy implementation in higher education conducted by Cerych and Sabatier (1986). In analysing reasons for the success or failure of the higher education reforms, these two researchers (Cerych & Sabatier, in Gornitzka, 2005: 39 - 40) provided a list of factors affecting policy implementation:

- Legal (official) objectives: a) Clarity and consistency b) Degree of system change envisaged;
- Adequacy of the causal theory underlying the reform;
- Adequacy of financial resources provided to implementing institutions;
- The degree of commitment to various program objectives among those charged with its implementation within the education ministry and the affected institutions of higher education;
- Degree of commitment to various program objectives among legislative and executive officials and affected groups outside the implementing agencies;
- Changes in social and economic conditions affecting goal priorities or the program's causal assumptions.

Similar variables are cited by Sabatier (2005: 19):

- Clear and consistent objectives;
- Adequate causal theory;
- Implementation process legally structured to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups;

- Committed and skilful implementing officials;
- Support of interest groups and sovereigns over time;
- Changes in socio-economic conditions which do not substantially undermine political support or causal theory.

The variables suggested by Sabatier (1986), and Cerych and Sabatier (1986) can be categorised under five variables, namely, policy content, commitment, context of implementation, support of clients and coalitions, and capacity to implement policy. These variables are also cited by other proponents of top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation. Table 5.1 shows these critical variables and the scholars who proposed them.

Table 5.1 Critical variables for the success of policy implementation

Variable	Scholars who propose variable
Policy content	Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) Barret and Fudge (1981) Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) Sabatier (1986; 2005)
Context	Warwick (1982) Berman (1978) O'Toole (1986) Van Meter and Van Horn (1975)
Commitment	Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) Goggin et. al. (1990) Berman (1978) Van Meter and Van Horn (1975)
Support of clients and coalitions	Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) Berman (1978) Elmore (1980) Sabatier (1986; 2005) Barret and Fudge (1981)
Capacity	McLaughlin (1987, 1998) Mazmanian and Sabatier (1981) O'Toole (1986)

In addition to the above analysis, contributions from various social science disciplines on improving the effectiveness of implementation were explored. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) use four approaches to explain variables that affect implementation. These are: structural, managerial, behavioural and political approaches. The structural approach emphasises the need to establish organisational structures in the 'planning of change' and 'planning for change'

(Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). These structures are regarded as crucial for the success of implementation.

The managerial approach, on the other hand, views implementation as a managerial problem. This approach emphasises the development of appropriate processes and managerial procedures (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). These procedures and processes include clear statements of objectives, performance standards, funding and resources, and monitoring and control devices to ensure that the programme proceeds as intended. Lazarus (2001) has also pointed out the importance of legislative pressure, control and ownership, finances and sustainability, clear vision, principles and procedure, and intentional forward planning in the process of change.

The structural and managerial approaches resonate with the top-down approach to implementation. The behavioural approach starts from the recognition that there is often resistance to change, and argues that "human behaviour and attitudes must be influenced if policies are to be implemented" (Hogwood & Gunn 1984: 212). In support of this view, Lazarus (2001) regards successful experiences and readiness to change as some of the crucial variables in the change process. McLaughlin (1987; 1998) asserts that the implementers' 'will or motivation' is the most crucial variable for successful implementation. She argues that "local choices about how (or whether) to put a policy into practice have more significance for policy outcomes than do such policy features as technology, program design, funding levels, or government requirements". McLaughlin asserts that the 'will' or motivation to embrace policy objectives is a necessary condition for effective implementation.

The political approach takes into account the realities of power. Implementation success in this approach is linked to the "willingness and ability of some dominant group or coalitions of groups to impose its will" (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984: 216). To support this view, some researchers emphasise the importance of negotiations and the bargaining process during implementation (Ball, 1990; Barret

& Fudge, 1981; Bowe & Ball, 1992; Christie, 2008; Fataar, 2006; Lowry, 1992; Maharaj, 2005; McLaughlin, 1987; Sehoole, 2002). They argue that policy implementation is not about transmission but about bargaining and negotiation. Lazarus (2001) supports the importance of involving strategic people in the process of change. Both the behavioural and political approaches mirror the bottom-up approach to policy implementation.

In conclusion, it is important to note that there is convergence on the critical variables relating to policy implementation identified by the scholars referred to above. Factors that are found to facilitate or constrain policy implementation in the literature are summarised as follows:

- The content of the policy itself;
- The context through which the policy must be implemented;
- The commitment of implementers to the policy;
- The capacity of implementers to implement the policy;
- The attitudes of implementers towards the policy;
- The support of clients and coalitions whose interests are affected by the policy.

5.3 FACTORS THAT AFFECT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION POLICY

As the purpose of this study is to investigate factors that impinge on the implementation of inclusion, this section explores the outcomes of inclusive initiatives internationally and in South Africa, focusing in particular on the factors that impinge on its implementation.

As indicated earlier in this thesis, Norway has adopted an inclusive education system which gives all learners rights to education. Inclusion in this context is based on teaching that is adapted to individuals' needs in the context of a mainstream class. The European Agency for Development in Special Education Report (2004) indicates that although there are success stories, the challenge

Norwegian schools face is to create an inclusive school and avoid learning difficulties developing which could lead to stigmatisation. The report shows that some of the factors that contribute to the successful implementation of classroom practice with adapted and inclusive tuition for learners with special needs in Norway include: Teacher attitudes that support the concept of inclusion; common understanding among teachers and school managers on what inclusion means; adequate teachers' knowledge and skills; teacher co-operation regarding the preparation of individual education plans; motivation relating to academic learning; and adaptation of individual plans to pupils' abilities and aptitude for learning and educational needs (European Agency for Development in Special Education Report, 2004: 67).

Spain, like Norway, has experienced success in the implementation of integration. Positive factors contributing to this success include the existence of a unique educational system, and one unique curriculum with shared goals for all students (European Agency for Development in Special Education Report, 2004). However, it seems that Spain is still experiencing difficulties and challenges with the implementation of inclusive education, especially in the secondary education phase. One of the challenges cited in the report is the challenge of responding to diversity in the mainstream class whilst the concept of inclusion is closely related to the medical model. The concept of 'diversity' in Spain is still limited to learners with impairments, and more emphasis is still on segregated instructional processes. This seems to suggest that teachers are confronted by the challenge of implementing special education and regular education in the same classroom. The European Agency for Development in Special Education Report (2004) suggests that if schools want to pursue the direction of supporting heterogeneous characteristics of students, aspects such as, co-ordination and co-operative work among teachers, co-operation of the whole educational community, class size, and the use of resources, need to be considered.

One of the studies that provided comprehensive findings on these factors was conducted by Peters (2004) in developing countries. Peters proposes an Inclusive

Education Framework as a conceptual guide to thinking about the network of relationships and factors inherent in inclusive education development. This framework contains value-added factors and insights from literature on inclusive education in countries of the South. Peters' Inclusive Education Framework includes four elements: inputs, processes, outcomes, and contextual factors in the system.

With regard to inputs, Peters (2004) argues that provision of access is influenced mostly by socio-economic and cultural factors within the family. These factors include economic survival needs, and traditional societal attitudes towards disability. These factors combine with distance from school, accessibility of school buildings, discrimination, shortage of trained teachers, and resource support to address teachers' working conditions. The second critical input to be considered when developing inclusive education is students' characteristics (Peters, 2004). She warns that the vast majority of learners in most countries of the South have mild impairments and are often neglected because more focus is given to learners with moderate to severe impairments. These learners, according to Peters, are likely to constitute a significant percentage of drop-outs and repeaters. The third critical input cited by Peters is attitudes and lack of political will on the part of government officials and parents. The condition of teachers' work has been identified as a fourth critical input. Peters argues that the conditions within which teachers must carry out their work have a significant impact on their ability to provide effective teaching. She cites, among other conditions: class ratios, incentives for participation, administrative support, and sufficient time to develop confidence.

Peters' (2004: 20) Input-Process-Outcome-Context model for inclusive education asserts that school climate, as well as teaching and learning, are two domains that are critical in the process of inclusion. Within these domains, a whole school approach to inclusive education is a critical factor for effective implementation. In addition to this approach, collaboration with other sectors in the community is viewed as critical in developing inclusion. With regard to the outcomes of

inclusive education, Peters emphasises the need for continuous evaluation of the implementation activities of inclusive education programmes. She argues that these evaluations are successful in promoting sustainability. One of the useful tools recommended by Peters is the Index for Inclusion developed by Booth, Ainscow, Black-Hawkins, Vaughan and Shaw (2001). The factors described above are captured in Figure 5.1.

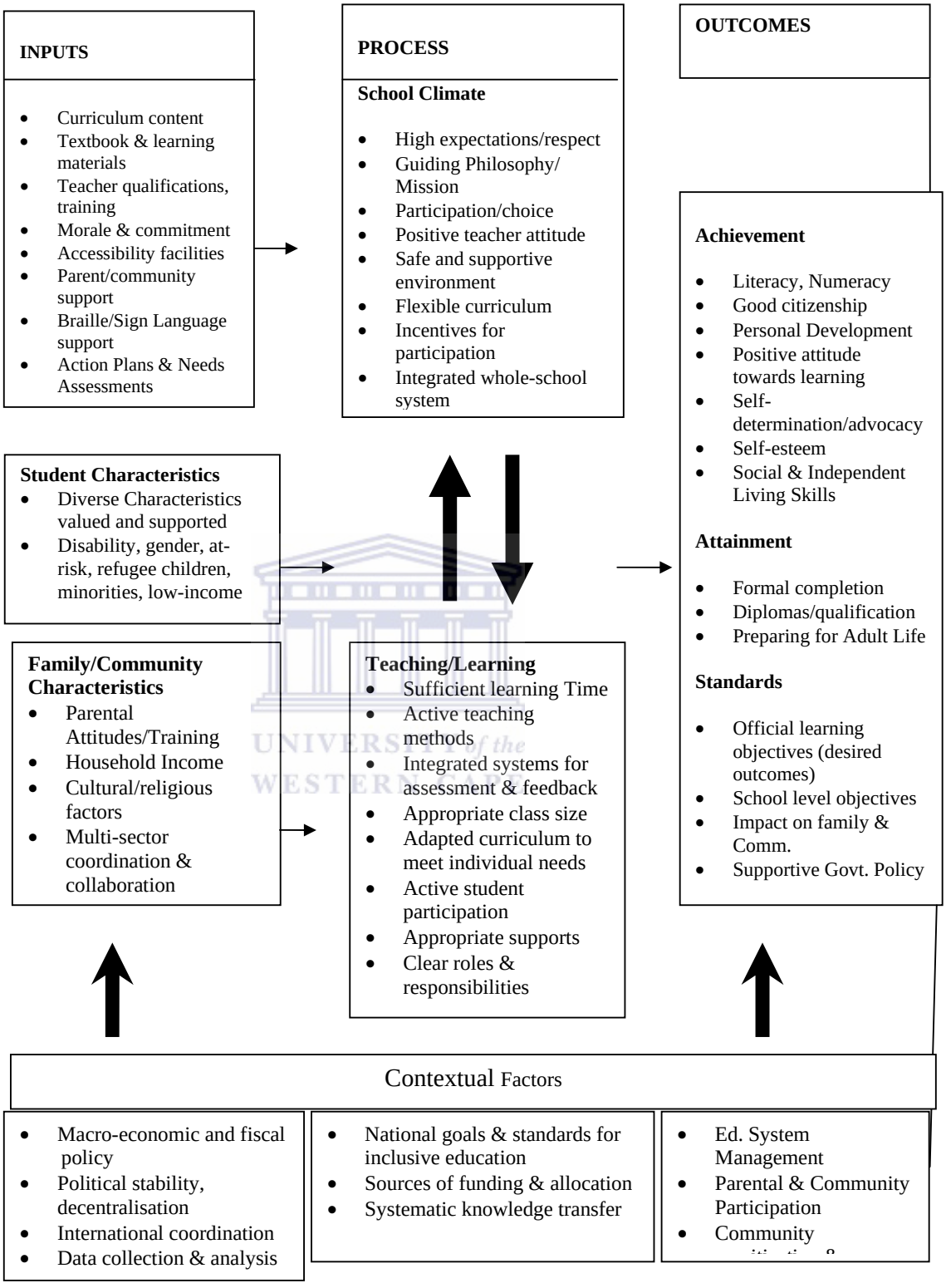

Figure 5.1: An input-process-outcomes-context framework for Inclusive Education. (Peters, 2004: 14).

Figure 5.1 captures the collection of variables that interact during the implementation of inclusive education. Peters' framework can be described in terms of inputs, process, agents, activities, resources, control mechanism and outcomes. This framework portrays inclusive education as a multi-agent system, where different subsystems are interacting.

David Mitchell, in his paper presented in Cape Town in 2006, acknowledges that there are factors that tend to constrain the implementation of inclusion or are used as a justification for non-implementation. These include a "one size fits all curriculum", lack of advocates for inclusion, a lack of coordination among government departments and non-governmental organisations, dominance of medical model, large classes, lack of appropriate assessment, parent resistance, media ignorance, negative attitudes in society and from teachers, inadequate monitoring of schools, and teachers' lack of skills. Some of these factors resonate with the key barriers to learning and development identified in the NCSNET / NCESS Report (Department of Education, 1997).

Ainscow (2005: 110) focuses on the school and argues that "policy documents, conferences and in-service training courses are low leverage activities which tend not to lead to significant changes in thinking." This author reinforces the notion that attempts towards inclusion "should focus on increasing the capacity of local neighbourhood mainstream schools to support the participation of diverse range of learners. Ainscow (2005: 112) draws our attention to contextual factors that influence the way schools perform their functions. These factors include:

> … views and actions of others within the local contexts, including members of the wider community that the school serves and the staff of the departments that have responsibility for the administration of the school system, and the criteria that are used to evaluate the performance of the school.

Ainscow further contends that a move towards inclusion requires that a group of stakeholders within a particular context should look for a common agenda to guide their discussion and practice.

Forlin (2004) cites six variables that impinge on school effectiveness in implementing inclusive educational practices. These are: attitudes of school staff, parents, students, and local community, prior contact with people with diverse needs, previous involvement in inclusive schooling, perceived personal efficacy, the type and quality of available support, and awareness and acceptance of people who are perceived to be different.

In conclusion, the key variables identified in studies focusing on the implementation of inclusive education in various contexts can be summarised as follows:

- Commitment to the policy of inclusion;
- Content of the curriculum;
- Attitudes towards inclusion;
- Capacity to address the diverse needs of learners;
- Support of learners and teachers in implementing inclusion;
- Implementation context;
- Collaboration between departments.

5.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As stated in the section 5.1, the main aim of this chapter is to develop a conceptual framework that captures the factors that affect the implementation of inclusive education policy. This section presents a synthesis of variables that affect policy implementation, and those factors that affect inclusion – based on the literature review provided above. The systems approach is regarded as the most valuable tool for the conceptualisation of these factors. This approach is specifically helpful in exploring these factors at different levels of the education system, namely, national, provincial, district and school.

This framework was developed to guide the investigation of the factors that affected the implementation of inclusive education policy in one district in the

Eastern Cape. This framework consists of seven elements which will be discussed in section 5.5 below. These elements include: policy content, context, commitment, capacity, and attitudes, support of clients and coalitions, and curriculum. A diagram of the conceptual framework is depicted in Figure 5.2.

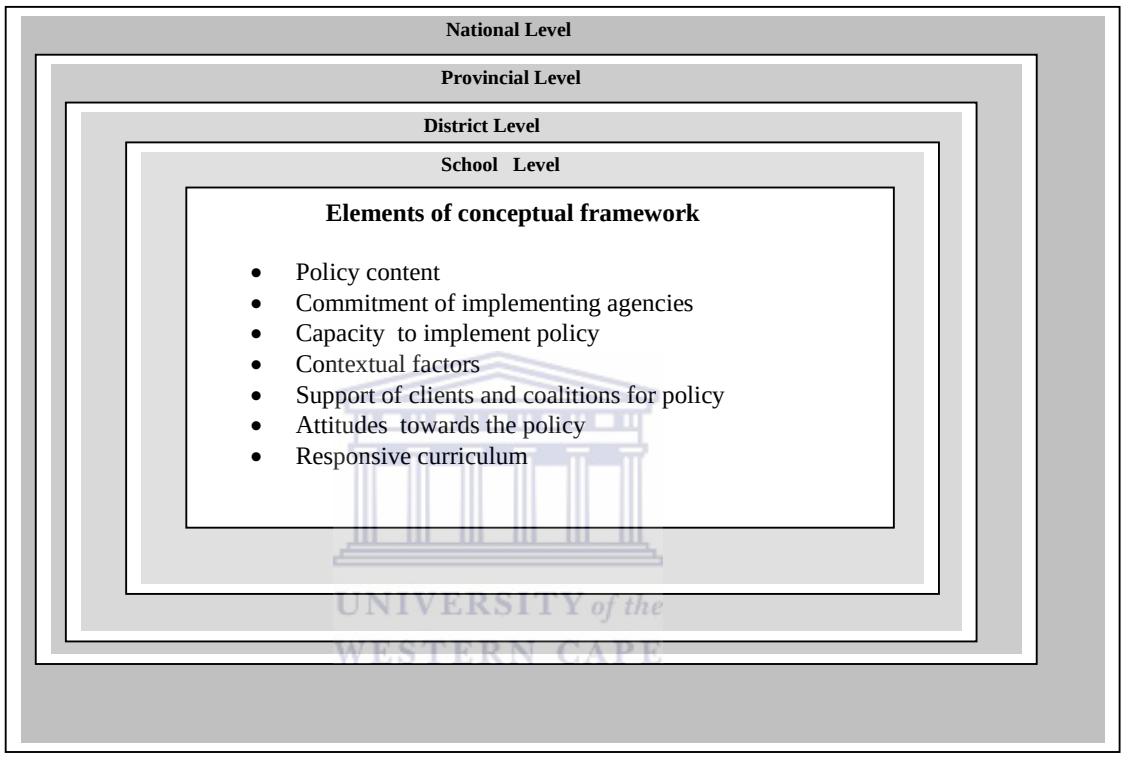

Figure 5.2: Conceptual Framework

5.5 ELEMENTS OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

5.5.1 Policy content

Policy content is one of the critical pillars on which policy implementation is based. It is generally regarded as a crucial factor in establishing the parameters and directives for implementation, although it does not determine the exact course of implementation (Brynard & De Coning, 2006). The content of policy includes: what it sets out to do (objectives), how it relates to the problem to be solved (causal theory), and how it aims to solve the problem (methods) (Brynard & De

Coning, 2006). In top-down approaches to policy implementation, goal clarity is seen as an important variable that directly affects policy implementation. Matland (1995: 157) states that "goal ambiguity is seen as leading to misunderstanding and uncertainty and often is culpable of implementing failure. Supporting this view, Gornitzka et al. (2005) note that clear and unambiguous policy goals are easier to implement than a set of complex and contradictory goals.

Cerych and Sabatier (1986) begin from the premise that success or failure of policy is dependent on the extent of the changes required, and the clarity and consistency of policy goals. These authors argue that the more complex the changes required by policy are, the lower the degree of success of policy implementation. Also, there is more chance of success if the policy is clear and consistent. The emphasis on consistent policy objectives as a condition for effective implementation was criticised by scholars such as Elmore (1980) and McLaughlin (1998) who support a bottom-up approach to policy implementation. These scholars do not focus on policy objectives as prescribed by the government, but rather focus on policy objectives as constructed by local implementers through the bargaining and negotiation process, as well as the initiatives from these actors.

With regard to causal theory, several researchers argue that policies are sometimes ineffective, not because they are badly implemented, but because they may be based upon an inadequate understanding of the problem, its causes and the possible solutions (Cerych & Sabatier, 1986; Hogwood & Gunn, 1984; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Sabatier, 1986; 2005). In other words, if the theory underpinning the policy is fundamentally incorrect, the policy implementation will fail. Policy content can be investigated by asking the following questions:

- Are the policy objectives clear and consistent?
- Are the policy objectives realistic?
- Have participants reached a consensus on the meaning of policy?

5.5.2 Commitment of implementers to the policy

It is generally assumed that the most important factor in individual success is commitment. Commitment means pledging oneself to a certain purpose or line of action. Commitment, like all other abstract things, is subjective and very difficult to measure. However, there are indicators that show the level of commitment of an individual to a particular task. One indicator is fulfilling obligations and promises, especially when one knows what one's role and responsibilities are.

Scholars who support both the top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation consider commitment to be critical to effective implementation. These scholars argue that policy may be good, but if the implementers are unwilling to carry it out, implementation will not occur (Brynard & De Coning, 2006; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1981; McLaughlin, 1987; 1998; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1974, Warwick, 1982). UNESCO's Global Monitoring Report (2005) also notes that government commitment and leadership is crucial for policy success. Brynard & De Coning (2006: 199) reinforce the importance of the commitment factor in policy implementation and make two propositions:

- First, commitment is important not only at the "street level" but at all levels through which policy passes – in cases of international commitments, this includes the regime level, the state level, the street level, and all levels in between.

- Second, in keeping with a web-like conception of interlinkages between the five variables, commitment will influence and be influenced by all the four variables: content, capacity, context and clients and coalitions. Those interested in effective implementation cannot afford to ignore any of these linkages and are best advised to identify the ones most appropriate to "fix" particular implementation processes.

As stated earlier, commitment is difficult to measure but can be seen through a person's actions. There are critical questions that one can ask to determine whether there is commitment to the policy. For example,

- What resources do implementation parties have, and how much are they willing to engage in the implementation?
- What is the duration of their commitment?
- To what extent are officials at national, provincial, district and school levels willing to implement the inclusive education policy?
- Is inclusive education policy part of the national / provincial / district / school development plans?

5.5.3 Support of clients and coalitions for implementation

As stated earlier in this chapter and in the previous chapter, research highlights the importance of having coalitions of interest groups, leaders, and other actors outside the government, who support implementation. Elmore (1980), in particular, considers the formation of local coalitions of those affected by the policy to be one of the most crucial elements during implementation. The success or failure of policy depends on the support the policy generates among those who are affected (Brynard & De Coning, 2006; Maharaj, 2005). Christie (2008: 149) states that though policy makers may prefer to emphasise structural changes, they cannot sidestep human agency and its influence on policy outcomes.

Inclusive education studies also assert that strong support at all levels of the department of education is one of the key strategies to the successful implementation of inclusive education (Department of Education, 1997; 2001; 2005b; Hay, 2003; UNESCO, 1999). These studies advocate a shift from a "patient – diagnosis- treatment" support system to a holistic framework (Hay, 2003). This implies that support professionals such as psychologists and therapists have to change their roles and work in collaboration with other structures in the system. Education White Paper 6 commits itself to the establishment of strong education support services in South Africa. One of the key strategies towards the

attainment of this goal is to involve the strategic people in the support service field who can support the implementation. This can be done through the establishment of district–based support as a central part of the overall strengthening of education support services. To investigate the support of different coalitions in the study the following questions could be asked:

- Who are the potential clients?
- What parties (inside and outside government) are likely to support the policy?
- What support do they give to the implementation process?

5.5.4 Capacity to implement policy

Policy implementation studies have shown that the success of any public policy rests on the capacity to implement it (Fukuda-Parr, Lopez & Malik, 2002; Makoa, 2004; McLaughlin 1987). In the South African context, capacity is regarded as a strategic entry point to the development and implementation of education policies. It is generally known that many development efforts have failed in many countries because they lack institutions with the ability to implement and sustain policies, and South Africa is no exception. One of the commonly cited reasons is lack of capacity to sustain the development.

Capacity is generally defined as the ability to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives (Fukuda-Parr, Lopez & Malik, 2002; McLaughlin, 1987; 1998). This concept is vague and means different things to different people. Some people assume a narrower approach that does not go beyond individuals' abilities to perform certain functions, while others assume a broader and systemic approach. This systemic approach looks at the capacity of other subsystems as they interact with each other to produce outcomes. One such example is found in Brynard and De Coning (2006) who view capacity in terms of the general system's (structural, functional and cultural) ability to implement the policy objectives. Honadle (1981) views capacity as the ability to perform six tasks, namely: to anticipate and influence change, make informed decision about policy,

develop programmes, attract and absorb resources, manage resources and evaluate activities.

Willems and Baumert (2003), on the other hand, pay attention to all the dimensions of institutional capacity. These dimensions include: empowerment, social capital, an enabling environment, culture, values, and the way individuals and organisation interact in the public sector and within society as a whole. Willems and Baumert's capacity assessment framework distinguishes between three levels of institutional capacity: micro level (individual); meso level (organisation) and macro level (broader context). The macro level is further divided into three distinct levels. These levels include: network of organisation, public governance and society, norms, values and practices.

Inclusive education, with its focus on transforming all aspects of the education system, requires a systemic approach to the analysis of capacity which includes: individual, school, district, province and national levels. This study assumes a systemic approach that can investigate and analyse, among other things, the capacity of policy-makers and implementers to implement inclusive education policy. This study therefore utilizes Willems and Baumert's approach to institutional capacity.

Individual capacity

The capacity of individuals to perform their functions is the basis for the success of any action. The question is: What constitutes an individual's capacity to perform functions effectively in an inclusive education system? Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) expects individual educators to have skills or expertise to identify barriers to learning; to support learners in the classroom; to collaborate with other support providers; to determine the levels of support needed by learners; and to adapt the curriculum to meet the needs of all learners. Furthermore:

> Teachers and schools are expected to cope with large class sizes, students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, developmental variations of student's skills, social problems, and what teachers label as unacceptable behaviour. To add to this list, teachers are expected to cater for students with high support needs that were previously taught in segregated settings. To impact on all this suggests that teachers need to be very organised, have expert skills, have routines well established and be adaptable to ever-changing factors and conditions in the regular classroom (Knight, 1999: 4).

Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) regards parental involvement, community partnership and intersectoral collaboration as the key levers in the implementation of inclusive education. The success of the aforementioned activities depends on various individuals' capacity to perform their tasks effectively. Parental involvement depends on the parents' ability to make a meaningful contribution to the prevention, identification and removal or minimisation of barriers to learning. Elmore (in Christie, 2008) contends that it is easier to change school governance arrangements than it is to change classroom practices. He further suggests that structural changes have high symbolic value and are relatively easy to make, but they often give appearance of change without actually bringing change to teaching and learning. Christie (2008: 152) contends that changing what teachers do in the classroom does not only involve policy. "It involves teachers learning how to do things differently."

In the light of the above discussion the following questions could be centrally important to the investigation and analysis during this study:

- How suitably qualified are the educators and Institutional Level Support Team members in performing the identified functions?
- Do parents / Institutional Level Support Team members / educators / School Governing Body members / district officials have the skills to perform the identified functions?
- What are the parents / Institutional Level Support Team member's / educator's / School Governing Body member's / district official's understanding of inclusive education?

- Are there sufficient staff / Institutional Level Support Team members / parents district officials / School Governing Body members to implement the identified activities?
- Is training available for the educators / Institutional Level Support Team members / parents?

Organisation: Management capacity

The performance of the organisation (the school in this instance) is regarded as a key factor in the implementation of any policy. An individuals' capacity can be undermined if the school as a collective does not have capacity. However, the performance of a school is dependent on the broad institutional setting of the country, represented by national systems, public governance and social norms, values and practices (Willems & Baumert, 2003). What makes an organisation to perform and function effectively therefore depends on its history and setting. These are some of the questions that can be asked in investigating or analysing capacity at the organisation level:

- Do the school / district / province /national have clear goals regarding the implementation of inclusive education?
- Do the school / district / province/ national have appropriate resources and management practices for the implementation of inclusive education?
- Have the school / district/ province / national been able to adapt to the new system?
- Is there any support between senior management and administration staff?

National System: Networking capacity

Inclusive education requires collaboration between different government departments, directorates within the Department of Education, school and communities, teachers and parents, teachers and teachers, and businesses or other non-governmental organisations, to ensure that inclusive education is supported in

schools (Department of Education, 1997; 2001). The ability to collaborate and network with many departments or directorates and organisations depends on the ability to manage issues horizontally across departments or directorates, and not just vertically within departments or directorates. Networking capacity can be investigated by asking the following questions:

- Does the Department of Education collaborate with other departments?
- Does the directorate of special needs education collaborate with other directorates?
- Are schools able to collaborate with each other?
- Do schools utilise the support services in their communities?
- Is the District-Based Support Team collaborating with Institutional Level Support Teams?
- Do schools operate in partnership with parents?

Public governance

The actions of individuals, organisations or networks of organisation are embedded in a wider institutional context, that is, the public sector setting as well as laws and regulations that exist in that country (Willems & Baumert, 2003). The overall effectiveness of the public sector in performing its function is the key to successful implementation of any policy, including inclusive education (Brynard & De Coning, 2006).

The way institutions take decisions on policy issues has major implications for governance. Political instability has been cited as one of the factors that make it difficult for sound policies to be implemented (Brynard & De Coning, 2006; Willems & Baumert, 2003). The second factor that is essential for good governance is the ability of groups and organisations to make their voice heard, monitor government's actions, and participate in the decision making process. This ability really depends on the availability of rights, media independence and the provision of transparent information regarding the reform. In order to

investigate the capacity of governing bodies and senior managers to implement inclusive education policy the following questions could be asked:

- Are provincial / district senior managers able to make decisions about the implementation of inclusive education policy?
- Are the School Governing Bodies involved in making decisions about the implementation of inclusive education policy in their schools?
- Are School Governing Bodies able to monitor and support the implementation of decisions in their schools?
- Are the teachers / parents / learners involved in the implementation of decisions made by School Governing Bodies?

5.5.5 Attitudes of implementers towards the policy

Lessons from policy implementation research show that the education system can provide good policy, education support, and resources and build the capacity of participants to implement the policy, but if attitudes have not changed, the implementation will fail (McLaughlin, 1987; 1998). McLaughlin claims that success of any policy implementation depends on two broad factors: local capacity and will. She argues that training can be offered, consultants can be hired and funds can be made available, but if there is no willingness on the part of the implementers, implementation will not be successful.

With regard to inclusive education, recent research indicates that the success of inclusive education programmes is dependent on teachers' attitudes to inclusion (Elhoweris & Elsheikh, 2006; Forlin, 2004; Hornby, 1999; Salend, 2001; Van Reusen, Shoho & Barker, 2001). Forlin includes attitudes and beliefs of the school staff, students, parents and the local community. She regards attitudes as one of the variables that impact on the school's effectiveness in implementing inclusive educational practices.

While the attitudes of the teachers, parents and learners are emphasised as critical in most research, it is argued that the attitudes and beliefs of principals towards

the philosophy of inclusive education is the key factor to successful implementation at school level (Hipp & Huffman, 2000; Praisner, 2003). According to Praisner, the leader of the school directly influences resource allocation, staffing, structures, information flows and the operating processes that determine what shall and shall not be done by the organisation. Praisner (2003: 3) further contends that leaders demonstrate their beliefs and priorities in the following way:

- How they make and honour commitments;
- What they say in formal and informal settings;
- What they express interest in and what questions they ask;
- Where they choose to go and with whom they spend time;
- How they organise their staff and their physical surrounding.

The question is: How can one determine whether role players' attitudes are positive or not? It is generally accepted that the concept 'attitude' is a very complex phenomenon. It is complex in the sense that it is difficult to observe directly. One can only infer people's attitudes from their expressed viewpoints and from what they do. Attitudes are generally divided into three components: affective, cognitive and conative components. An attitude is therefore a combination of three conceptually distinguishable reactions to a certain object (Avramidis, Bayliss & Burden, 2000).

Each of the above components would be examined in this study through listening to verbal statements of feelings, beliefs and intended behaviours of individuals at school, district, provincial and national levels. The analysis of attitudes of different participants would include the analysis of beliefs relative to inclusion (cognitive component), emotional reactions when they had to deal with learners who experienced barriers to learning and development (affective component), and intentions to include learners experiencing barriers to learning and development (conative component). In order to investigate attitudes of participants towards inclusion policy, the study could pose the following questions:

- What are the different participants' beliefs about the concept of inclusion?
- To what extent are different participants willing to accept responsibility for the inclusion of learners who experience barriers to learning and development?
- How do different participants feel about dealing with learners experiencing barriers to learning and development?
- To what extent are different participants confident in implementing inclusive education?
- To what extent has training of different participants led to more positive attitudes?

5.5.6 Context of implementation

Researchers are in general agreement that policy implementation is affected by the context in which policies are implemented (Brynard & De Coning, 2006; Berman, 1978; Maharaj, 2005; O'Toole, 1986; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975; Warwick, 1982). Policies that work in one context may fail in another. Gornitzka et al. (2005) also state that the socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political conditions of the implementing agency shape the outcomes of policy implementation.

Socio-cultural factors affect the way policies are implemented. The inclusive education policy requires that parents must be involved in the education of their children. In some cultures women occupy subordinate roles in society and cannot be centrally involved in the education of their children. These women often manifest low levels of self-esteem and a lack of confidence in their knowledge and abilities (Cloete, 2006). In some cultures, learners with disabilities are regarded as a family curse and therefore they should not be sent to school or participate in any activities of the so-called 'normal' children. Also, large numbers of people in rural areas live in primitive conditions. Some of them survive on subsistence agricultural activities and farming. Some families expect

their school-going children to leave school during harvest time and participate in the activities.

Socio-economic factors also affect policy initiatives in various ways. Communities in lesser developed countries are often characterised by poverty and development constraints. According to Cloete (2006), the development constraints influence public policy making negatively. A widespread lack of infrastructure and funds for development impedes the capacity of the system to achieve policy objectives.With regard to socio-political factors, Cloete (2006: 90) argues that:

> Many of these policies are complex, requiring considerable changes in attitudes and behaviour. They also aimed at depriving powerful interest groups of their privileges. As a result they are normally fiercely resisted by various vested interests and cannot be effectively implemented.

To investigate the socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political factors that affect the inclusive several questions could be asked. These are:

- How are decisions made in the national / provincial / district / school / family about inclusive education?
- What structures influence policy implementation at national/ provincial/ district / school / communities?
- Are finances available to provide the services needed in the implementation of inclusive education?
- How do cultural practices influence the implementation of inclusive education policy?

5.5.7 Curriculum

When the new curriculum was initiated in South Africa, it was described as a single curriculum that was outcomes–based, learner-paced, and learner-based, and therefore of an inclusive nature. It was regarded as a “counter hegemonic strategy” to the then prevalent apartheid curriculum. It was viewed as the vehicle

that would provide access to all learners (Naicker, 2005). This entails ensuring that the curriculum is responsive to the needs of all learners.

Research has shown that curriculum stands out as a key issue and a critical input when working with schools and educators in addressing the needs of learners (Saleh & Vayrynen, 1999, UNESCO, 2004; Department of Education, 2001). The National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training and National Committee on Education Support Services Report (Department of Education, 1997) argue that, in an inclusive education and training system, the curriculum needs to be accessible and responsive to the needs of all learners. The report further suggests that in order to enable schools to accommodate the diversity in the learner population, overall curriculum transformation is required. This includes the review of various aspects of the curriculum such as the learning environment, learning programmes, teaching practices, capacity of teachers, assessment of learning outcomes, equipment, medium of teaching and learning, materials, and the nature of support provided to enable access to the learning programme.

'Curriculum' is a broad concept that means different things to different people. This section does not intend to provide those variations of definitions, but to describe its meaning as conceptualised by Education White Paper 6 policy (Department of Education, 2001a). The Education White Paper 6 policy limits the meaning of curriculum to what is learned, how it is delivered, what resources are used, the pace of teaching and the time frame for the completion of the curriculum and assessment. Figure 5.3 summarises different aspects of the curriculum as identified in Education White Paper 6.

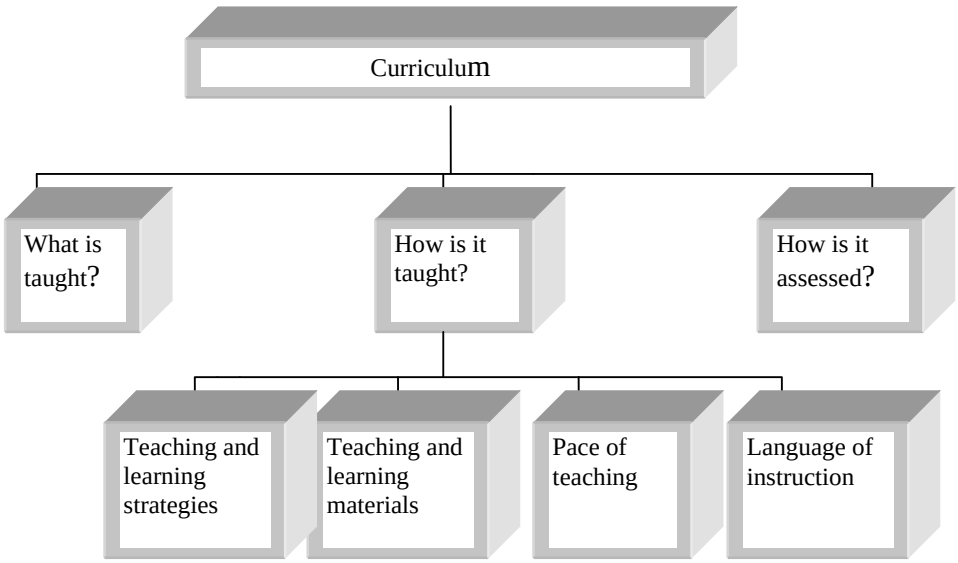

Figure 5.3: Different aspects of curriculum

Inclusive Education emphasises the right of all learners to gain access to the curriculum. This entails ensuring that the curriculum is responsive to the needs of all learners. A responsive curriculum is a differentiated curriculum that acknowledges learners' diverse strengths rather than their deficits, and provides flexibility in terms of content, processes, and products to cater for learners' individual needs (Noble, 2004).

Educational contexts in South Africa are characterised by a diverse learner population in every classroom. This diversity has been further propagated by the inclusive education movement that advocates the inclusion of learners with disabilities and learning difficulties in the classroom (Stainback & Stainback, 1996, Noble, 2004). The curriculum is therefore a critical variable for the effective implementation of inclusive education. Some of the key questions that could be asked include the following:

- Are teachers able to implement the Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) curriculum effectively?
- Are teachers confident in using the OBE approach?

- Do the classroom environments enable teachers to implement this approach?
- Do lessons build on the diversity of students' experiences?
- Are adaptations made to the curriculum for students who experience barriers to learning?

As stated in the previous chapters the main aim of the study was to explore factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education policy. Table 5.2 captures in summarised form, the main categories and specific sub-categories or questions raised through the literature review on policy implementation and inclusive education.

Table 5.2: Conceptual categories

Categories	Sub-categories
Policy content	Clear and consistent goals Realistic goals Negotiated goals Implementation strategies.
Commitment to policy	Willingness to implement policy Decision-making Action
Capacity to implement policy	Expertise Understanding of policy Sufficient resources Management Networking capacity Training
Contextual factors	Socio-economic factors Socio-cultural factors Socio-political factors
Attitudes towards inclusion	Beliefs about inclusion Feelings about inclusion Motivation
Support of clients and coalitions for policy	Support of participants and clients Financial support Learning support
Curriculum	Interpretation of curriculum Complexity of curriculum.

The above framework was used to guide the interviews and content analysis of data in the study.

5.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter shows that the success or failure of inclusive education depends on those processes, structures, conditions and other mechanisms that need to be in place to promote the development of inclusive practices within the education system. The variables that are critical for effective implementation of the inclusive education policy were: The nature and degree of support received from coalitions and other government departments for policy; positive attitudes and respect for diversity; a responsive curriculum; commitment to policy; consistency and clarity of the policy objectives; understanding the content of the policy; and the capacity to implement the policy at all levels of the Department of Education. The success or failure of the implementation of this particular policy implementation depends on the interaction of both top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation. Chapter Six describes the research methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER 6
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in Chapter One, the central aim of this study was to provide an exploratory analysis of factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of South African inclusive education policy (Education White Paper 6) in one district in the Eastern Cape. In order to gain in-depth understanding of these factors, the following research questions were used to guide the investigation:

- How did participants interpret the goals of the DANIDA project?
- What were the key participants' perceptions of their successes and failures in the project?
- What did the key participants identify as the factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education in the project and why?
- How did these factors facilitate or constrain implementation of the policy?

This chapter provides an overview of the research methodology for the study. This includes the examination of the broad methodological orientation as well as the different data collection methods and techniques that were employed in the study. The chapter further explains the procedures followed during field work and in the analysis of data. The chapter concludes with the discussion of ethical considerations and guidelines followed in the gathering of data.

6.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is generally described as a plan or 'blueprint' of how the researcher intends conducting research (Mouton, 2001). Not all researchers embrace design as it is described. Some researchers propose designs that are more open, fluid and changeable (Durrheim, 2001; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Lincon

and Guba (1985: 225) justify the use of less structured designs. They claim that some "qualitative designs cannot be given in advanced; it must emerge, develop, and unfold."Durrheim (2006: 37) suggests that in developing a research design the researcher must make a series of decisions along four dimensions: The purpose of the research, the paradigm informing the research, the context or situation within which the research is carried out, and the research techniques employed to collect the data. In this study, the research design covers the research approach, the context and the phases to be followed.

6.2.1 Research Approach

This study moved from the premise that at the end of the DANIDA project life span, there were perceptions of successes and failures in the project (Department of Education, 2002; Mathot, 2002; 2003). The study sought to understand factors that facilitated successes and failures in the project. The study took as its point of departure the assumption that policy implementation is a complex process that can be best understood by listening to those who are involved. Based on this assumption, the study drew on the interpretivist paradigm. An interpretive paradigm involves taking people's subjective experiences seriously as the essence of what is real for them (Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006). It also allows sensitivity to the contexts in which people interact with one another. The project itself promoted a bottom-up implementation process and this paradigm legitimises the perspective of those 'on the ground.' The epistemology of an interpretivist paradigm assumes that human beings are agents in the social interpretation of the world. In other words, reality is socially constructed. Lincoln and Guba (2000) also note that there are multiple views of reality and that one view of reality cannot claim precedence over another. This paradigm allows for the exploration of factors that affected policy implementation as interpreted, understood experienced and constituted by a range of participants.

The implementation of a national policy is a process in which different people from different contexts and persuasions are involved (Maharaj, 2005). This process entails, amongst other things, interpretation of policy text, expectations of

different actors, debates, tensions and negotiations. At the end of the implementation process, different participants interpret the outcomes, and the reasons for such outcomes, according to their personal expectations of the policy. In order to understand such perspectives, one needs to select a research orientation that allows for the investigation of such subjective construction of reality. In a search for an appropriate methodology, I sought an approach that would help to gain in-depth understanding of the participants' perspectives regarding the factors that impinged on the implementation of inclusive education policy. Within the context of an interpretivist perspective, qualitative research was viewed as an appropriate approach in facilitating such understanding. Patton (1990: 97) argues:

> …the nature of social process is sufficiently complex and interdependent that they are seldom easily represented along some set of unidimensional quantitative scales. Nor can quantitative dimensions and scales provide the kind of detail that is necessary for blueprints of program processes where the descriptions of those processes are to be used in constructing models for purposes of replication and demonstration. Thus qualitative methods are particularly appropriate for process issues and questions.

This choice does not deny the important role that quantitative methods can play in policy implementation research. However, it was envisaged that through qualitative research, one could explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the understandings, and experiences of research participants, as well as the ways social processes work in institutions or relationships. (Mason, 2006). Merriam (1998) claims that qualitative research allows the researcher to provide such understanding. Merriam further claims that it is useful, not only in providing descriptions of complex phenomena, but in constructing or developing theories or conceptual frameworks and in generating hypothesis to explain the phenomena. A qualitative case study approach was used in the investigation.

6.2.2 Qualitative case study

While there were three districts that piloted the implementation of Education White Paper 6 Policy in the DANIDA project, one district was selected as a case in this doctoral study, to assist in teasing out the stories of those living within the boundaries of this particular case (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), and to provide an intensive, detailed description and analysis of their perceptions of factors that impinged on the implementation of inclusive education policy. This case was not selected because it is representative or because it illustrates a particular problem, but rather because of interest in this case. A case study is a process, which tries to analyse some entity in qualitative and comprehensive terms over a period of time (Wilson, in Merriam, 1998:29). There has been frequent criticism of this design, particularly of its inability to provide a generalisable conclusion. However, one could argue that one can learn some important lessons from almost any case (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). Some theorists consider this methodology as 'microscopic' because of its lack of sufficient number of participants. However, Yin (1994) points out that generalization of results, from either single or multiple designs, is made to theory and not to populations. Even a single case could be considered acceptable, provided it needs the established objective.

Of the fourteen schools that implemented inclusion in the East London district, seven schools were purposively selected for the study. The choice of these schools was informed by an interesting comment that was made at the end of the DANIDA project by the circuit managers responsible for the school. The circuit managers claimed that there were differences in the outcomes of policy implementation in these schools, even though there were in 200 meter proximity and were exposed to the same intervention programme. The circuit managers claimed that it worked well in some schools and it did not work well in others. This doctoral study did not intend comparing the schools, but considers this diversity to be an important source for understanding the complex nature of the factors involved, and adding to knowledge about how implementation strategies can be improved.

Description of the case

As stated in Chapter One and Two, The DANIDA project was piloted in three provinces and this study selected the Eastern Cape Province. There were both practical and substantive considerations made when determining which province to be studied. Firstly, the researcher had previously worked in the Eastern Cape province and this made it easier to gain access to the schools. Secondly, the DANIDA Completion Report (Department of Education, 2004, 2004a) claims that the Eastern Cape DANIDA project had unique characteristics that distinguished it from other DANIDA projects. This claim triggered an interest in exploring those unique characteristics, particularly factors that impacted on the implementation of inclusive education policy.

In the Eastern Cape fourteen schools participated in the DANIDA project. Of the fourteen schools, seven schools were purposively selected, based on ensuring that all school levels and types were represented in the sample. Four schools in the case study are situated in an informal settlement, while the other three schools are situated in a Black township. The township consists of four roomed houses built by the city council. Although these houses in the township are solid structures, some have suffered noticeable deterioration. Substandard dwelling units (shacks built on narrow tracks) have developed rapidly around the case study schools. The poor housing condition of the people living in this area is probably the most visible sign of low income levels. The informal settlement, on the other hand, consists of small shacks and mud structures. These shacks are situated in a forest approximately 40 kilometres from hospitals, government offices, municipal offices, libraries, and shopping centres. This area is characterized by a high rate of migration. People are moving in and out of this area during the year. The majority of learners in this area are raised by grandparents or neighbours as their parents either stay in the big cities or in the townships, either in, or seeking employment.

Figure 6.1 depicts the picture of all the pilot schools involved in the DANIDA project and the case study schools used as a basis for this study.

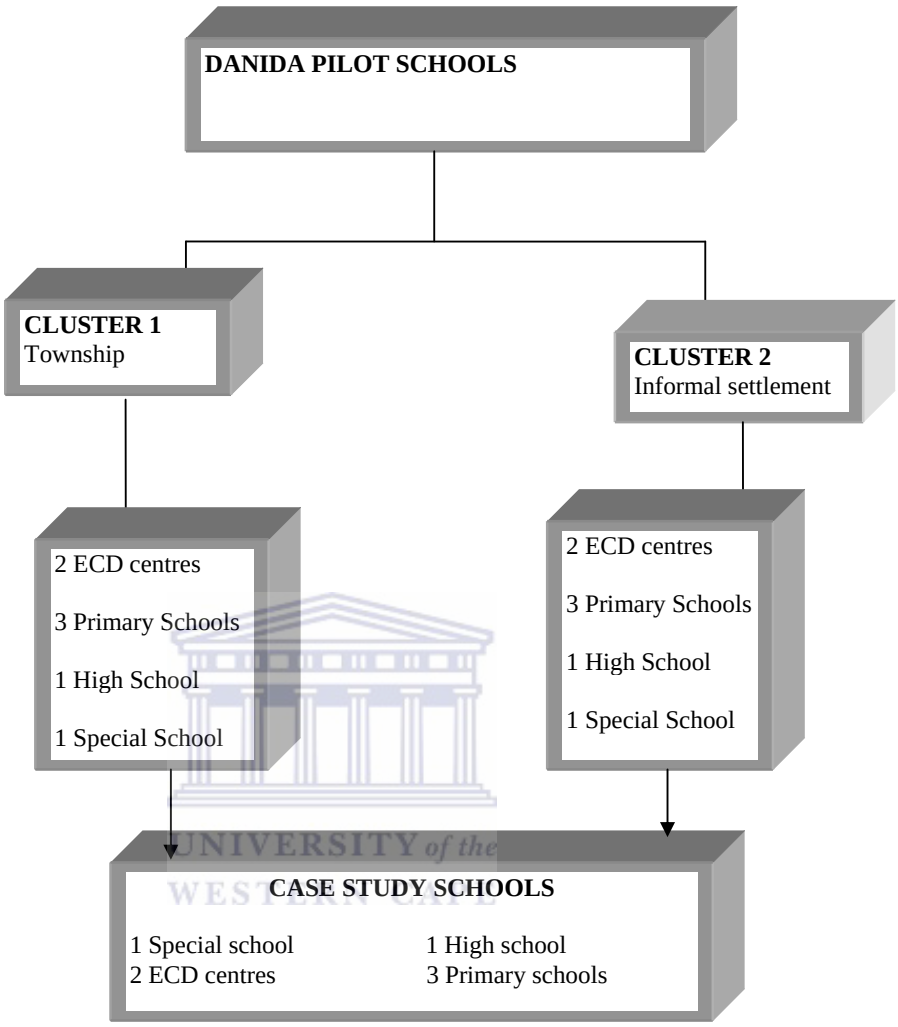

Figure 6.1: Case study schools

Research Participants

The study drew participants from stakeholders who acted as key informants at national, provincial, district and school levels as well as from non-governmental organisations. The choice of these groups was informed by the desire to obtain diverse, but well-informed perspectives regarding the topic under investigation. This study does not make any claim that the participants were representative of different sectors. At national level, the former director, the researcher and project manager of inclusive education were selected. The advantage of selecting them

was to obtain the perspectives of those who were involved in policy formulation, and the conceptualisation of the DANIDA project. These same participants were also involved in the support, monitoring and evaluation of the district implementation activities.

At a provincial level, the study targeted the former provincial official who was directly involved in the case study schools' activities, and the official who worked for the directorate of inclusive education at the time of the project. It was envisaged that they would share their experiences as the managers of the project, and as custodians of the inclusive education policy. Two representatives of the University led consortium that facilitated the policy implementation activities during the DANIDA project were also selected. This consortium consisted of four organisations: University of Fort Hare, Rhodes University, Disabled People South Africa (DPSA), and Association for People with Disabilities.

At district level, the circuit managers responsible for the case study schools were selected. The purpose of this was to determine how these officials understood the expectations of the policy, their perceptions of their successes, failures, and their views on the contributing factors. At school level, coordinators of Institutional Level Support Teams, key educators, parents who coordinated parent activities in the DANIDA project, and principals were selected in order to obtain their perceptions of policy expectations, their successes and failures, and their views on the reasons for these successes and failures. Figure 6.1 below presents the full picture of number of participants involved in the case study.

Table 6.1: A list of participants in the case study

Participants	Number of Participants
Parents	6
Principals	7
Key educators	7
Coordinators of Institutional Level Support Teams	7
National officials	2
Provincial officials	2
District officials	3
Researchers	2
Member of Disabled People Organisation	1
Institution of Higher Education	1
Total	38

6.2.3 Research phases

The research in this study was conducted in six phases:

Phase One: This phase involved an extensive review of the literature and the development of a conceptual framework that would guide the investigation and analysis in the study.

Phase Two: This phase consisted of unstructured interviews. Eight interviews were undertaken with the research participants, one person from each of the following groups: Teachers, principals, parents, Institutional Level Support Teams, a Higher Education Institution, a non-governmental organisation, a Disabled Peoples' Organisation, and relevant education officials at national, provincial and district levels. The interviews in this phase focused on exploring the factors that impinged on the implementation of inclusive education, and how these factors affected the implementation process.

Phase Three: The conceptual categories that were developed in Phase One, and those that emerged in Phase Two, were compared and reviewed, resulting in final categories.

Phase Four: In this phase semi-structured interviews were conducted with only fifteen of the selected participants for the purpose of obtaining more detailed information about the factors identified in the unstructured interviews.

Phase Five: During this phase relevant official documents were selected and studied. The contents of the documents were analysed using the conceptual categories and the research questions.

Phase Six: All data was triangulated and analysed around the key research questions. Figure 6.2 presents a summary of the research design.

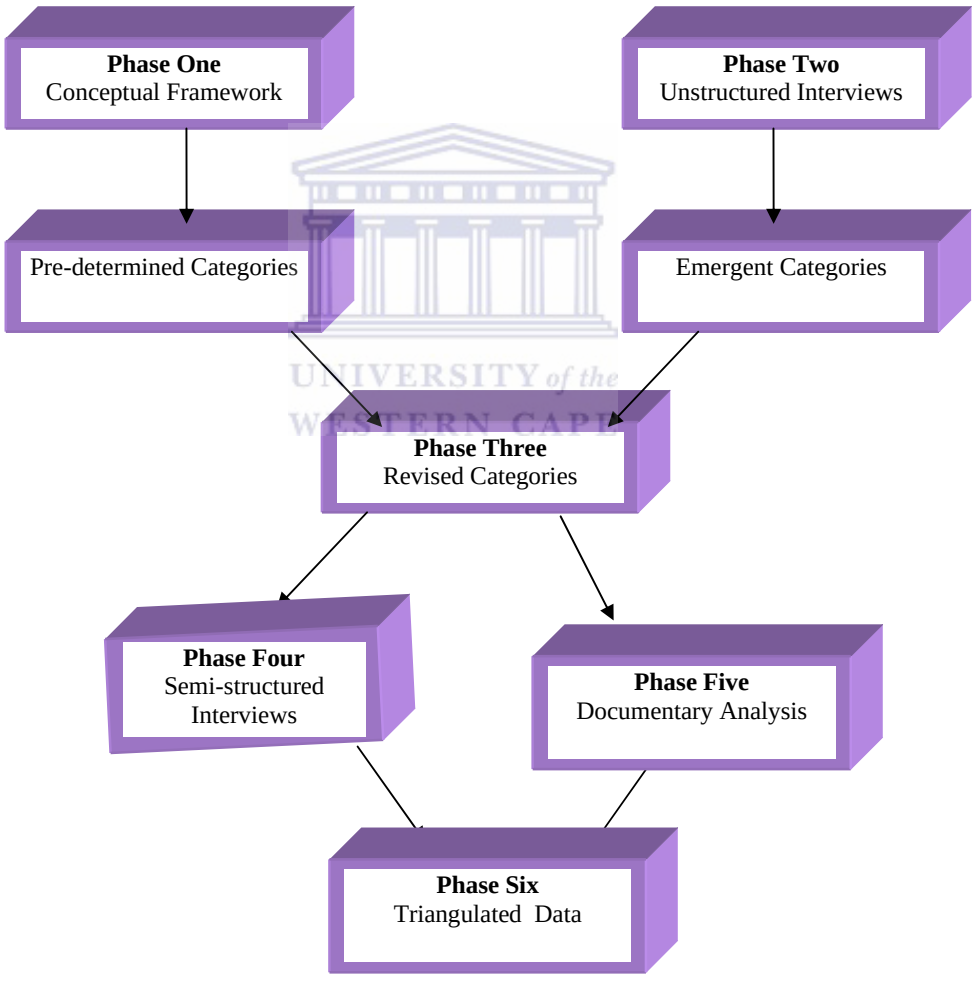

Figure 6.2: Diagrammatic representation of the research design

6.3 DATA COLLECTION

6.3.1 Data collection methods

The research methods used in this study were drawn from the qualitative approaches consistent with naturalistic enquiry. Methods for gathering evidence in this study included interviews and documentary analysis. These methods were employed during the four phases of this research.

Interviews

The qualitative interview is a commonly used data collection method in qualitative research (Greeff, 2005; Mouton, 2001). People are interviewed to elicit information that cannot be observed. Feelings, thoughts, the way people organise their worlds and the meanings they attach to events cannot be observed (Maharaj, 2005). Interviewing can be described as a process of learning about people's views, their experiences, their meanings of their life worlds, their problems and their solutions. Kvale (1996) defines the qualitative research interview as a method which attempts to understand the world from the subjects' points of view. Interviewing was viewed as an appropriate method in this study because of its ability to explore people's experiences of the implementation of inclusive education policy, and the meanings attached to those experiences. The study employed both unstructured and semi-structured interviews.

(a) Unstructured interviews

Greeff (2005) describes an unstructured interview as a type of interview researchers use to obtain an understanding of the participants' point of view of a situation. This type of interview uses open-ended questions with the participants providing responses in their own words. Since the study focused on factors that impinged on the implementation of inclusive education policy, unstructured interviewing was considered to be a useful and appropriate method for gaining an understanding of the participants' experiences, and the meanings they make of those experiences. The other advantage of using an unstructured interview is that

it provides the researcher with the opportunity to test his or her understanding of the topic under investigation, while creating opportunities for a new understanding to develop. It was also viewed as an important preliminary step towards the development of more structured interview schedule and the framework for analysis. The unstructured interviews in this study were preceded by an explanation of the aims and objectives of the study. Participants were then expected to respond to the following broad question: "Can you recall when you first implemented inclusive education in the DANIDA project? Tell me what happened? "

(b) *Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to follow up ideas, to probe responses and investigate motives and feelings (Bell, 1987). According to Greeff (2005), semi-structured interviewing is more appropriate when one is particularly interested in pursuing a specific issue. In this study, semi-structured interviews were considered to be appropriate in eliciting specific information about policy implementation. The interview schedule (See Appendix D & E) consisted of the following six broad questions:

- How would you define inclusive education?
- What do you think the DANIDA project and Education White Paper 6 expected schools and the Department of Education to do?
- What role did you play in the DANIDA project?
- What would you consider as successes in the project and Why?
- What would you consider as failures in the project and Why?
- What do you think has contributed to the successes in the project and Why?
- What do you think has contributed to the failures in the project and Why?
- What suggestions can you for future implementation of Education White Paper 6 in your context?

Document study

This study utilised relevant official documents of the Department of Education. This included Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a), DANIDA project guidelines (DANIDA, 1999), and the Project Provincial and National Quality Evaluation Reports (Department of Education, 2002; 2004; Mathot, 2002; 2003). Documentary analysis is generally described as an analysis of written materials that contains information about the topic under investigation (Strydom & Delport, 2005). There are distinctions between different types of documents. Documents are classified into primary and secondary sources (Strydom & Delport, 2005). Primary sources are regarded as the original written materials, while secondary sources are those materials that are derived from someone else's interpretation of primary sources. These include personal documents, official documents, mass media, and archival material.

Research reports are also classified as secondary sources (Mouton, 2001; Neuman, 2003; Strydom & Delport, 2005). Secondary analysis is described as the re-analysis of the existing data by another researcher with a different aim from that of primary analysis (Babbie, 2001; Mouton, 2001; Neuman, 2003; Strydom & Delport, 2005). This study used both primary and secondary sources. The use of the afore-mentioned sources in the study served to triangulate findings. The Education White Paper 6 policy document and the DANIDA guidelines provided background information relating to the inclusive education policy and the implementation in the DANIDA project. The Project Quality Evaluation Research Reports were used to gain information about the implementation successes and failures, as well as factors that affected implementation during the project life-span. The relevance of these reports to the study was that they were conducted in the same case study context, reflecting on the implementation of the same policy.

6.3.2 Data collection process

As mentioned earlier, the data collection was conducted in four phases.

Phase One: Development of a conceptual framework

Phase One started with an extensive review of relevant literature. Policy implementation studies were reviewed and factors that affected implementation in different contexts were identified and used in the development of the framework. Factors that affect inclusion of learners were also identified from literature on inclusive education. The two sets of factors were synthesised and elements of the initial conceptual framework were identified. Initially it was envisaged that the conceptual framework would be used to guide the development of the interview schedules. Because the study focused on different policy content, it became necessary to allow the categories to emerge from the participants who implemented the policy. Unstructured interviews were therefore conducted in Phase Two.

Phase Two: Unstructured interviews

Before the commencement of this phase, letters of invitation were sent to the selected key participants, explaining the purpose of the research and requesting their participation in the research (Refer to Appendix B). Permission was sought from the Eastern Cape Department of Education to involve schools in the study (refer to Appendix A). Appointments were made with the participants that volunteered to participate, and permission was obtained from the participants to record the interviews. No participant was compelled to participate. Consistent with the bottom-up approach to policy implementation and the interpretivist paradigm, the study began with a focus on identifying participants who were involved in the implementation process. Unstructured interviews served to trigger their memories about the implementation process before they responded to the semi-structured interviews. The use of unstructured interviews was aimed at eliciting stories that would reflect those experiences and understandings of the entire implementation process. At the root of this unstructured interviewing was an interest in understanding the participants' perceptions of successes and failures of the implementation of inclusion, and their views on the contributing factors.

The strength of this type of interviewing is that it allows the interviewer to be highly responsive to individual and situational differences (Goodchild, 2001). The main data collection period was preceded by a short pilot study that served a number of objectives. This served the purpose of testing the viability of collecting data relevant to the research questions, and the categories identified in the theoretical framework or research questions. This pilot was succeeded by another set of interviews. To this end, 38 participants from national, provincial, district and school sites were interviewed. Focus group and individual interviews were conducted. These interviews were conducted with five groups of participants, and 11 individual participants. The interviews were conducted face-to-face. These interviews lasted for approximately an hour each and were conducted in IsiXhosa and English. The participants are presented in table 6.2

Table 6.2: Participants in the unstructured interviews

Focus group		Individual interviews
Group 1:	4 coordinators of cluster A Institutional Level Support Teams	2 National Department of Education officials
Group 2:	3 coordinators of cluster B Institutional Level Support Teams	2 Provincial Department of Education officials
Group 3:	7 principals	3 Parents
Group 4 :	7 key educators	2 researchers
Group 5:	3 district officials	1 Institution of Higher Education member
		1 Disabled People Organisation member

During the unstructured interviews, participants were asked to talk about the implementation of Education White Paper 6 Policy in the DANIDA project and subsequently. These unstructured interviews relied on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of interaction. Probing questions focused on their perceptions of how the implementation started; what roles different people played; what form of support they received; challenges they faced; solutions they employed; the perceived successes; the perceived failure; and recommendations.

One weakness of the unstructured interview method in this study was that it encouraged respondents to talk about their frustrations with all education reforms. One of the contributing factors could have been their acquaintance with the researcher as a coordinator in the project. From time to time participants had to be brought back to the topic under discussion. The unstructured interviews required a lot of time to collect systematic information and the data obtained take time to pull together and analysed. They were tape recorded, and tapes were transcribed.

Phase Three: Finalisation of conceptual categories

The categories that emerged in the analysis of the unstructured interviews (Phase Two) were used to refine the predetermined categories which were used to organise and analyse data collected during the semi-structured interviews. Figure 6.3 presents a summary of these categories.

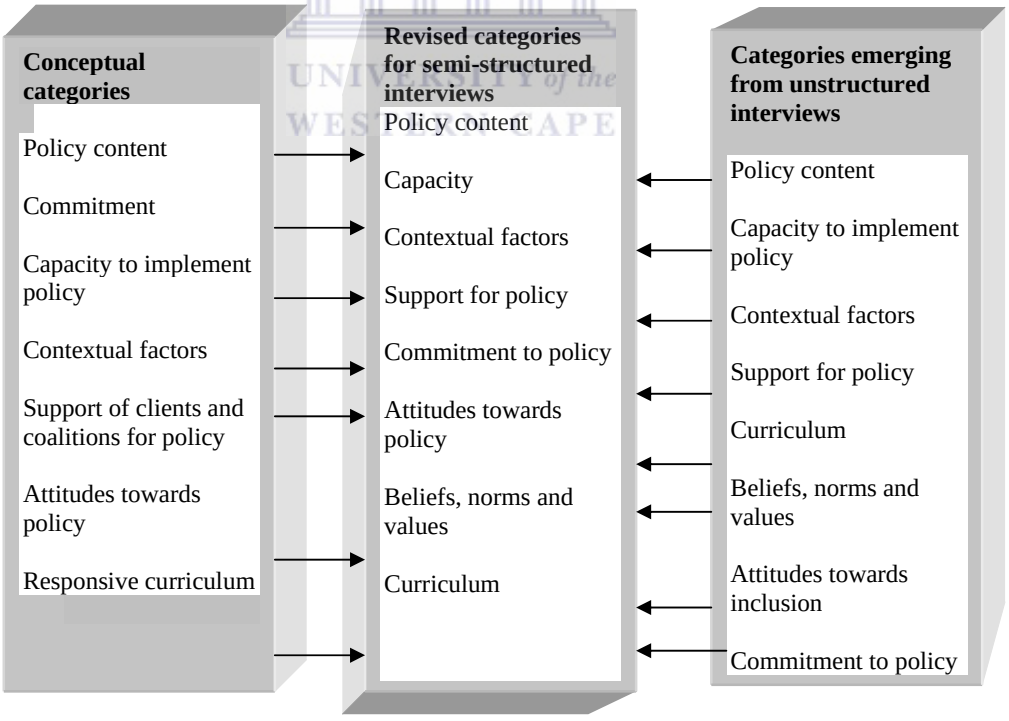

Figure 6.3: A diagrammatic representation of the development of categories

Phase Four: Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used to follow up interesting issues that emerged from the unstructured interviews. A second purpose was to gain a detailed picture of participants' perceptions about successes and failures of the policy implementation process and their accounts of successes and failures in the project.

The participants included official from each of the following levels of the Department of education: National, provincial, and the district. At school level, three parents, four teachers, three principals, three coordinators of Institutional Level Support Teams, one researcher from the Institution of Higher Education, and one member of a Disabled People's Organisation participated in the semi-structured interviews. The advantage of using a semi-structured interview in the study was that it is a more systematic and comprehensive way of delimiting the issues to be discussed in the interview. It also helps to make sure that information about the same issues is obtained from a number of people unlike the unstructured interview, where each interview may be unique. Interviews were conducted in both isiXhosa and English depending on what the participant prefers.The interviews were recorded through a tape recorder and note taking. Table 6.3 presents a list of the interviewed participants.

Table 6.3: Participants in the semi-structured interviews

Participants	**Number**
National Department of Education officials	1
Provincial Department of Education officials	1
District officials	1
Parents	3
Teachers	4
Coordinators of Institutional Level Support Teams	3
Principals	3
Researchers	1
Institution of Higher Learning	1
Total	18

Phase Five: Documentary analysis

The official documents that were relevant for the purpose of this study were selected and carefully studied. These documents provided a framework in which to understand the implementation of inclusive education policy in South Africa. Table 6.4 shows the document analysis framework.

Table 6.4: Document analysis framework

Information obtained	Documents
What did the DANIDA project want to achieve?	• DANIDA Project Document (DANIDA, 1999). • Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) • Situational Analysis Report (Mathot, 2001) • End Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002)
What were the participants' perceptions of their successes?	• End Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002) • Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002) • Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003) • End Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002)
What were the participants' perceptions of their failures?	• End Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002) • Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002) • Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003) • End Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002)
What did the key participants identify as the factors that facilitated the implementation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project and Why?	• End Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002) • Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002) • Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003)
What did the key participants identify as the factors that constrained the implementation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project and Why?	• End Term National Quality Evaluation Report. (Department of Education, 2002) • Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002) • Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003)

The conceptual categories described under Phase 3 of the research (Figure 6.3) were used to extract data from the documents. The research questions guided the

process. A detailed explanation about how this analysis was conducted is given in the next sub-section.

Phase Six: Triangulation of data

In this final phase of the research process, the data that came from unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews and document analysis were combined in order to present coherent findings. Various reasons have been advanced for the need to triangulate sources of data in research. As Patton (1990: 244) points out "Multiple sources of information are sought and used because no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspectives." Gorard and Taylor (2004) state that triangulation enhances the trustworthiness of the analysis. According to Maharaj (2005), using a combination of sources increases validity as the strength of one approach can compensate for the weakness of another approach. Merriam (1998) claims that using multiple sources of data or multiple methods to confirm emerging findings is important.

In this study, it was important to understand the perspectives of those involved in policy implementation in their context, and present a holistic interpretation of what occurred, to construct a plausible explanation about factors that impinge on the implementation of inclusive education policy. The use of multiple sources of information was used in order to validate and cross-check findings

6.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Triangulation of the different data sets, where findings were pulled together around key questions, was therefore pursued. Data analysis in this study followed a two-fold approach as suggested by De Vos (2005: 335). The first approach included data analysis at the research site during data collection. The second analysis was done away from the site, after completion of data collection.

Yin (1994) presents two strategies for data analysis: One is to rely on theoretical propositions of the study and analyze the evidence based on those propositions. The other technique is to develop a case description, which would be a framework for organizing the case study. In this study the research questions and the conceptual framework guided analysis. Details of the interviews and documentary analysis methods used in this study are presented below.

6.4.1 Interview analysis

The participants' stories about how they understood the intentions of Education White Paper 6, how they experienced and viewed the implementation of this policy in schools, and what they perceived to be the factors that impacted on the policy implementation, were the focus of data for analysis. The processing of data went through several stages. Tapes of recorded conversations were immediately transcribed where-after superfluous data, such as digressions and repetitions, were eliminated. The next stage of analysis consisted of checking and amending transcriptions to ensure their accuracy. The transcriptions were sent back to the interviewees for confirmation. Out of the total number of transcriptions, eight participants did not respond. After three months, the process of analysis resumed. Hand-written field notes taken during unstructured interviewing were also typed.

The analysis of the unstructured interviews followed a phenomenological meaning condensation approach (Kvale, 1996). The phenomenological meaning condensation approach, according to Kvale (1996), involves the reduction of large interview texts into briefer statements. Consistent with this approach, long statements were compressed into briefer statements and more concise expressions and meaning units were determined. The theme that dominated a meaning unit was stated as simply as possible. Meaning units were thematised in relation of the research questions. In other words, themes were organized according to the research questions. Concepts that seemed to relate to the themes were placed under the themes. The same procedure was followed when semi-structured interviews were analysed.

6.4.2 Documentary analysis

As stated earlier in this chapter, two types of documents were analysed in the study. The first sources included the inclusive education policy document (Department of Education, 2001a), DANIDA project guidelines (DANIDA, 1999) and the Conceptual and Operational guidelines for District-Based Support Teams, Special Schools as Resource Centres and Full Service Schools (Department of Education, 2005). The analysis of these documents was guided by the first research question which sought to understand the expectations (objectives) of the inclusion policy. Different documents were compared to check similarities and differences across documents. Findings were recorded.

The second set of sources included the Situational Analysis Report (Mathot, 2001), the Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002), the End Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002) and the Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003). These documents were selected because of their relevance in answering the research questions. The research questions guided the extraction of the main themes from the information in the reports. The conceptual framework developed in Chapter Five was used to identify categories emerging from the documentary analysis. Divergence and convergence of the data and those predetermined categories were noted.

6.5 RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND VERIFICATION OF DATA

Clough and Nutbrown (2007) encourage researchers to ensure trustworthiness of the study. In order to test the trustworthiness of the data in this study, the following questions were addressed throughout the study:

- Have the data been adequately checked with their sources?
- Has there been sufficient triangulation or raw data leading to analytical statements.

In order to make sure that an investigation has been conducted in an ethical manner, attention was paid to the validity and reliability of the instrumentation, the appropriateness of the data analysis techniques, the degree of relationship between conclusion drawn and the data upon which they rest, as suggested in Guba and Lincoln (2000).

Prior to the construction of the interview schedule, the literature was reviewed and a variety of interview guides were examined to determine whether the existing instruments could be used to gather the necessary information for the study. In developing the instruments the following procedures were followed: The instrument was discussed with the supervisor and colleagues in the same field of study who could offer useful suggestions for the improvement of the items in the instrument. A pre-test of the instrument was then conducted in one of the other schools that piloted the implementation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project. This helped to determine whether there were any ambiguities in any of the items; to check if the type of data anticipated was elicited, and to determine whether the type of data could be meaningfully analysed in relation to the stated research question.

Earlier in this chapter it was stated that official policy documents and evaluation research reports were studied. In order to triangulate the data, the provincial evaluation reports were compared with the national and international evaluation reports of the same project in the same province. .

Perakyla (1995) has written on the validity and reliability in research that uses tapes and transcripts. In discussing reliability, this author, notes that “working with tapes and transcripts eliminates at one stroke many of the problems that ethnographers have with the unspecified accuracy of field notes and with the limited public access to them” (Perakyla, 1995: 201- 206). The advantage of using tapes in this study was that they could be studied more than once in order to verify the statements. This was intended to eliminate the possibility of misrepresenting the interviewees. The transcripts of interviews were sent back to participants for

verification, comments and changes. With regard to the interviews with parents, the researcher verified the data by visiting the homes and reading the transcripts for them. In most cases the data was confirmed as it was, and in some cases participants added more information.

6.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

It was the intention of this study to include all the key stakeholders involved in the DANIDA project in the Eastern Cape. However, this proved to be too difficult. It was not possible to gain access to all key informants who had been involved in the DANIDA project at national and provincial levels because the implementation took place between 2001 and 2003. Some of these people have since taken up other career positions.

At district level, the circuit manager who had been responsible for the schools in the informal settlement retired in 2006 and attempts to contact him were unsuccessful. However, I was able to interview the newly-appointed circuit manager. The interview with the circuit manager was, however, not fruitful as he had not been involved in the DANIDA project. In order to acquire information about the schools, the former district manager was therefore interviewed.

At school level, it had been the initial intention of the study to involve parents, teachers, members of the school governing body, and learners who had participated in the DANIDA project. The latter group could not participate in the study because the cohort who had participated in the DANIDA project no longer attended these schools. This is considered to be a limitation because learners' experiences of the DANIDA project could therefore not be obtained. Also, parents (caregivers) from the special school were unable to participate because of work-related problems. These parents could have shed light on issues pertaining to the conversion of a special school into a resource centre.

6.7 STATEMENT OF ETHICS

Acting ethically in research ensures that the participants are treated with respect and sensitivity beyond what may be required by law (Patton, 2002: 9; Radnor, 2001: 34). There were five ethical issues, which I felt were pertinent to this study. They were negotiations, informed consent, confidentiality, dissemination and researcher – researched relationship. In order to ensure that ethical issues were adhered to the following questions were asked in the study:

- Has permission been given to conduct the research in terms of the identification of an issue, in this particular setting?
- Have arrangement been agreed for transferring the ownership of the record of utterances to the researcher, thus enabling the researcher to use these in compiling the thesis?
- Has permission been granted to publish the case report?

Before conducting the research, permission was obtained from the Eastern Cape Department of Education, principals of the schools, parents, teachers from the case study schools, researchers, representatives of the consortium, and the Department of Education officials concerned. Participants were informed about the overall purpose of research as well as "possible risks and benefits from participation in the research project" (Kvale 1996: 112). From the outset participants signed consent forms, and were assured anonymity by concealing their identities. Similarly, the tape recordings tape and transcriptions were kept in a safe place to avoid access by anyone.

Radnor (2001:34) points out that for research to be ethical, honesty and openness should characterise a research-researched relationships. Questions of personal nature were avoided so as to ensure respect of participants' privacy as suggested by Kvale (1996). Finally, it is envisaged that feedback will be given to the participants as part of the dissemination processes. Although the major text and

product emerging from this research is a thesis to meet the requirements of a PhD degree, the results will also be returned to the participants through a research report.

6.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the aims of the study, the theoretical framework, and the research methodology used in the study. A description of the data collection procedures and data analysis was then provided. Issues of validity and reliability were discussed and a brief discussion of ethics was presented. Chapter Seven presents the descriptive analysis of the data, and Chapter Eight provides in-depth analysis of the data.

CHAPTER 7
DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF DATA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Through a qualitative methodology this study has explored the perspectives of various participants on factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education in one district in the Eastern Cape. This chapter presents the descriptive analysis of the data collected in the study, drawing together the perspectives of the different participants as well as findings from the documentary analysis of the project research reports.

Two organising principles have been used to present the data. First, perspectives have been organised under the five research questions which cover the policy objectives, perceived successes, factors that facilitated success, perceived failures and factors that led to failure. Second, perspectives have been organised around conceptual and emerging themes in the context of each of the research questions. The data are presented in two sections: The documentary analysis and the interview analysis.

7.2 DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

For this section eight documents were carefully studied, with the research questions guiding the analysis. The documents that were used for analysing inclusive education policy context were: The Education White Paper 6 on Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (Department of Education, 2001a) which sets short term and long term objectives for implementation; the Conceptual and Operational guidelines for Special Schools as Resource Centres (Department of Education, 2005a) which explains the conversion of special schools to resource centres; the Conceptual guidelines for Full-Service Schools (Department of Education, 2005b) which describes the full service school and its functions ; the Pre-Appraisal Report (DANIDA, 1999)

which explains the project objectives; implementation activities and the expected outcomes; and the Situational Analysis Report (Mathot, 2001) which describes the school contexts prior to the implementation.

The documents that provided insights into the successes and failures of the policy implementation in the Eastern Cape DANIDA project included: The Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002) which reports on the changes adopted and effected by the schools; the End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002) which describes the outcomes of the project; and the Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003) which reports on the changes that followed the extension of the project.

7.2.1 Objectives of the policy

The Pre-Appraisal Report (DANIDA, 1999), Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) Conceptual and Operational Guidelines for Special Schools as Resource Centres (Department of Education, 2005a), and the Conceptual and Operational Guidelines for Full-Service Schools (Department of Education, 2005b) were carefully studied to determine the strategic objectives of the policy. The importance of this analysis for the study was to gain a better understanding of the context of implementation of the project.

According to Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) the short term goals of the inclusive education policy includes firstly the designation of thirty primary schools to become full-service schools in thirty districts in the country. A full-service school is described as a school that "aims to allow everyone there to learn and participate fully" (Department of Education, 2005b: 10). Secondly, thirty special schools are to be converted into resource centres. It is envisaged that each of these new resource centres are to provide improved educational services for targeted learners. Specialized professional support in the curriculum, assessment and instruction are to be given to the designated full service school and other neighbourhood schools. The Education White Paper also calls for the establishment of Institutional Level Support Teams and District

Support Teams to be established and strengthened. These objectives are regarded as part of the pilot phase that is intended to assist in the further development of an inclusive education and training system. The DANIDA project document (DANIDA, 1999), in line with Education White Paper 6, shows that the intended changes are to make schools accessible, to convert special schools to resource centres, to build the capacity of teachers and parents, to mobilize out-of -school youth, and to establish Institutional Level Support Teams and District Support Teams.

On the other hand the Situational Analysis Report of Mathot (2001), reveals that there was no prescribed model or set of objectives for the development of inclusion at the beginning of the DANIDA project. Schools were invited to explore ways of developing inclusion in their schools with the support of the consortium. The consortium, which consisted of two universities and two Disabled People's Organizations (DPOs), provided schools with practical support in undertaking an investigation of the barriers to learning and development experienced by learners in their contexts. Schools were assisted in prioritizing the reduction of barriers within the context of individual school needs, thus determining the implementation in different schools. Physical access, poverty and safety were given the highest priority, followed by general training in inclusive education, physical improvement of the schools, parent-community participation, and the provision of more resources in the schools. The Situational Analysis Report also indicates that although schools were given the power to determine their own changes, the major focus being on developing inclusive school cultures, policies, and school practices.

It seems, therefore, that policy developers and policy implementers had the same objective of making schools accessible. However, the formal policy objectives appear much broader than those formulated by the schools in the DANIDA project. The data also show that the schools' objectives were framed by their contextual factors and were geared towards responding to local priorities.

7.2.2 Perceived successes of policy implementation in the project

This study included an examination of the End-term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002), the Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002), and the Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003) to determine the successes in the project. All three reports claim that the project was perceived as a success in the province. The reported successes were based on the participants' perceptions and the positive effects of the project. Figure 7.1 provides a summary of the perceived successes as documented in these three reports.

Table 7.1: Perceived successes of policy implementation in the project

End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002)	Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002)	Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003)
Positive attitudes towards difference in the classroom	Increase in awareness for the value of inclusive education	Institutional Level Support Teams operational in all schools
Increase in awareness of barriers that cause exclusion of learners	Institutional Level Support Teams established in the schools	Community more actively involved
Increase in awareness of the inclusion policy	Inclusiveness Indices improved at all levels	Resource centre was established
Learners with disabilities included in some of the schools	Educators' teaching skills improved	District-Based Support Teams established
Institutional level support teams established in the schools	Action Research sessions helped in problem solving	Out-of-school youth survey conducted
Some teachers trained to provide learning support expertise in schools	School –community relationships established	Increase in awareness of barriers to learning
Successful projects including parents developed		
Teamwork was established		

The key trends documented in all three reports relate to the establishment of the Institutional Level Support Teams in all schools, active parental involvement in school activities, the awareness of inclusive education policy and barriers to learning that result in exclusion of learners, the development of inclusive classroom practices, and the development of positive school–community

partnerships in the school activities. The End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002) further indicates that the teachers' attitudes towards differences in the classroom and, in particular to disability, had changed in a positive way. Consequently learners with disabilities were included in some schools. Although the Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002) is not explicit about the change in attitudes, it alludes to this by referring to an improvement in classroom practices and general school culture. The Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003) indicates that the District-Based Support Team and the resource centre were established and that an out of school survey was conducted.

7.2.3 Factors that facilitated policy implementation in the project

The project's successes outlined in 7.2.2 are attributed to various factors, namely the commitment of all participants, parental involvement, school-community partnerships, vegetable garden projects, school-based training models, action research, Education White Paper 6 and advocacy. Table 7.2 captures the list of perceived factors that facilitate the implementation of inclusive education.

Table 7.2: Perceived facilitators of policy implementation in the project

End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002)	Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002)	Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003)
Education White Paper 6 Training programme School -community partnerships Commitment of participants Good management at school level School-based training model	Training workshops Parental involvement Action Research approach Advocacy Vegetable garden project	Parental involvement Action research Advocacy Vegetable garden projects

Two of the research reports merely list the factors but do not show how these factors facilitated the implementation. An account of *how these factors facilitated the implementation of inclusive education* is found in the End- Term National

Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002). This report claims that school-community partnerships, especially the involvement of people with disabilities in the project, helped to change attitudes towards people with disabilities. This report further indicates that Education White Paper 6 created an awareness of what inclusive education is.

7.2.4 Perceived failures of policy implementation in the project

The three reports reveal that although the project was perceived to be successful, there were objectives that could not be achieved. Figure 7.3 summarizes the perceived failures in the project.

Table 7.3: Perceived failures of policy implementation in the project

End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002)	Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002)	Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003)
Lack of confidence by teachers	Not all schools are accessible	The educators in the Resource Schools are not yet fully convinced of inclusive education
Lack of understanding of the policy	Most schools lack relevant physical and human resources	Institutional Level Support Teams, District-Based Support Teams and Resource Schools not working together
Institutional Level Support Teams and District-Based Support Teams not functioning effectively	Institutional l Level Support Teams and the District-Based Support Team not working effectively	Inclusive education philosophy not embraced by the Resource Centre
Poor infrastructure not addressed	Inclusive education philosophy not accepted by the Resource centre	Effects of poverty
Inclusion not integrated in the school policies	Lack of commitment to Inclusive Education	

The above summary shows that the established District-Based Support Team was not functional and that teachers who served in the Institutional Based Support Teams were still not confident. This lack of confidence impacted negatively on the functioning of this Institutional Level Support Team. One of the reasons cited in the three reports relates to the fact that the support needed by the schools was not provided by the district. The End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (2002), and the Consolidation Report (Mathot, 2003) both allege that the district

officials did not see inclusive education as their responsibility. The Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002) claims that education officials were not committed to the process. With regard to physical access, the reports show that the infrastructure was still very poor. In addition, the special schools felt overwhelmed by their new role as resource centres. According to the End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (2002), and the Consolidation Report (Mathot, 2003), this has led to frustration and negative attitudes. Poverty remained a major barrier in the implementation of inclusive education. The quotations below capture the perceptions from the reports:

> *"The effects of poverty as a major barrier to learning are difficult to address" (Department of Education, 2002).*

> *"The Education Officers experience difficulties with the new (extra) role of supporting inclusive education in schools"(Mathot, 2003).*

> *"The attitudes towards inclusive education have become more negative" (Department of Education, 2002).*

7.2.5 Factors that constrained inclusion

The three reports highlight several key factors that constrained the implementation of inclusive education in the Eastern Cape. Table 7.4 captures the constraining factors in the project.

Table 7.4: Summary of factors that constrained implementation in the project.

End Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002)	Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002)	Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003)
Lack of support at district level Lack of commitment at district level Lack of proper collaboration between government departments; Effects of poverty Inability to cope with the demands of the new roles Poor physical infrastructure Restructuring of the Education Departments.	Lack of capacity at school and district levels Lack of physical and human resources Negative attitudes towards inclusion Lack of commitment by education officials	Negative attitudes towards inclusion Inability to cope with new roles Effects of poverty Lack of collaboration between Institutional Level Support Teams and District-Based Support Team

The summary provided in 7.2.5 shows that throughout the course of the DANIDA project, there were challenges that prevented schools from implementing inclusion. Some of the challenges were linked to the Department of Education's perceived lack of commitment to the process. All the reports show that there was a lack of proper collaboration within and between government departments as well as a lack of support at district level. The lack of support impacted negatively on capacity building at school level. The End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002), in particular, shows that at school and district levels, participants could not cope with the demands of the new roles expected of them. The shortage of physical and human resources was also regarded as one of the factors that constrained the implementation.

7.2.6 Summary of documentary analysis

The DANIDA project document (Department of Education, 1999), Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) Conceptual and Operational Guidelines for Special Schools as Resource Centres (Department of Education, 2005a), and the Conceptual and Operational Guidelines for Full-Service Schools

(Department of Education, 2005b) show that the policy's short–term goals for the pilot phase included the establishment of District Support Team and Institutional Level Support Teams, the conversion of designated primary schools into full-service schools and the conversion of special schools into resource centres. The DANIDA pilot schools, on the other hand, formulated their own goals in line with their contextual factors. Almost all the schools in project focused on physical access and safety.

There were many claims of success in the project. These successes were measured against schools' set goals and positive effects that could be identified in the project. The successes related to the establishment of the Institutional Based Support Teams in all schools, active parental involvement in school activities, positive attitudes towards disability, the awareness of inclusive education policy and barriers to learning that cause exclusion of learners, the development of inclusive classroom practices, and the development of positive school–community partnerships in the school activities. The factors that facilitated success in the project included the commitment of all participants, school community partnerships, the promulgation of Education White Paper 6, the action research process, access to a training model, parental involvement and vegetable garden projects.

Although there were positive experiences in the project, the End-Term National Quality Evaluation (Department of Education, 2002), the Consolidation Report (Mathot, 2003) and the Impact Study (Mathot, 2002) reports show that some of the set objectives were not achieved, and this was perceived as a failure of the project. By the end of the project, the established support structures such as the District Based Support Team and Institutional Level Support Team were not functioning effectively. The district officials were not committed to inclusive education as they did not see inclusive education as their responsibility. Consequently, they did not provide support for schools. Similarly, the special schools felt overwhelmed by their new roles within the inclusive education

framework. Poverty was still regarded as the main barrier in the schools, despite the development of vegetable gardens and other projects.

7.3 INTERVIEW FINDINGS

The previous chapter gave an account of two types of interviews conducted in the study and how these methods complemented one another. The data collected through the unstructured and semi-structured interviews were synthesized in order to develop coherence in the presentation of findings. The findings were then analyzed using a combination of the predetermined categories developed in Chapter Five, as well as categories that emerged during unstructured interviews.

7.3.1 Policy objectives

The participants were asked to describe the changes they intended to make in their schools or district in the course of the DANIDA project, and to explain the basis on which those decisions were made. The relevance of this question to the study was to obtain an in-depth understanding of the contexts in which the implementation of inclusive education played itself out in the project. The different participants had indicated, in keeping with the research reports that their main aim was to make schools accessible to all learners, especially to those who experienced barriers to learning and development.

Although different participants regarded improving access to schools as the main objective, the participants seemed to have different views about what accessibility meant and how it should be provided. All participants in the primary schools involved in the study, and the Disabled People's Organisation, were in favour of improving the physical learning environment and socio-economic conditions. It is interesting to note that high school participants held a different view of what constitutes accessibility. Their focus was not on the physical improvement of the school buildings, but rather on the adaptation of the curriculum content and their adjustment to an alternative curriculum. The categories that emerged from high school responses included the following: The design of an alternative curriculum

for the technically-oriented learners, construction of a skills training centre in the school, the establishment of poverty alleviation projects, advocacy of inclusive education, the enhancement of the capacity of teachers and parents to address the needs of learners.

Participants from the district, researchers, universities and national and provincial stakeholders from the Departments of Education were in favour of curriculum adaptation, advocacy, and improved teaching approaches. Socio-economic-related barriers were raised by all participants. By contrast, the participants in the special school did not seem to understand what the intended changes were. Furthermore, it appears that they perceived the inclusive education initiative as an additional burden for special school teachers.

The views that follow illustrate how the participants at primary school level understood the concept of accessibility:

> *"In order to make our schools accessible we identified the building of ramps, the development of vegetable gardens, the building of toilets, parental involvement and the fencing of school as our targets for the implementation"*(*Primary school teacher).*

> "Kule projekthi sasifuna ukuba izikolo zethu zilungiswe ukuze abantwana abakhubazekileyo bakwazi ukuqhuba iwheelchair zabo bangene eziklasini. Enye into ke sasifuna ukuba izikolo zethu zibiywe ukuze abantwana bethu bakhuseleke. *Our aim was to improve the physical structure of our school so that wheelchair users can access the classrooms. Also, we wanted our school to be fenced so that our children could be safe" (Parent of a learner with disability*).

> **"***We wanted to improve the physical infrastructure. The improvement of infrastructure for us meant building of additional classes and the refurbishment of damaged classes and toilets" (Primary School principal).*

Views from the High School participants included the following:

> *"Our main focus in this school was to provide equal educational opportunities for all our learners. Some of our learners could not access the existing curriculum because of their limitations and inflexibility of the curriculum. We know that some of our learners can benefit from technically oriented curriculum. There is plenty of space in our school and we want to build a skills training centre so that some of our learners can learn skills like sewing and others"(High School Principal).*

> *"Some learners could not come to school because there was no food at home. During the DANIDA project we wanted to open a soup kitchen in order to feed the hungry learners. We had managed to form partnerships with other organizations to support us in this vision" (Primary School teacher).*

> *"Making this school accessible meant building the capacity of parents and teachers to address the diverse needs of the learners."(Primary School teacher).*

At district level the participants identified curriculum adaptation as that which makes schools accessible. As two officials put it:

> *"Making the curriculum more accessible enables learners to achieve academically. This was what we strove for in the implementation of inclusive education. We also wanted to establish a District-Based Support Team" (District official).*

> *The main target for the implementation of inclusive education in the schools was the complete change of mindsets of different stakeholders in schools, change of classroom practices, school policies and cultures (Provincial official).*

Comments from the Special School teachers included:

> *"I was not interested to know what the project was all about. What I can tell you is that that process was extremely confusing and complicated. I just complied with the instructions from the principal. I must say that I was and still am tired of these initiatives and I don't pay any attention to them anymore. We are overloaded already. I am sorry if you find my response disappointing but I think it is important to be honest" (Special School teacher).*

> *"I think inclusive education is a good idea and a better option but we were not sure of what we needed to do in order to implement inclusive education in the project. We really got mixed messages. Some people said we should become a resource centre and be part of the District-Based Support Team. Some said we must teach our learners like other mainstream educators and we should also provide support by running workshops and managing the resource centre. Surely you cannot do everything. It is still not clear" (Special School principal).*

One national official, on the other hand, had a different view. She commented:

> *"The project had huge plans. The objectives were extremely ambitious. I think our aim was to raise awareness of Education White Paper 6 at National, Provincial, District and School levels - the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders and making schools accessible" (National official).*

In summary, the different participants' responses to this question showed that at the time the project started the policy had not yet been released and, therefore, the objectives were determined by the contexts in which policy implementation took place. This view was supported by the Situational Analysis Report (Mathot, 2002). Although different contexts determined the changes, the main aim of the different participants was to make schools accessible to all learners. The second aim was to address the effects of poverty that prevented effective learning.

Different schools were assisted by the consortium to define accessibility, hence there were variations in the way they understood accessibility. Most primary schools focused on improving the physical infrastructure and poverty alleviation on the other hand. High schools, district, the provincial Department of Education and the consortium were more concerned with advocacy, curriculum adaptation issues and addressing the effects of poverty.

7.3.2 Perceived successes of policy implementation in the project

Participants were asked to describe what they perceived to be their successes in the project and to give reasons for their responses. This question was crucial in gaining an in-depth understanding of the participants' perceived successes, how participants determined it, and how they defined success in the implementation of inclusive education. The qualitative data clearly revealed that there were positive gains in the project. The positive gains included the improvements of school buildings, positive attitudes towards learners experiencing difficulties, an increased awareness of inclusion, the development of partnerships with other projects and sectors, the refurbishment of schools, the development of vegetable gardens, parental involvement, community partnerships, empowerment and the ability to identify learners experiencing barriers to learning and development. Participants claimed that the successes in the project were linked to the school objectives as well as positive experiences of the participants.

Underpinning these findings was a very positive endorsement of the project from many of the participants:

> "*The inclusive education programme engendered a sense of hope and enthusiasm to address the needs of learners, especially those that experience barriers to learning and development. Furthermore, the consultative approach adopted in the project developed mutual relations among, teachers, parents, and institutions of higher learning"(District official).*

"*I think my involvement in the implementation of inclusive education project empowered me. I had an opportunity of being centrally involved in my professional development. I mean making decisions regarding the development of training materials that are appropriate for my training needs. My voice was heard and this was never done before" (Primary School teacher).*

"For me the project succeeded in raising broad awareness about inclusive education policy and in the development of advocacy tools. I also think schools were beginning to understand the roles of different stakeholders in the implementation and to address the systemic barriers and building community partnerships. There had been a shift in terms of looking at barriers from the learner to the system as whole" (National official).

"Through the partnerships that we built in the project, my school got funding from the Urban Renewal Strategy Project which enabled us to build four classrooms and toilets. We also received computers from Standard Bank and a stove. The other success that I would like to share here is the fact that our teachers were able to identify learners who were experiencing barriers to learning and development. Consequent to that our staff establishment changed to our advantage because we submitted the list of those learners to the Department of Education" (Former principal).

"Nathi sabandanyeka kwizinto ezenziwa kwesi sikolo. Ndibala ntoni na, saqeshwa ukuba sicoce, sipeyinte isikolo, sabiya isikolo, saqala negadi yemifuno. Ndikhumbula ukuba ukhona nomzali owayefundisa abantwana besi sikolo ukuxhentsa nokubhaka." *We were involved in school activities. We were employed to clean and paint the school, we fenced the school and we started a spaza shop and developed a vegetable garden. I remember that one parent taught children in this school traditional dance and baking."(Grand-parent.)*

In summary, the views from different participants indicate that they experienced some successes during the implementation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project. These successes ranged from improved understanding of inclusive education philosophy, material gains, and physical resources to empowerment. The officials from the Department of Education and the researchers and participants from the Special School valued participants' increased awareness of Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) and community involvement. The primary school participants and the representatives from the disability organisations felt that the improvement of physical learning environment, the cultivation of vegetable gardens and community involvement were important. High school participants and service providers perceived their successes in terms of improved awareness of inclusive education philosophy, teacher development, community involvement and collaboration with other sectors. It appears that success in this case study was measured against the outcomes desired by the individuals.

7.3.3 Factors that facilitated policy implementation in the DANIDA project

The participants were asked to describe the factors that facilitated their successes in the project and to explain how those factors affected the implementation process. It is interesting to note that participants who responded well to this question were mainstream teachers, parents and consortium members. The responses of different participants emphasized the fact that the implementation of inclusive education took place under extremely difficult conditions. Some of the conditions cited included:

- The absence of legislation;
- Negative experiences with other policy initiatives;
- The lack of support from the department of education;
- Lack of resources;
- Poverty;
- Poor infrastructure;
- The complexity of the curriculum.

These issues are discussed later in this chapter. The participants felt that the conditions in their schools were so bad that they could easily have abandoned the programme, but that their values, norms and beliefs compelled them to persevere.

Values, norms and beliefs

The majority of participants in the study claimed that it is part of their African culture to take personal responsibility for improving other people's situations. They indicated that they believe that all children should be treated with respect and compassion, irrespective of their abilities and socio-economic backgrounds. This practice was described as "ubuntu". According to the participants, this belief compelled them to find ways to address the needs of the learners because most parents were poor and could not afford to send their children to clinical psychologists and other specialists. The examples of how "ubuntu" manifested itself in the project included the following actions by teachers: The adoption of some of the abused and neglected learners and the provision of clothes, writing materials, mealie-meal and soup, and the transportation of some of learners to hospitals and welfare offices by the teachers. In some schools soup kitchens were created by teachers who used their own groceries. The participants claimed that this was necessary because of high incidences of learners who came to school hungry each day. The Department of Education's nutrition scheme catered for foundation phase learners only, leaving their siblings hungry. In two schools learners that came from affluent families also took on the responsibility of adopting other learners and providing lunch for them daily. The participants claimed that as a result of such practices, incidences of fainting learners and absenteeism decreased.

> *"These teachers went an extra mile to find solutions to the educational problems. They did not rely on the Department of Education. The officials do not know the struggle, they are just administrators. Besides they do not seem to have ubuntu. Our culture teaches us to value people irrespective of their disability" (Primary School principal).*

> "Iititshala zalapha zinobuntu kakhulu sisi.Kaloku thina siyalamba apha kodwa shem abantwana bayaphiwa ukutya esikolweni nezinto zokubhala. *Teachers in this school have ubuntu. We starve here but they bring food for our children and pencils" (Parent).*

Commitment of participants to policy

Findings indicate that commitment was a central factor in implementing inclusion at all levels from school to provincial. At school level, participants claimed that their participation in the implementation of inclusive education was driven first and foremost by their commitment to perform the duties assigned to them by the Eastern Cape Department of Education. However, the context in which they had to implement inclusive education was not conducive to this task. Schools were poorly resourced and there was no legislation nor clear guidelines when they started the project. These conditions could have forced them to withdraw from the project, but the teachers' and the parents' beliefs about the importance of providing learners with equal opportunities made them persevere.

The teachers' passion for the disabled learners and learners who experience difficulties compelled them to participate in the project, despite the lack of support from the Department of Education as well as unpleasant experiences related to other policy initiatives. Some participants claimed that after the withdrawal of the project, the pilot schools were deliberately ignored by the Department of Education. Schools were informed that the DANIDA schools were just piloting. The majority of participants expressed the view that although the Department of Education quietly abandoned its attempt to implement inclusive education in their schools, some schools were still committed to the process and continued to implement inclusive education. This commitment was attributed to their cultural values, "the spirit of uBuntu", their political beliefs, and their eagerness to address the needs of learners. These issues are picked up later in this chapter.

The following views were expressed by the participants:

> "*We were driven by our commitment to our nation and the plight of our brothers and sisters who were undermined and neglected by the education system" (Primary School principal).*

> "Saqonda ukuba masityhale ngesifuba kuba urhulumente akakhathali. *We had to find ways of implementing this inclusion because the Department of Education did not care" (Parent).*

> *"Part of the success, I think, was that teachers had a sense that their role as was to respond to the needs of learners in their community. They saw their role as one to respond to the full range of learners in the community and they didn't really question their role" (Researcher 1).*

At district level, the commitment of the education development officers, the district manager and the senior managers was regarded as one of the factors that facilitated the implementation in the district. The district manager, education development officers and senior managers were involved in the management of the project despite their heavy workloads. The involvement of these officials facilitated the implementation activities such as building constructions, fencing and refurbishment. The commitment of the management and governance pillar was evident when the action research component experienced a shortage of human resources. Human resources in the form of former college of education lecturers were allocated to the action research component of the DANIDA project. Some of these lecturers were involved in the teacher training. One of the benefits of the commitment of the senior managers in the project was that inclusive education was integrated into the district development plan, although the project was not always given priority. The commitment of some district officials was attributed to their understanding of the principles of inclusive education and their interaction with Education White Paper 6. One participant said: "*Some of the EDOs were committed to the project although they had heavy workloads" (Consortium member).*

At provincial level, the commitment of the provincial coordinator was regarded as instrumental in the facilitation of the implementation process. At national level, the participants felt that the national project manager played a major role in supporting and facilitating implementation in the district.

Community involvement

A third factor in facilitating the implementation was community involvement. Participants indicated that community involvement was the most effective strategy in alleviating hunger as well as in improving physical infrastructure and security in the schools. Community involvement in this context included the involvement of learners, parents, grandparents, guardians, neighbours, community police forums and community organizations.

(a) Learner involvement

Most teachers and parents stated that learners' involvement was a critical factor in making disabled learners feel welcome. Learners were seen as instrumental not only in making other learners feel welcomed and supporting these learners, but also in developing teachers' understanding of their needs. Some of the learners' activities cited by teachers were:

- Sharing of food and experiences with other learners;
- Raising awareness of the needs of disabled learners;
- Assisting the physically disabled learners during recess;
- Reporting sexual abuse, teasing and bullying incidences to teachers;
- Supporting learners when having seizures;
- Supporting learners who experience difficulties with class activities.

Teachers indicated that these activities helped learners who experience barriers to learning to develop self-confidence. These were expressed in the following views:

> *"When the disabled learner arrived at the school, she was withdrawn and did not want to participate in any activity, partly because she was crawling. Other learners supported her a lot at play and gradually she*

socialized with others and she led many activities in her group" (Primary School teacher).

"My learners taught me how to handle epilepsy in my class. I used to literally run away from the scene pretending to be looking for help" (Primary School teacher).

"Learners can make other learners miserable but they can also facilitate inclusion" (Primary School principal).

"My child gets lunch from her friend everyday. Children in this school are really supportive." (Parent).

(b) Parental involvement

Of the seven schools participants from five schools indicated that some parents and grandparents/guardians were involved in the school activities. These activities ranged from conflict resolution, cleaning and painting of school buildings to fund-raising. It was reported that in one school, parents purchased thirty computers and built a computer centre. In the same school parents were teaching learners African dance and baking. In two other schools four industrial sewing machines were donated by parents in order to train overage learners and those who could not cope with academic subjects. The involvement of parents helped the schools to meet their targeted objectives. Although parents in these schools felt that they had contributed to the education of their children, they pointed out that a stipend could have been used to motivate unemployed parents to become actively involved in the project. Some of the parents expressed the concern that hungry parents should not have been expected to do voluntary work as they had to find food for their survival. Some parents felt that teachers wanted to use parents to fulfil roles like cleaning and conflict resolution, but when it came to strategic planning and decision making, they were excluded.

A further benefit in one case is as follows:

"The involvement of parents in our schools solved vandalism and reduced the incidences of robbery during school hours" (Parent).

This increase in safety is also attributed to broader community involvement.

(c) Broader community involvement

The majority of participants said that most children were raised by grandparents who could not participate in certain activities in schools. As a result, neighbours took the responsibility of attending school meetings and functions on behalf of the grandparents. In the areas where the schools are situated, there were gangsters who robbed teachers and learners of their personal belongings, and whose presence made learners and teachers feel unsafe during the day. Also, school buildings were vandalized and resources were stolen because there was no fencing and security. This necessitated the intervention of communities which helped to remove some of the barriers to inclusion associated with safety in schools. Some of the examples of community involvement cited by participants included:

- Community' involvement in accessibility audit;
- Cultivation of vegetable gardens;
- Construction of classrooms and toilets;
- Building of ramps;
- Fencing of schools;
- General cleaning of the school yard, classrooms and toilets;
- Teaching of arts and culture;
- Refurbishment of school buildings;
- Visibility of the community in and around the school premises;
- Provision of security in order to prevent vandalism of the school properties.

Some of the participants made the following comments:

"Our community really played a major role in helping us to remove the barriers that we identified" (Primary School principal).

"Community involvement was the major gain in the project. Work was done in schools" (District official).

School-community relationships

The kind of involvement documented above also helped to improve school community relationships. All the participants valued the importance of developing good personal relationships between teachers, parents, learners and the local community. Participants at school level felt that these relationships affected learning in a positive way.

Home visits and regular communication with parents or grandparents were considered to be of paramount importance to the success of inclusion. The benefits of school-family relationships in the project included gaining the trust of parents and learners, as well as gaining a better understanding of the family as a system, which could either support or act as a barrier to learning and development. One mainstream teacher mentioned that: *"We had to build relationships with the parents and learners in order to get genuine information about the learners' barriers to learning" (Primary School teacher).*

The majority of teachers claimed that the fact that in their contexts most learners were raised by their grandparents and that these grandparents did not always attend parent meetings, made it difficult for teachers to understand the values and cultural background of learners as well as the existing and potential challenges that learners might face. Home visits thus helped teachers to get the required information and to get to know the parents better. As one participant put it:

"We used your strategy. Remember you said: if Mohammed does not want to go to the mountain, the mountain must go to Mohammed. We visited homes and we attended community meetings and it worked" (Primary School principal).

Building school-family relationships did not only help teachers understand the learners better, but caregivers also gained a better understanding of their roles and

the school expectations. Consequently, attendance at meetings improved, and some parents and grandparents became actively involved in the implementation activities. The relationships also helped to lobby parental support for the project. One grandparent described this relationship as follows:

> "Bathi bakufika oomisi ababini apha ekhaya ndothuka, ndabaneentloni kuba ndandingenayo neti le okanye idrinki yokubanika basele.. Kodwa emva kokuba bemkile ndaziva nam tyhini! ndihloniphekile ndibalulekile.Ndaye ndabathemba, ndayazi into yokuba bayakhathala ngabantwana bethu. Yiyo loo nto ndaqonda ukuba mandibe nenxaxheba endiyithathayo kula projekthi kaDANIDA. *When two teachers visited my home I was embarrassed because I did not have any tea or cooldrink to offer but after they left I felt respected and important. That is why I participated in the DANIDA project."(Grandparent)*

Relationships with other sectors

Some participants claimed that the relationships with other projects, businesses and other government departments benefited the schools. The benefits described by the participants related to knowledge and practical problem-solving. The majority of participants indicated that their relationship with the consortium improved their understanding of both the concept of "barriers to learning and development" as well as their concept of disability. This was achieved through their engagement in debates about these issues.

Participants in one primary school felt that through their partnership with university psychologists, they gained more knowledge on how to respond to the needs of abused learners. The following comment indicates one of the benefits of partnerships:

> *"I want to add that we benefited from our relationships in many ways. Some of us did not know much about barriers to learning but our*

interaction with the university psychologists improved our understanding" (Primary School teacher).

All the participants from one primary school noted that they received approximately half a million from the Urban Renewal Strategy for the construction of more classes and to erect fences. The same school received computers and a stove through their partnerships with Standard Bank. The high school teachers indicated that they benefited from their partnership with the South African Safety Agency (SASA), South African Nacotics Association (SANCA), the Health Promoting Schools Programme, and the Health Department. These partners shared knowledge and skills with the schools.

One participant mentioned that:

"What helped us in this project was our relationship and partnership with projects like SANCA, Health Promoting Schools Programme, the Health Department and Social Partners. Some of these organizations raised awareness in our learners on the dangers of using drugs and alcohol" (High School principal).

Teamwork

Teamwork was regarded as the most crucial factor that helped the participants to implement inclusive education in the schools. Participants claimed that during the DANIDA project, teachers, learners and parents learned to work as teams, and that helped them in problem-solving as well as in sharing ideas, experiences and knowledge relating to inclusion. Teamwork also relieved teachers and parents' anxieties about addressing the needs of disabled learners. However, the participants also claimed that after the withdrawal of the consortium, schools were abandoned by the Department of Education. In the absence of the Department of Education's support and advisory services for the schools, it was teamwork that helped schools to solve their problems.

At district level, for example, education development officers worked as a team in adjudicating tenders as well as inspecting of building construction and fencing. The following view is an indication of the benefits of teamwork.

> *"As I mentioned earlier, we did not get any support from the Department of Education. They knew that we were not remedial teachers but they were not prepared to train us. Working in teams was what helped us. We learned from each other and supported each other as well." (Primary School teacher).*

Interestingly, the high school teachers revealed that teamwork did not work in their school. Instead there were tensions that led to non-participation in the project activities. Two participants made the following claims:

> *"We could not establish an effective support team here. We preferred to work as individuals because of subject teaching. Besides, some people here thought they were superior that others and they did not see the reason why they should share their experiences with the juniors." (High School teacher)*

> *"To be honest with you, madam, I did not want to be held responsible for that inclusion thing because I had a syllabus to complete. I just did not have time for those meetings and I pulled out." (High School teacher)*

Exposure to disability

The majority of teachers claimed that their interaction with people with disabilities helped them to gain a better understanding of how to identify certain disabilities and how to address the needs of learners with disabilities. This understanding alleviated the fears and negativity related to disability. Hence, they found it easy to accept and teach learners with disabilities in their respective classrooms. Some parents claimed that through their experiences of raising children with disabilities, they were able to give meaningful contributions in the workshops and to the teachers. These are some of the views

"I have a kid and a sister with disability and I have learned how to work with them. This helped me when I had to deal with similar learners at school. "(Special School teacher).

"Kuba ndinamava wokukhulisa umntwana okhubazekileyo, bendiye ndincede kwii-workshop zootitshala*."Because I have the experience of raising a disabled child, I contributed a lot in the workshops."(Parent)*

Other teachers claimed that their exposure to disability created negative attitudes. This was attributed to the fact that they had negative experiences in parenting children with severe disabilities. They mentioned that they were not keen to do the same at school. One of them said:*"I have a disabled child and I struggled to raise him. I don't want to deal with disabled learners again."(Primary School teacher)*

Capacity to implement inclusive education

All the participants participated in school-based capacity building workshops and they observed that the workshops did raise awareness of inclusive education policy and disability. Some of the positive gains of the training included the teachers' involvement in materials development and the sharing of experiences across participants. However, the training was perceived as inadequate. Examples of such claims can be found in the following statements:

"The training that was offered by the consortium raised our awareness of inclusive education itself and the disability, but inadequate .We needed more sessions and time to adapt our ways of doing things" (Primary School principal).

" Zasinceda kakhulu sisi eza workshop zikaZininzi. Kwatsho kwathi qwenge noko siyayazi ngoku into efanele ukuba yenziwe ngabazali nokuba zenziwa njani na iramps. *The workshops that were conducted by Zininzi helped us to understand our roles as parents and how to build ramps" (Parent).*

Leadership capacity

Four schools reported that their principals were actively involved in the project and were proactive in establishing conditions that were conducive to successful inclusion. Some of these conditions included the integration of inclusive education activities into the school development plans and school timetable, the establishment of partnerships with other organizations and departments, and the facilitation of cluster and Institutional Level Support Team meetings. These principals were described as "visionary", "supportive" and "good" leaders. The views expressed included the following:

> "I *have experienced good principals that are kind of thinking outside the box that really embraced the issues of inclusivity. In those schools wonderful things happened" (Researcher 1).*
>
> *"I think good leadership contributed a lot to the success in the project" (National official).*
>
> *"Schools that were led by supportive and visionary principals, succeeded in implementing inclusive education" (District official).*

In summary, the majority of participants perceive their leaders' capacity to implement inclusive education as one of the factors that facilitated the implementation of inclusion in the DANIDA project.

7.3.4 Perceived failures of policy implementation in the DANIDA project

The positive experiences outlined above were also accompanied by criticism and disappointments. It appears that although participants felt they had improved access in schools, learners' diverse needs were still not being addressed. Teachers acknowledged that they could identify learners who experience barriers to learning but that they lacked the capacity to address their needs. The inability to establish a functional District-Based Support Team was viewed as a major setback in the project as the Institutional Level Support Teams were neither trained nor supported in performing their functions optimally. Some participants

felt that the District-Based Support Team and Institutional Level Support Teams were the key levers for inclusion.

This led to the following comments:

> *"Although we began to identify learners experiencing barriers to learning in our school we could not address their needs because we did not get any support from the Department of Education" (Primary School teacher).*

> *"As a member of the Learning Support Team I didn't know what to do after the withdrawal of the project. We never received any form of in-service training or advice from the Department of Education. The project could not establish a functional District-Based Support Team at all"(High School teacher).*

> **"** Sasicinga singabazali ukuba le projekthi iza kuncedisana nathi ekulweni indlala ngokuthi iveze imisetyenzana ekuhlaleni. Kaloku umntu olambileyo akakwazi ukusebenza nje mahala. Noko istipent besinokunikwa. *We thought the project will help the community to fight poverty by providing job for the parent. You need to know that hungry people cannot work free of charge everyday. We expected a stipend at least from the project" (Parent).*

> *"I think the project failed to convince the Department of Education to sustain the work that was started, hence all our efforts were not supported after the withdrawal of the project" (Primary School principal).*

In summary, the majority of participants in this study felt that there were failures during implementation. The provincial and district officials associated the implementation failures with the inability of the schools to achieve policy objectives. . These included the failure to establish effective support structures at school and district levels. Also, it appears that some teachers expected the project to provide in-service training. Parents expected the DANIDA project to contribute

towards poverty alleviation. The national official regarded the policy implementation as merely a pilot and did not want to comment on its failure.

7.3.5 Factors that constrained policy implementation in the DANIDA project

During the semi-structured interviews participants were asked to describe what they considered to be the constraints in the implementation of inclusive education and how these constraints affected the implementation. Factors that emerged from the interviews were divided into nine categories:

- Diverse interpretations of inclusive education;
- Lack of capacity to implement inclusion;
- Negative attitudes towards inclusion;
- Limitations of Education White Paper 6;
- Lack of funding for inclusion;
- Lack of resources for teaching and learning;
- Lack of support at school and district level;
- Lack of commitment to policy;
- Challenge of implementing National Curriculum Statement.

Poverty

Poverty was perceived by all the participants as the major barrier to access to effective teaching and learning in the DANIDA schools with the majority of parents being unemployed and most learners surviving on their grandparents' social grants. All teachers and parents, especially in the informal settlement, felt that this situation was so bad that it had a negative impact on teaching, learning, parental involvement and the physical learning environment. One national official claimed that: *"Poverty remains a major barrier to the implementation of inclusion in South Africa" (National official).*

(a) Effects of poverty on learning

The majority of teachers in the informal settlements reported cases of learners who often came to school without having had breakfast and without any lunch. Some of these learners would faint in the classrooms. These participants claimed that the majority of learners from the poorer families chose to stay at home because of hunger. Some teachers in the informal settlement reflected that although parents and grandparents devoted their incomes to food, such efforts did not satisfy their needs. Many teachers in the township also reported high levels of non-attendance and low participation at schools due to hunger and starvation.

In an attempt to combat hunger in schools, the participants indicated that a school nutrition programme was organized by the Department of Education. Both parents and teachers in the case study schools felt that the programme temporarily helped to fight hunger and to encourage poorer parents to send their children to school. According to the teachers and parents, although the nutrition measures seemed very promising at the beginning, incidences of corruption within the Department of Education acted as an impediment in the service delivery of this programme. These are some of their comments regarding this view:

> "*We were often confronted by a problem of fainting learners in this school. The Department organized a nutrition scheme which excluded other learners from benefiting. Other learners would literally grab food from the foundation phase learners or sometimes steal food from the store room. We thought our problems were solved but because some of the senior officials were greedy up there, they misused the money" (Primary School teacher).*

> "Kwathiwa apha abantwana bethu baza kufumana ukutya apha esikolweni, savuya ke. URhulumente uqeshe amagruxu athanda imali. Bayitya loo mali netshomi zabo. Abantwana bethu bayalamba ngoku, izisu zabo zithe nca. *When the feeding scheme was introduced, we were happy. The government officials and their friends decided to take the money for themselves and our children were left without food" (Parent).*

In addition, many teachers in the township and informal settlement claimed that the process of feeding learners reinforced discriminatory practices. The Intermediate and Senior Phase learners were denied access to the food although they came from the same families as the Foundation Phase learners. Subsequently some learners in the informal settlement resorted to stealing food or forcefully taking food from the Foundation Phase learners. It is interesting to note that special school teachers did not mention any effects of poverty in their school. This could be attributed to the fact that the school has a boarding facility and is fully subsidized by the Department of Education.

(b) Effects of poverty on teaching

All the teachers in the case study indicated that poverty had negatively affected effective teaching in their schools. Quality teaching time was spent in solving social problems and often involved abandoning the learners in the classrooms. To justify this situation, teachers cited the absence of parents due to migration to other provinces which resulted in teachers having to assume the added responsibility of providing aid as care givers. This situation compelled teachers to help learners to access the necessary resources that promote a state of physical, mental and social well being. Some of the high school teachers said:

> *"Because I coordinated the TST, I was expected to help those students who were heading families to apply for identity documents, and to access welfare support. My geography class suffered as a result." (High School teacher)*

Some of these teachers had to take learners to hospitals, police stations, home affairs and welfare offices because some grandparents, who were primary care givers, did not have money or the relevant knowledge to access these public institutions. According to the teachers, this situation put enormous pressure on them because it altered their main roles, increased their workload and compromised their well being. Some of the teachers in the informal settlement claimed that they had to address complex social problems while being expected to compete with other teachers in the profession whose support services and

resources were vastly better. The majority of teachers in the informal settlement felt that they were used by the system as unpaid social workers and yet they were still expected to teach effectively.

The second problem that was cited as undermining effective teaching in the case study schools was the lack of resources, primarily due to the failure of the Department of Education to provide basic teaching materials. Most work was done manually and as a result it was difficult for the teachers to design worksheets and activities. In the light of this challenge, it is not surprising that the role players would regard poverty as a barrier to inclusion. It is not only a barrier to inclusion, but it also disrupts the entire teaching and learning process.

(c) Effect of poverty on parental involvement

Some teachers indicated that developing positive relationships with parents and grandparents from low socio-economic backgrounds and getting them involved with their children's education and school activities was a challenge. It was a challenge not only in relation to participation in decision making but in supporting their children with school work. Consequently, homework and projects were deliberately abandoned by teachers because the majority of parents and grandparents could not support their children because of their low levels of literacy, job-related challenges, and the medium of instruction used at school. The majority of teachers expressed that lack of parental involvement in school activities denied teachers access to parents' perspectives on learners' needs. Teachers had to make an extra effort to build the trust of parents and grandparents and to reach out to them. As one teacher mentioned:

> *"Some of the parents really wanted to be involved in school activities, but some of them were working long hours, some could not read nor write. (Primary School teacher).*

Some parents concurred with the teachers that parental involvement in school activities in the context of poverty was very difficult. Parents were confronted with the challenge of providing food for their children on a daily basis, and their

involvement in unpaid school activities was not a priority. This, according to them, should not be regarded as an indication of a lack of interest in their children's education, but rather as a sign of the extent to which poverty imposed limitations on their engagement with the school. These parents also indicated that they were often stressed and demotivated because of starvation and did not have the energy to work in the vegetable gardens. This was echoed by one of the district officials. He commented that parents were enthusiastic when inclusion was introduced because they hoped that they would receive a stipend out of the inclusive education project. The district official pointed out that the reality was that people were starving and should not be expected to do voluntary work.

(d) Effects of poverty on the physical learning environment

Many teachers reported that the majority of toilet facilities were often dirty and smelly. Because schools could not afford to maintain these toilet facilities, requests were made to the Department of Education which failed to respond to requests for such needs.

In summary**,** it appears that although the case study schools are situated in different geographic locations, they had similar experiences with poverty. These participants regarded poverty as a major barrier to the implementation of inclusive education policy. Poverty had a negative impact on teaching, learning, the physical environment, and parental involvement in the DANIDA project. It is worth noting that it seems that schools in the informal settlement were the mostly affected. The participants from the district, province and national Department of Education shared similar views.

Diverse interpretations of inclusive education

Almost all the participants identified the lack of a common understanding of inclusive education as one of the major constraints in the implementation of inclusive education policy. Some participants felt that various interpretations and ambiguities emerged at different levels of the education system. The recognition

of lack of understanding of the concept of inclusive education is expressed in the following comments:

> *"Understanding inclusion was a challenge. Many people were still regarding inclusive education as a disability oriented movement" (National official).*

> *"I still struggle to understand what this inclusive education is all about. As a result I don't know what more to do in order to be inclusive."(Special School teacher).*

> *This inclusive education programme was not clearly defined and for me that was a major hindrance" (Special School principal).*

Most participants claimed that they had received mixed messages from other participants in the implementation process, and that this created a lot of confusion. The difference in interpretation was not only in relation to what inclusive education is, but also in terms of what it means for implementation. According to the participants, this lack of common understanding compelled schools to work out their own interpretations of inclusive education. Examples of different interpretations cited during interviews included how barriers to learning should be addressed in the schools, how a complete overhaul of the education system should be conducted, and how the integration of learners with disability should happen in the mainstream schools. Some participants claimed that:

> *"There is a lot of passion and commitment from practitioners but none of the provincial departments of education seem to have a coherent understanding of inclusive education and none of them seems to know what needs to be done. Everyone seems to say what needs to be done depends on finances and capacity. But what needs to be done has nothing to do with what White Paper 6 requires" (Researcher 1).*

> *"Inclusive education has never been seen as an integral part of building quality education in South Africa. This starts at national level and*

permeates to other levels .I think the biggest barrier in the implementation of inclusive education is getting people to think differently about the learners, how they learn and how they participate in the learning process. For me this is a critical issue" (Researcher 2)

Lack of capacity to implement inclusion

Most participants indicated that lack of capacity to implement inclusive education was a major challenge in the project. The participants identified this lack of capacity at individual, school, district, provincial and national levels.

(a) Capacity at individual level

At school level, teachers identified lack of expertise, unrealistic workloads, unrealistic roles of teachers and support staff as aspects that related to lack of capacity at individual level.

The majority of teachers in the mainstream schools claimed that they could identify barriers to learning and development but that they did not have the relevant competencies to address the needs of learners in the classrooms. For example, they felt unable to address the needs of sexually abused learners, HIV infected and affected learners, neglected learners, orphans, hungry learners and the disabled learners. Some claimed that although they volunteered to serve in the Institutional Level Support Teams, they could not perform the functions assigned to them because of a lack of capacity. This perceived lack of expertise was expressed as follows:

"I was not confident that I could teach learners with barriers to learning. I was not comfortable at all" (Primary School teacher).

"*We felt that the initial training that we received from our colleges did not equip us to deal with learners that experience barriers to learning. We were made to believe that all learners could learn the same way" (Primary School teacher).*

"We were and still not qualified to deal with the emotional and social problems. Also, I think we should indicate that in our schools we had to deal with a range of serious problems and we tied our level best. We needed more knowledge about how to address other barriers as well. This would definitely constrain inclusion" (High School principal).

"We admitted learners that were referred by other schools because of their inability to read but we feel that we do not all have the expertise of addressing their needs" (Primary School teacher).

In support of this view the district official also mentioned that:

"Learners were turned away as the schools did not have the capacity or specialist staff to accommodate these learners. Some special schools had waiting lists of two years or more."(District official).

The participants attributed this to the inadequate pre-service training they received from the colleges of education, the type of in-service training they were exposed to, as well as the changing roles of teachers after the 1994 elections. This lack of capacity, according to the teachers, led them to feel that their professional identities were under threat. Lack of capacity also prevented them from addressing the diverse needs of learners. The teachers, in particular, claimed that even though the training was offered by the consortium in the project, it did not suffice. It is interesting to note that even those participants who were trained in remedial education felt that their training did not help them to work in an inclusive classroom. Parents and grandparents, particularly in the informal settlement, also felt that they needed training to assist them in understanding how to support their children and grandchildren. This view was evident in the following comment:

"Ndicinga ukuba abazali abayidlali indima yabo kuba abanye abazange baqeqeshwe okanye babandakanywe kwezemfundo. Ubuncinane bolwazi lwezinto ekumelwe ukuba sizenze silufumene kule projekthi."*"I think parents did not play their role because they were never orientated on*

their role in education. The little that we got from the project helped us to perform certain functions well" (Grandparent).

The second constraint identified by the participants in this category was unrealistic workloads. Almost all the participants claimed that they had heavy workloads that prevented them both from participating optimally in the implementation activities and from teaching effectively.

The heavy workloads included the number of learning areas taught by individual teachers, the number of committees individuals had to serve on, the number of workshops to be attended by individuals, and the overwhelming administrative work that had to be done in the classrooms. These teachers said:

"We did not have a designated post to deal with inclusive education. Everybody here was overloaded" (High School principal).

"We could not give individual attention because of heavy workload" (Primary School teacher).

"It was difficult to hold TST meeting and discuss issues pertaining to learners because we were overloaded" (Special School teacher).

At district and provincial levels, participants claimed that the number of policies to be implemented in the district impacted negatively on the district's ability to sufficiently support schools in the implementation of inclusive education. One of the district officials claimed that: *"There were many policies to be implemented in the district and our scope of work was very wide and that limited us from supporting inclusion" (District official).*

In addition to the teaching-related workload, the majority of teachers in the informal settlement claimed that their overall role as teachers was overwhelming. Learners experienced a large number of social problems which hindered their learning in the classrooms. As a result teachers were confronted with problems beyond the scope of their practice. Most learners in the case study schools, especially in the informal settlements, were exposed to neglect, poverty, poor

social welfare provision domestic violence. These learners were raised by grandparents and some of them were heading families themselves. Some parents have died of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, while some have migrated to urban areas in search of jobs. Learners brought this burden to school and this affected learning in many ways. Some of these learners experienced sexual abuse; they often came to school hungry and were sick. This situation added an extra burden on to the teachers because they had to play the role of parent, big brother and sister, pastor, social worker, counsellor, nurse, police person, home affairs official, and teachers. Teachers in the informal settlements argued that these roles overtook their central role of teaching, and that this had a damaging effect on teaching.

In order to illustrate the extent of this responsibility, one teacher described this interesting incident:

> *"I had a ten year old learner who nearly died of infection in my class. I called her grandmother and she could not come to school because she was very sick too. Besides that, she did not have money to take the child to the hospital. The hospital is approximately forty kilometers from school and ambulances were inaccessible. My colleague and I left ninety learners without a teacher to save the life of one learner. We spent the whole day in hospital. This is not an isolated case; we had many similar incidents with raped and assaulted learners" (Primary School teacher).*

> *"We find ourselves having to deal with cases of child neglect, rape, physical abuse, hunger, parental loss, HIV/AIDS issues, child grants and family disputes. This sounds crazy but you must know that most of these children stay with their grannies. Our communities think we can assist in everything. Remember they are old, sick and some of them are not literate. This place is far away and you, as a teacher, are probably the only one with a car here" ((High School principal).*

The township teachers to some extent shared the same views of being overloaded and of carrying parents' responsibilities.

(b) Lack of capacity at school level

During the interviews, the participants at school level reported that the inclusion process in their schools was negatively affected by large class sizes, the conditions of the school buildings and a lack of facilities.

Teachers indicated that large and overcrowded classrooms undermined their efforts to use appropriate teaching strategies and hindered them in addressing individual needs of learners.

> *"We had large classes and it was really difficult to teach effectively. We spent most of the time in trying to control learners' behaviours" (Primary School teacher).*

Large classes also restricted the admission of learners with disabilities. Overcrowding did not only hamper effective teaching and classroom management, but it also prevented learners from receiving individual attention. In some schools in the informal settlement, overcrowding was attributed to the shortage of teachers, while in township schools, this related to the shortage of classrooms. A similar view was expressed by the district official, who said:

> *"All special schools are oversubscribed and are not able to accommodate the learners who have a right to these facilities, nor is there the staff or specialists to service these schools" (District official).*

Most participants in the townships and informal settlement reported poor conditions of some of the classrooms and toilets. Two schools in particular, reported that windows in most classes were all broken and that, as a result, children could not attend school during winter season. Parents could not afford to repair the windows. Most schools, especially in the informal settlement, indicated that toilets were either unavailable or in appalling condition. In one school there were twelve toilets and seven hundred learners. This compelled learners to go home or sometimes to the neighbour's houses during interval and this situation often disrupted learning periods.

"We did not have toilets at all. Children had to go to the nearest bushes or go home during break time. We could not control the learners. Some of the learners would return to school after an hour or two but grade ones do not come back at all"(Primary School teacher).

All participants in the study claimed that resources in schools were grossly inadequate. The schools lacked the basic materials necessary to provide education for the 'normal' learners, notwithstanding learners with special needs. Learning support materials, classroom furniture, maps and charts were not available in some schools. Some schools did not have computers, printers or photocopiers and this situation compelled teachers to work manually. Teachers were unable to provide worksheets for individual learners, and they relied on the use of chalkboards which were not always in good condition. All participants also indicated that schools did not have libraries, and that this resulted in learners not having the materials to develop their reading or research skills. Teachers complained that the lack of facilities in schools prevented them from differentiating learning activities or adapting the existing learning materials. As a result, diverse learners had to use the same material. In addition, teachers said that they felt disempowered as they could not deliver the quality of education programmes appropriate for their learners. .

The researchers, one teacher, the provincial and district officials felt that the underutilization of the available resources and lack of creativity undermined inclusion of learners in the schools. Most of the resources that had been distributed by the Department of Education were locked in the principals' offices and some of these materials accumulated dust in the schools' storerooms. These are some of the comments made by the different participants:

"We had science kits but we were not allowed to take them from the office because of the assumption that children would destroy them" (Primary School teacher).

"The other impediment is resources because we haven't engaged our minds to thinking around how we can utilize the resources most effectively" (National official).

The majority of participants felt that the lack of funding was the reason for the non-implementation or the delay in the implementation of inclusive education in the schools. According to the participants this lack of funding affected the inclusion process in many ways. At school level this affected physical upgrading of schools, procurement of learning support materials, stationery and equipment. The principals, in particular, indicated that a lack of funding disabled them from facilitating change towards inclusion in their schools. Different participants made the following claims:

"*It was difficult to even make copies of worksheets and examination question papers because the school did not have any" (Primary school teacher).*

"*Poor funding of inclusive education initiative is an important reason for the delay and non-implementation of inclusive education policy. This affects staff training, physical upgrading of schools, assistive devices, cost of interpreters and Braille equipment, the employment of support staff and human resource development" (Researcher 1).*

" Much upgrading needs to be done at the special schools as they were allowed to run down and they are without many of the specialists deemed necessary for support, let alone being a resource to other schools" (District Official).

"This school is one of the most poorly resourced schools in the entire province. We need funding to make inclusive education work" (Primary School principal).

(b) *Capacity at district and provincial levels*

District officials identified the shortage of support staff and poor management of inclusive education as the reasons for the failure in supporting and monitoring the inclusive education initiative during and after the DANIDA project.

It was reported that the district had a long history of a shortage of education support staff; hence there were long waiting lists of learners who needed assessment and placement in special schools. Inclusive education was introduced at the time when the education support staff was struggling with assessment backlogs as well as other initiatives. The district officials claimed that while they felt that some members of the education support staff were just not willing to change their roles, they were extremely overloaded. This limited their participation in the District-Based Support Team. As one district official stated:

> *"Present specialist staffing at district level for all schools are: 2 Speech Therapists, 2 Psychologists and 3 Remedial teachers. This is barely enough to be of service to the Special Schools with their high input demand and intense intervention, let alone the 12 DANIDA schools"(District official.)*

With regard to the management capacity of the leading directorate, some participants felt that the placement of the inclusive education policy initiative in the Directorate of Special Needs was a mistake, and that it should not have been managed by the directorate.

Some of these participants described the directorate as incapable of leading the process. They regarded it as a "shaky" directorate and the "step-child" of the Department of Education. This view was expressed by the researchers, the provincial, and the district officials. One participant said:

> *"If you write a White Paper, a piece of law, policy , and if your ultimate purpose is to get inclusive education, you should be very careful not to tie the notion of inclusive education so closely to special needs education and*

especially given the weak administrative clout and weak financial position that special needs finds themselves in" (Researcher 2).

Other reasons were:

- If the aim of inclusive education was to transform the entire education system, it should not have been so closely tied with special needs.
- Given the "weak administrative clout" and "weak financial position" that the special needs directorate seemed to have, linking inclusive education with special needs was setting the implementation process up for failure.
- The directorate of special needs in the province had neither the authority over activities in public schools nor the power to influence those activities. It had never been taken seriously by the Department of Education and therefore any initiative that is driven by the directorate was not likely to be supported. It would remain a special needs issue.
- Some of the officials within the special needs directorate were still pre-occupied by the special education philosophy (pathological model) and were opposed to activities that did not confirm their way of looking at the world. Giving them the responsibility of leading the reform process could either delay or sabotage the reform.

At national level, participants had a different view. They felt that specialized expertise had been built up in the Special Needs Directorate, and that specialists were therefore in a better position to drive the process. One official claimed: *"Special needs directorate has expertise and inclusion must be driven by people who have expertise."(National official)*

Linked to a lack of capacity to lead the process was the poor management of inclusion. The majority of participants claimed that inclusive education was not properly managed by the Department of Education both at provincial and district levels. Inclusion was viewed as the DANIDA's effort, and was not visibly supported by the Department of Education. The participants felt that although there was a project management team that was supposed to drive the process, the Department of Education itself did not embrace inclusion. This was reflected in

the manner in which they engaged in the implementation process. Some participants said that the Department of Education did not emphasise a need and urgency for inclusion. Its officials were not involved in creating awareness about inclusion. Advocacy was left to the service providers in the DANIDA project. This was also evident after DANIDA's withdrawal from the programme. No systematic process was set up to sustain the efforts made by the project towards implementing inclusion in the DANIDA schools.

The second issue was that integration of inclusive education in the education development plan was lacking. Almost all participants claimed that inclusive education was not integrated into issues of educational change and transformation at national, provincial and district levels. This was reflected in the way in which provincial and district programmes were organized. While many programmes were running simultaneously, there was no synergy between these programmes. This lack of synergy caused teachers and district officials to feel overwhelmed by the number of workshops they were expected to attend, and inclusive education was one of the programmes that was not prioritized. Some participants apportioned the blame to the restructuring process. They indicated that the project was introduced during the period of turbulence in the province. Management was constantly changing. Chief directors, directors and circuit managers that were responsible for inclusion were reappointed three times during the DANIDA process alone, and this led to a lack of continuity in the project. These are some of the comments that were made by the district and provincial officials:

> *"The Department of Education was not ready for the implementation of inclusion."(District official)*

> *"A hard, pragmatic look is required at the requirements needed for successful implementation of a policy that is currently only a framework, but which is already being left to implement itself, possibly by default." (District official)*

"Inclusion almost got lost after the DANIDA and remained in the documentation because it came late to the people that were supposed to manage it."(Provincial official)

However, some participants had a different view regarding the turnover of management. They felt that change in management should not affect the implementation. School managers encouraged and accelerated the adoption of inclusion by integrating inclusive education activities into the schools' development plans and establishing Institutional Level Support Teams.

In summary**,** different participants revealed that a lack of capacity to implement inclusive education policy was a constraining factor at all levels. At individual level participants felt that they did not have the expertise to address the diverse needs of learners, that they were overloaded and that inclusive education became an extra burden. At school level, participants cited large classes, poor infrastructure, lack of resources for teaching and learning, and lack of funding for inclusion as constraining factors. At district and provincial levels, participants identified shortage of education support staff, and management capacity of the leading directorate as major constraints to the implementation of inclusion.

Negative attitudes towards inclusion

All the participants in this study reported that the negative attitudes of some of their colleagues constrained the implementation of inclusion in the project. These attitudes were linked to the lack of knowledge about inclusion, bad experiences with other initiatives, new roles implied by the reform, beliefs about how learners learn, and also their pre-service teacher training orientation. The interviewed teachers, in particular, reported that when inclusive education was introduced, they were extremely excited. However, when the new responsibilities were explained and assigned to them, they felt overwhelmed. The different participants gave the following views:

"I felt that inclusive education was an extra burden for high schools and I didn't want to participate in the project activities." (High School teacher)

"I had a bad experience with OBE implementation and I didn't want the same experience again. I was made to believe that I was lazy and useless whereas I didn't get proper training."(High School teacher).

"The role of special school as a resource centre is a confusing and complicated process. It is really threatening" (Special School teacher).

"I think another dynamic is the fact that we have established structures and people in established positions for the last few decades and that grouping presents a huge challenge to changing the status quo." (National official).

The new responsibilities imposed by inclusive education implied new ways of thinking, extensive planning and more work, and yet the working conditions of teachers did not match the expectations of inclusion. Inclusive education was thus regarded as an extra burden to the teachers and school management teams. This led to negativity, especially in the high and special schools. Negative attitudes intensified when the individual needs of teachers and the school needs were not addressed by the Department of Education.

Teachers also acknowledged that their fears, lack of knowledge about disability, and their bad experiences with the implementation of Outcomes-Based Education and other policy initiatives had also contributed to their negative attitudes towards inclusion. Teachers felt threatened at the thought that they might have to teach learners with disabilities and be judged for their success or failure. Some of the interviewed teachers indicated that they believed that learners with disabilities belonged to special schools, hence they did not understand why mainstream teachers should take the responsibility of teaching them in their schools.

According to some of the teachers, the negative attitudes of colleagues delayed the admission of disabled learners, effective functioning of the Institutional Level Support Teams, and inclusion of these learners in the classrooms. The grandparent whose grandchild was about to be placed in special schools indicated that for her inclusive education implied that her grandchild had to remain in the

mainstream school, and that he would therefore loose the benefits he would have received in Special Schools. Some of these benefits included disability grant and the privilege of learning in small classes. This assumption created uncertainty, hence her resistance to participating in the project. The example of such view was expressed as follows:

> "Andiqondi mna ukuba u-inclusive lo angasebenza kuba kwezi zikolo kuzele eziklasini kwaye abantwana bethu abazukufumana luhoyo. Kwakhona xa befunda kwizikolo zabantu abanomal ithetha ukuthi baza kohluthwa igrant**.** *I didn't think inclusive education would work because ordinary schools had and still have big classes and our children would not get individual attention. Again if our disabled children attend ordinary schools they would forfeit their disability grants***" (***Grandparent of a learner with disability***).**

Negative attitudes were also reported by the district officials. They felt that inclusive education was an added burden because they were short-staffed. Some of the district officials reflected that they had a history of special education and a content based curriculum behind them, and that this history affected their assumptions about learning, how they planned, how they worked with learners and teachers, and how they understood support. They also claimed that they were trained to be specialists in certain areas and being pre-occupied with their fields, some of the officials had excluded themselves from the debates and involvement in current Outcomes-Based- Education and inclusion philosophy. These officials expressed their anger and frustration at the inclusive education policy assumptions about their roles and responsibilities. One of the support staff felt that inclusion was an attempt to erode his status as a psychologist.

Some of the interviewed district officials created the impression that certain officials did not want to cross the boundaries they had established for themselves. These officials felt that their jobs were at stake. Also, there were structures that promoted special education and the people who belonged to these structures had vested interests in perpetuating practices of special education. All the interviewed

officials claimed that negative attitudes amongst themselves were the main reasons for the failure in establishing functional District-Based Support Team and Institutional Level Support Teams.

Limitations of Education White Paper 6

Some participants described Education White Paper 6 as a problematic policy which contained many ambiguities. Some participants indicated that the policy itself has not made the conceptual shift from special needs because it still contains the remainders of its terminology. One of the examples cited included the use of categories of disability in the text. As one participant put it:

> *"I think White Paper 6 is a huge challenge, I think it is a problematic policy with lots of ambiguities, I mean from a policy point of view its one of those policies that reflect very strongly the compromises that came about in the policy process. The impact of those compromises is that the messages are ambiguous. At one level it is talking about learner diversity needs and in other parts putting learners in different categories for learning needs" (Researcher 1).*

One researcher in this study felt that Education White Paper 6 was a "still born" paper that failed to address the most crucial issues such as the challenges of the public schooling system. The public schooling system is regarded as the entry point for successful implementation, and so the challenges of public schools could have been better conceptualized. He also felt that the Education White Paper 6 was formulated at a time when the education sector was seen to be consuming too much of the country's resources. Hence, the Education White Paper 6 suggested that implementation would not "need a float of resources." The policy tried to fit everything into the available budget and dismissed the fact that inclusive education needs a lot of expertise. Further, he pointed out that the policy assumed that all schools have adequate resources. Implementation of inclusive education without adequate and appropriate resources and funding was perceived to be the main reason for implementation failures or non-implementation.

Some of the participants raised concerns about the concept of 'full service school' in the policy document and in subsequent Department of Education documents. They felt that the policy document creates the impression that the department would establish "special schools of a special type" that would address the needs of learners experiencing barriers to learning and development. The participants felt that the policy seemed to suggest that special schools and full service schools would be the only schools that would cater for the needs of certain learners. It was not clear whether learners who experience barriers to learning would be referred to these designated schools, as was done in the case of special schools. A designated group of learners would benefit at the expense of the majority of learners who were undiagnosed and marginalized in the past. The term "full service", according to these participants, has contributed to the different understandings of inclusive education and negativity towards inclusion.

While the majority of the participants felt that the Education White Paper 6 posed a barrier to the implementation of inclusion, a participant from the national Department of Education claimed that Education White Paper 6 was the best framework for facilitating people's understandings of inclusive education. He said:

> *"White Paper 6 is an enabling factor. I think very few countries in the world have a formal policy that is supported by cabinet"(National Official).*

Lack of commitment to policy

The majority of the participants interviewed indicated that all levels of the Department of Education were not fully committed to the implementation of inclusive education, hence the provincial and district officials did not see it as their fundamental responsibility. These participants felt that the priority of the Department of Education was still an effective "ordinary public schooling system". The priority was therefore the improvement of Grade R facilities, service delivery and more recently, Further Education and Training. They also felt that the Department of Education's inability to prioritize inclusive education and

training matters had a lot to do with what was currently considered to be the main issue in the provincial Department of Education. This lack of commitment to inclusion was attributed to an absence of political and media pressure. There was critique of the slow pace at which the implementation was progressing. Some of the participants said:

> *"Those people in the head office didn't seem to have grasped inclusive education at that level and they were involved because of their positions in the hierarchy of the department of education. Inclusive education almost got lost and remained in the DANIDA documentation" (Provincial official).*

> *"The implementation of inclusive education was an effort that was done by people, some of which did not even buy in, but by virtue of being in a district that was piloting inclusion"(Provincial official).*

> *"Different directorates in the Department of Education never got to formalize what they understand by inclusive education and what needs to be done" (Researcher 2).*

There was also a perception that nobody from the National Department of Education down to the district was held accountable for non-implementation of inclusive education. While schools had made progress towards the adoption of inclusion, the Department of Education itself was dragging its feet. This undermined the efforts made by the donor-funded projects and other inclusion initiatives. Lack of government commitment to policy implementation was cited as the main reason for the delay or non-implementation of the policy. However, some of the Department of Education officials, claimed that they were committed to the inclusion process and that the field-testing phase currently in progress was regarded as evidence of such commitment. Furthermore, it was their view that the curriculum management committee in the National Department of Education was committed to inclusion. One such claim can be found in this statement:

> *"The curriculum management committee in the national Department of Education has a huge focus on inclusive education, which tells you that there is commitment to promote inclusive education even at the highest level"(National official).*

At school level, the responses of some teachers left the impression that although some of the teachers were determined to help learners experiencing barriers to learning and development, other teachers were not committed to the process. The same impression was conveyed regarding the principals who supported the idea of inclusion but were unwilling to lead the process.

Lack of support for inclusion

All the participants reported that there was lack of support for inclusive education at all levels of the department of education.

(a) Lack of support at school level

While Institutional Level Support Teams were established in all DANIDA schools, the majority of participants indicated that most of these teams were dysfunctional. Classroom teachers and learners did not receive adequate support to interpret and fully engage with the curriculum. Some teachers expressed the concern that teaching and supporting learners who experienced difficulties in learning was a very complex and daunting task. Teachers had to first develop schedules for all learners, and Individual Education Plans (IEPs) that were appropriate and convenient for learners experiencing difficulties in learning. Without the necessary guidance and support, the Individual Education Plans could not be developed by teachers. Some of the reasons for this lack of support were that members of Institutional Level Support Teams did not fully understand their roles, they lacked knowledge and the relevant skills to perform their functions, and Institutional Level Support Team members were also full time teachers who did not have time to hold meetings after school. The Institutional Level Support Team members reflected that they never received adequate training for the task to

be performed and they were so demotivated that meetings were abandoned. The district officials and the teachers shared similar views, and said:

> *"Mainstream schools are left in the lurch as there are no specialist educators to develop ongoing programmes for the Learner Support Teams (LST). There are 250 primary schools in this district that need support on a monthly, if not weekly, basis" (District official).*

> "*We could not support our colleagues because we were not trained by the district officials. We referred some of our cases to the district and we never received any response" (Primary School teacher).*

> "*The education support service was never available for our needs as special schools. I think there was an assumption that we had the capacity to help ourselves. That was what frustrated us most (Special School teacher).*

(b) Lack of support at district level

Linked to the lack of support described above, there was evidence that there was no District-Based Support Team that existed that could train and provide an advisory service to assist the Institutional Level Support Teams and teachers with teaching strategies to address the needs of learners experiencing difficulties in learning. This resulted in Institutional Level support Teams not functioning optimally. Some of the principals felt that the district left monitoring and support of the inclusive education programme to the DANIDA service providers and coordinator. The programme was not supported; even after the DANIDA project, despite several requests for support. All participants felt that the DANIDA schools were deliberately abandoned by the Department of Education after three years of hard work, and then new schools were selected for the next phase of implementation. The views expressed by the participants included the following:

> *"The Department of Education did not support us. We supported inclusion but the department didn't. It looked like it was the coordinator's*

job to support us. I know that she worked for the Department of Education, but schools would have loved it if the senior management and district officials took responsibility for inclusion"(Primary School principal).

"Our pre-primary schools did not get the opportunity for assessment from education specialists because we were too few to help identify and screen learners at these schools" (District official).

(c) Lack of support at provincial level

Since the provincial Department of Education was leading the implementation of inclusive education, the majority of participants felt that it should have provided financial support as well as clear guidelines on what the change was about and how it was going to affect individuals. Most participants felt that the provincial department made the mistake of believing that people in the district understood inclusion, felt the need to change and could see the process as clearly as they did. According to some of the participants, the provincial department could have indicated what needed to be done, by when, by whom and how, as they did with other initiatives. It was claimed that support was not given even when concerns were raised, and that resistance from the education support section was evident.

In summary**,** different participants at school level perceived lack of support for inclusion as one of the major constraints during the implementation of policy. This lack of support manifested itself during the DANIDA project and thereafter. It is interesting to note that the Department of Education officials at provincial and national level did not perceive lack of support as a barrier to the implementation of inclusive education policy.

Curriculum

The National Curriculum Statement (NCS) was regarded as a very complex curriculum that lacked clarity about subject content. The teachers in particular, indicated that while the learning outcomes and assessment standards were thoroughly explained in the two weeks training workshop during the DANIDA

project, the content was intentionally omitted. Teachers were expected to search on their own what to teach in order for learners to achieve the stipulated assessment standards. Two teachers said:

> *"The NCS is a very complicated curriculum. It is inflexible and lacks subject specifics. It is difficult to interpret it. When you ask for assistance, you don't get it from the curriculum specialists; instead you are left feeling stupid and inadequate" (Primary School teacher).*

> *"I am not sure about the practicality of NCS in our school, given the fact that there are intellectually disabled learners" (Special School teacher)*

According to this teacher, this lack of clarity had evoked a sense of powerlessness in teachers. Also, the lack of clarity about what to be taught resulted in disastrous outcomes for the learners. Some learners were promoted with their age cohorts without achieving the assessment standards of the grade. Some teachers asserted that the challenges of implementing the NCS were so enormous that they resorted to using the old syllabi and skills development programmes. An impression was also created that as a result of the challenges, some teachers tried to teach content of their own choice. Other teachers stated that learners who experienced learning difficulties were severely affected by the implementation of the curriculum. They felt that curriculum planners assumed that teachers could simply differentiate the learning activities, the learning content, assessment and teaching strategies to meet the needs of the learners experiencing learning difficulties. In reality, it was not that simple; instead most learners suffered from neglect. Teachers experienced difficulties in using the same assessment standards for learners whose level of functioning was two or three grades below the grade they were placed in. This situation was further complicated by the fact that if learners had to be retained in the grade, the teacher had to follow a complex procedure to provide the reasons for the retention of the learners.

In contrast to the above statements, one national official claimed that the NCS facilitates inclusion. He further claimed that NCS is inclusive in its nature as it

provides opportunities for all learners to access the same curriculum. This official asserted that:

> *"The National Curriculum Statement is a curriculum that is inclusive in its approach, in its methodology and its content and therefore it facilitates inclusion" (National official).*

7.3 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presented a descriptive analysis of the data collected in the study. It synthesised the perspectives of different participants with the findings from the documentary analyses. These findings were located within the research questions. The findings show that the case study schools used the policy objectives as a guide but through the process of negotiation, they formulated their own goals according to their needs. The findings also reveal that there are variations in the way in which different schools understood and implemented inclusive education in their contexts. While primary schools and DPOs focused on the improvements of physical learning environment, and poverty alleviation, high schools were concerned about the adaptation of the curriculum and poverty alleviation. The findings also reveal that the special school was concerned about their future as a resource centre. The researchers, the service providers, and the Department of Education officials at national, provincial and district levels had different views of inclusion and how it should be implemented. Their focus was on the complete overhaul of the education system.

The findings indicate that there were successes and failures in the implementation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project. Successes were attributed to values, norms and beliefs, commitment of participants, community involvement, school-community relationships, teamwork, and exposure to disability and capacity. Policy implementation failure in this study was attributed to the lack of a common understanding of inclusive education, the lack of capacity and support to implement inclusion, negative attitudes towards inclusion, curriculum issues, and poverty. In-depth analysis of these factors is done in Chapter Eight.

CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

As outlined in the previous chapters, this study seeks to explore factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education in one Eastern Cape district. Chapter Seven presented a descriptive analysis of the data. This chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the findings described in the previous chapter. These findings are discussed in relation to the policy objectives, perceptions of successes and failures in the DANIDA project, and participants' perceptions of the factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education policy in this project.

Top-down and bottom-up lenses described in Chapter Three are used to discuss these findings. A top-down lens examines the findings in relation to the original intentions of the inclusive education policy and inclusive education philosophy (from the policy downwards to local implementation). The bottom-up lens discusses the findings in relation to the local participants' experiences and the conditions under which the policy was adapted and implemented (from implementation upwards to original intent). In other words, the bottom-up lens is used to provide an explanation of how participants understood the objectives of inclusive education policy, how those objectives were adapted in the DANIDA project, as well as the reasons for success or failure of the implementation.

In order to bring the discussion into perspective, this chapter begins with an overview of the context in which implementation took place and proceeds to the discussion of findings under two topics: Factors that constrained and factors that facilitated the implementation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project. The study has confirmed many of the findings of previous studies regarding factors that facilitate or constrain the implementation of inclusive education. However,

new findings emerge in the context of this case study. This chapter therefore focuses mainly on the unique findings that relate to the case studied. It will, however, attempt to make links to the findings of other cases in relation to how they theorise their implementation processes. The conditions under which these factors operated are critically examined in order to understand how these factors impinged on the policy implementation.

8.2 IMPLEMENTATION CONTEXT

The End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002), the Situational Analysis report (Mathot, 2001), the Impact Study Report (Mathot, 2002), the Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003), as well as all the participants interviewed in the case study, indicated that inclusive education in the case study was implemented under extremely difficult conditions, most notably that of extreme poverty. In order to illustrate the extent of poverty in the entire province, Cole, Godden, Lawrence and England (2006) describe the Eastern Cape Province as the poorest or second poorest in South Africa. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Report (2006) notes that less than 5% of the households in the entire province are self-sufficient for more than six months of the year, and that in spite of the positive economic trends in the district, the case study school communities remained the poorest in the district.

In addition to the socio-economic status of the district, the findings reveal that there were conditions that created dynamics that impacted negatively upon many policy initiatives in the district, including the development of the inclusive education policy. These were the radical restructuring of the Department of Education in the province, the reconfiguration of regions into mega-districts, the migration of personnel from one district to the other, the changing management structures in the province and district, a series of radical reforms; the legacy of poor infrastructures; poor provision of teaching and learning materials and equipment, bad experiences with the implementation of Outcomes-Based Education, and absence of inclusive education policy guidelines.

The above description of the case study context provides a useful background against which to interpret participants' perceptions of factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education policy.

8.3 FACTORS THAT CONSTRAINED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

The findings show that while gains were made during the implementation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project, there were also enormous challenges. These challenges prevented participants from reaching their set objectives within their contexts. The inability to effectively include learners was attributed to the following factors:

- Diverse interpretations of inclusive education;
- Limitations of Education White Paper 6;
- Extreme poverty;
- Lack of capacity at individual, school and provincial levels;
- Lack of support for the implementation processes; and
- Negative attitudes towards inclusion.

Each of these factors will be discussed in some detail, linking to relevant literature and theoretical perspective where appropriate.

8.3.1 Diverse interpretations of inclusive education

The participants in the case study asserted different interpretations of what inclusive education means and how it should be implemented. During the interviews, it also became evident that there was more diversity than uniformity in the way participants in different contexts as well as at different levels of the education system spoke about inclusion.

At school level, the majority of the mainstream teachers and parents understood inclusion to be a system that seeks to integrate learners with disabilities and other

learners with special needs into the mainstream schools. Some of these teachers felt that inclusive education was not something new; they felt that they had been practising inclusion for many years. The special school teachers understood inclusive education as a system that would strengthen special schools. All these understandings focused on the disability aspect of inclusion as a defining feature. It is also interesting to note that there was inconsistency between the schools' understandings of the meaning of inclusion and their perceptions of how it should be implemented. At national, provincial, and district levels, the interviewed Department of Education officials described inclusive education as a complete overhaul of the education system. This understanding was fairly consistent with that of Education White Paper 6 policy on the inclusive education and training system (Department of Education, 2001a), and it suggests a conceptual shift which would bring about structural changes within the entire system. Although the province and district were interacting with the case study schools, it became clear that there was a disjuncture between the education officials' and the schools' understandings of inclusion. It seems that a common vision and the meaning of inclusive education had never been established.

A recent investigation into the funding and service delivery challenges in the implementation of inclusive education policy in all provinces in South Africa (Wildeman & Nomdo, 2007) confirms this absence of a common understanding. Wildeman and Nomdo's study found that across all provinces in South Africa there were different perceptions about what inclusive education means and how it should be implemented. An empirical study, based on the experiences of inclusive education in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape provinces in South Africa also showed a gap at all levels of the education system between the conceptualisation of inclusive education and its implementation in SCOPE schools (Da Costa, 2003). This empirical study noted that varied interpretations and ambiguities with regard to inclusion were apparent at all levels of the education system in Mpumalanga and Northern Provinces.

Such findings are not unique to studies on inclusive education in South Africa. An examination of the international literature on inclusive education suggests that the

concept of inclusion is elusive and has different meanings in different contexts (Dyson, 2001; Florian, 1998; Friend & Bursuck, 2002; Hodkinson, 2005; Kavale & Forness, 2000; Singal, 2005). In other words, inclusion is not a fixed concept, but a social construct that is dependent on the context and the needs to be addressed in that context (Darling-Hammond, 1990). Theorists of change also argue that implementers are not passive recipients of policy: Individuals construct their own meanings of what constitutes desirable change (Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992; Clark, Dyson, Millward & Robson, 1999). Bowe, Ball & Gold (1992) argue that policy is not just received and implemented in any context but is subject to interpretation and recreation. .

While it is acknowledged and acceptable that different people would construct different meanings for any policy, all participants in the case study perceived this phenomenon as a challenge in their contexts. It was a challenge in the sense that absence of a common understanding of inclusion in different contexts and even within the same context created a lot of confusion and tensions, leading to feelings of uncertainty among participants. Consequently, partial participation as well as non-participation existed in the project. This could be attributed to the perception that participants did not have a clear sense of what needs to be done. This perception seems to support the view of a top-down approach that assumes that clear and unambiguous policy directives would lead to more effective implementation.

There were noticeable variations in the way different schools and individuals within the same school implemented inclusion. Variation in itself does not pose a problem. A problem emerges when a common understanding of the conceptual shifts has not been established. In other words, while teachers' professional judgments should be trusted, a common understanding of the desired paradigm shift remains crucial. Green and Engelbrecht (2007) emphasize the importance of establishing a shared understanding of inclusive education. They argue that without a "negotiated and openly articulated understanding of inclusion in education, schools may fail to acknowledge the emphasis on equity" (Green and Engelbrecht, 2007: 6). In support of this view, Fox and Ysseldyke (1997) argue

that the ultimate success and failure of inclusion at a school will be significantly affected by the extent to which meanings are similar and positive. Keys (2007) also notes that in order to bring about successful change in the classroom, teachers need to have a common understanding of the process of change.

The participants' second concern was that the initial inclusive education policy implementation was located in a "turbulent policy environment" (Clark et al., 1999). A series of radical changes to the education system were occurring in the district, requiring a shift in the ways of thinking, of organising school culture and teaching practices. Some of these policies were competing against each other and this created uncertainty among teachers; it also exerted a lot of pressure on them. Teachers claimed that they felt overwhelmed by all the changes and complexities. All participants felt that clear directives from the national office or the district could have helped to facilitate a more coherent understanding of the envisaged changes. This seems to suggest that a top-down approach could have acted as a key lever towards a more effective inclusion in this context. Clark et. al. (1999: 167) have a different view. They argue that:

> …inclusion cannot effectively be created simply by the *diktat* of national, local or school administration. Rather, the teachers in inclusive schools have to construct the meaning of inclusion for themselves as part of an overall cultural transformation of their schools.

In support of the participants' views, it can be argued that in a context where a district is pursuing multiple initiatives, a clear directive outlining the nature of the shifts to be made could prevent the confusion, uncertainty and anxiety experienced by the participants. A similar suggestion has been made by Matland (1995). This author argues that in situations of high policy conflict and low-policy ambiguity, a top-down approach to policy implementation is more appropriate. Also, in the context where exclusionary practices are deep rooted, a lack of consensus regarding the policy could lead to a deliberate retention of what Slee and Allan (2001: 174) term "pathological models of service delivery". Alternatively, a lack of consensus could lead to certain interest groups pursuing

their own agendas through the development of different models of inclusion, especially given the fact that the exclusion of black learners and the racialisation of special education constituted a deliberate part of the apartheid agenda (Lomofsky & Lazarus, 2001; Stofile & Green, 2007). If inclusive education is a "paradigm shift, it needs to be presented and recognized as such" (Slee & Allan, 2001: 177).

8.3.2 Limitations of Education White Paper 6

The findings of this case study show that Education White Paper 6 was perceived as a problematic policy document which contained obvious contradictions. There were perceptions that suggested that the policy document has not made a conceptual shift from special education, and that it has limitations in explaining some of the crucial issues relating to ordinary public schooling. These issues were perceived to have negative effects on the construction of meaning in the case study.

Conceptual shift from special education

As suggested earlier, claims were made by some participants in the case study that the policy document reflects two competing discourses: Those of special education and inclusive education. The language used in the policy document reflects the new direction towards inclusive education but still contains the remnants of 'special needs' discourse. One such example is the deliberate retention of terminology such as "disability" and "impairment" (Department of Education, 2001a) when referring to a certain designated group. The main concern arising from this example is that the document reinforces the understanding that inclusive education is about learners with impairments or learners with disabilities.

Howell and Lazarus (2008) also note that the Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) tends to "slip" back to the learner deficit paradigm. These two authors view this as a challenge for the conceptualization of inclusion. Their main concern is that as a result of this, many people tend to

substitute the term “learners with special needs” for “learners with barriers to learning”, with no evidence of a conceptual shift that includes a systemic understanding of learning difficulties. Van Rooyen, Newmark and le Grange (2003) on the other hand argue that exclusive subsystems are still formed within the inclusive system.

The second problem that was raised by the participants relates to the concept of “full service” school in Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a), and subsequent documents such as the Conceptual and Operational Guidelines for Full Service Schools (Department of Education, 2005b). The policy document creates an impression that the Department of Education would create “special schools of a special type” that would address the needs of learners with certain disabilities. This, according to these participants, has contributed to different understandings of inclusive education and has reinforced uncertainty about the proposed shift from the old exclusionary practices.

Limitation relating to public schooling

Education White Paper 6 was perceived as a “still born” policy that failed to address the most crucial issues and challenges confronting the public schooling system. These challenges included lack of resources and personnel. The public schooling system was regarded as the entry point for successful implementation and there was a feeling among high school teachers in the case study that the challenges of public schools could have been addressed more satisfactorily. These teachers felt that the policy did not confront the legacies of the past, and that this created fundamental problems in its implementation. Instead the policy suggests that implementation would not need a float of resources. The policy aims at confining everything into the available budget, while simultaneously dismissing the fact that inclusive education needs expertise. The policy assumes that all schools have adequate resources and that they can implement inclusion.

This was viewed as one of the limitations of the policy. This view has been echoed by Wildeman and Nomdo (2007). They feel that there is lack of clarity in Education White Paper 6 about the role of public schools and the common

obstacles schools would face in furthering the goals of the policy. Wildeman and Nomdo (2007) believe that these issues are "fundamental implementation hiatuses," which if not addressed, may affect the successful implementation of inclusion in South Africa.

In contrast to the views described above, the national official in this study perceived Education White Paper 6 as a useful framework in facilitating people's understandings of inclusive education. One participant argued that the policy clearly describes the shift from categorization of disability and embraces the concept of diversity. Howell and Lazarus (2008) also acknowledge that the policy document embraces the human rights discourse which underpins the policy, and identifies the key strategies that are needed to build an inclusive education and training system.

Contradictions in the policy document

The second most frequently noted problem in the document is the contradictions it contains. Some participants noted that there were ambiguities in the policy document that left them more confused. For example, some participants were confused by a "full service" school being described as a school that would have a "bias towards particular disabilities depending on the need and support" (Department of Education, 2001: 10) in one section while in other sections it is defined as a school that will provide for the full range of learning needs among all learners (Department of Education, 2001: 22). It can be argued that the aim of establishing full service schools in the policy is ambiguous and is suggestive of various possibilities to the readers. Matland (1995: 169) in his Ambiguity-Conflict Model of policy implementation warns that "ambiguous policies can breed limited accountability and can lead to leaders pursuing interests that may have little, if any, connection to the public interest."

Howell and Lazarus (2008) also raise a concern about the need to designate schools as full service schools especially when they are biased towards a particular disability. They support the view that the ambiguities in the document

allow for an interpretation of the full service concept as a new kind of a school within the system and one which perpetuates another kind of special school.

8.3.3 Poverty

Poverty was regarded by all participants as one of the major barriers to the implementation of inclusive education policy. It was described in relation to the denial of human rights, observable starvation as well as low incomes that form the context of case study communities. Mainstream teachers and parents' experiences of poverty in the case study schools relate to its negative effect on effective teaching and learning and, parental involvement and the physical learning environment.

Many studies also view poverty as a factor that adds to the difficulties involved in gaining access to education and thus contributes to the formation of a group of children who are unable to participate fully and effectively in the education services provided (Connell, 1994; Department of Education, 1997; Department of Education, 2002; Mathot, 2001; 2002; 2003; Welsh & Brassart, 2002). The discussion about how poverty affected attempts towards inclusion is provided in the following section.

Effects of poverty on teaching

Effective teaching is one of the crucial elements of inclusive education policy. All mainstream high school and primary school teachers in the case study indicated that poverty had negatively affected effective teaching. As stated in Chapter Seven, teachers reported that quality time was spent in solving poverty-related problems. According to the teachers, this situation put enormous pressure on them because it altered their main roles, increased their workload and it compromised their well being. Consequently, there was a poor pass rate in the schools. This claim confirms the report on pass rate and rate of repetition in the Eastern Cape (Department of Education, 2005).

The Norms and Standards for Educators (ELRC, 2000) has stipulated roles and responsibilities to which teachers have to conform. However, the stipulated roles

do not take into account the conditions under which some teachers work, and role descriptions do not erase the complexities of poverty-related problems that confront learners on a daily basis.

Effects of poverty on learning

Hunger and poor nutrition among learners was a recurring point in discussion as the manifestation of poverty in the case study. In Chapter Seven, it was reported that although parents and grandparents devoted their incomes to food, such efforts did not satisfy their needs. Similarly, the Rapid Assessment of Service Delivery and Socio-economic Survey (FHISER & DRA, 2006) shows that three of four informal settlement households in the Eastern Cape had, an income of less than R1 500 a month. This has resulted in high rates of poor nutrition among children in the poor areas. Linked to that was an increase in non-attendance at school, low participation rates, high drop-out rates, and low primary and high school completion rates due to starvation (Eastern Cape Department of Education, 2005).

As stated in Chapter Seven, parents and teachers in the case study felt that although the nutrition measures seemed very promising at the beginning, incidences of corruption within the Department of Education acted as an impediment in the service delivery of this nutrition programme. The experiences described above seem to suggest that while there were good intentions to alleviate poverty in the case study schools, the social processes had deliberately denied a certain group of hungry learners the opportunity to escape from poverty. In other words, the procedure that was used to feed learners in the case study schools seriously compromised poor learners' chances of learning effectively. The NCSNET / NCESS Report (Department of Education, 1997) concurs that learners living under such conditions would be subject to a range of learning difficulties and this could adversely affect the ability of learners to engage effectively in the learning process.

The majority of participants reported that poverty had affected the provision of learning materials in the case study schools in many ways. This was characterized by the unavailability of reading and writing materials. In the majority of case

study schools, only a few learners were able to read and do their research projects after school as parents could not afford to buy the materials, and the school did not have resources either. Learners from poorer families were at a disadvantage because poverty denied them access to the resources they required for their development and participation in the education system. In other words, these learners were denied opportunities for language development and higher order cognitive skills. As a result, literacy levels were very low in the majority of case study schools. Based on this situation, it is reasonable to argue that poverty in the case study schools promotes exclusion. In support of this, Connell (1994: 142) argues that "the level of material resources for schools serving the poor still matters, even if one agrees that the quality of education does not depend on the freshness of paint on the building."

Effects of poverty on parental involvement

The involvement of parents in their children's education is generally accepted as essential to effective learning (Brofenbrenner, 1979, Corner & Haynes, 1991, Department of education, 1997; 2001; Epstein, 1995; Lemmer & Van Wyk, 2004; Mckenzie & Loebenstein, 2007). This parental involvement would include the sharing of knowledge and insights that complement teachers' skills, learning support at home and decision-making and problem-solving in schools. The inclusive education policy also makes the assumption that parental involvement is one of the most crucial variables in the implementation. This policy also assumes that all learners are raised by their biological parents and that parents are able support their children. However, this study reveals that facilitating parental involvement in a poverty-stricken context is not merely a matter of inviting parents to meetings and issuing instructions to ensure they participate in school activities. Rather it calls for understanding and sensitivity to individual parents' situation in contrast to placing demands on them. The findings show that although there were tremendous efforts by some parents to be involved in school activities, they faced enormous challenges. Similar observations are made by Crozier (2000); Dom & Verhoeven (2006); Van Zanten (2002) and Vincent & Martin (2002). These authors contend that socio-economic status influences the

relationship between parents and teachers. They argue that the support of parents of low socio-economic status tends to be less visible to the school than the support of middle-class parents. In addition, when these parents participate in school activities, they tend to be passive and are dominated by the middle-class parents. Mckenzie & Loebenstein (2007) made the same observation. These authors claim that parental involvement is not equally accessible to all parents. The school structures tend to favour middle-class parents and hinder the involvement of poorer parents.

Effects of poverty on the physical learning environment

It is generally accepted that learning is affected by the material conditions under which it occurs. Chapter Seven reveals most schools in the DANIDA project had no access to proper sanitation and two of schools in the informal settlement, had no toilets at all. The Rapid Eastern Cape Provincial Assessment of Service Delivery and Socio-economic Survey (Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research and Development Research Africa, 2006) shows that in 203 municipalities in the Eastern Cape, less than 60% household have access to sanitation (flush toilet, chemical toilet or septic tank).

The physical learning environment, as described by the teachers and parents, can be regarded as hostile to any effort to protect basic human dignity (De Gaay Fortman, 2006). Sanitation is a basic need and failure to provide good sanitation results in the disposal of waste matter in the learning environment. This automatically qualifies these schools as unsafe and unhealthy physical learning environments for learners. The majority of teachers and parents also reported that the school buildings were deteriorating because of a lack of funds for the necessary repairs. This finding echoes the NCSNET / NCESS Report (Department of Education, 1997) that indicates that in poorer rural areas in South Africa, the environment of centres of learning is inaccessible largely because buildings are run down or poorly maintained. Similarly, the civil rights movement in United States of America shows in its study that school buildings in poorer

cities are likely to deteriorate or run down (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard & Itenry, 1997).

8.3.4 Lack of capacity at individual level

Policy implementation studies have shown that the success of any public policy rests on the capacity to implement it (Makoa, 2004; McLaughlin 1987; Fukuda-Parr, Lopez & Malik, 2002). The inclusive education policy, in particular, positions the teacher as someone who meets the diverse needs of learners within a common curriculum. This confronts the teachers with a wide range of expectations (Ainscow, 1994). The support staff and special school teachers are expected to change their roles. The majority of teachers and district officials in this study felt that they did not have the capacity to perform the duties demanded by the policy. This was attributed to lack of expertise, unrealistic workloads, unrealistic roles and responsibilities for teachers and support staff.

Lack of expertise

While teachers in the case study schools had teaching experience and tacit knowledge of learning difficulties, they felt that they had limitations in relation to meeting the diverse needs of all the learners effectively. There was a perception in this study that there was a mismatch between what teachers were trained to do and the actual demands of inclusive education policy. Teachers claimed that the training they received on Inclusive Education and the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) was inadequate and could not address the dilemma of teaching learners with different needs within a common curriculum. In line with this view Naicker (2005) has confirmed that the one week training sessions that teachers in South Africa have received, have provided a theoretical framework, but have failed to emphasise the difference in epistemology between the old and new curriculum. Kallaway (2007) also states that training on the NCS has occurred in short workshops which were wrongly assumed to be adequate to equip teachers for the complex tasks necessary for teaching in new and innovative ways.

Two mainstream high school teachers in this study claimed that the Department of Education had underestimated the complexity of the task that faced teachers who had to manage diversity in high schools. Also, special school teachers indicated that they were unprepared for all the responsibilities that inclusive education encompasses. They felt overwhelmed by the amount of work that expected to fulfil the requirements of their job. Kallaway (2007: 9) in his article entitled: 'Profound crisis of teaching' shares the same sentiment, and argues that:

> To assume that underprepared teachers can deliver educational programmes based on conceptions of progressive education in simple and easy terms is to misunderstand the complexity and the challenges of meaningful classroom teaching, and the particular challenges of working class schools and children where teaching is as much about relationships with students as it is about "delivering knowledge."

Moreno (2007) notes that generally teachers are taken for granted in reform efforts. Assumptions are often made that teachers have the capacity or relevant competencies to assume the new responsibilities demanded by the reform. Moreno (2007: 172) contends that: "Teaching challenging content to learners who bring very different experiences and conceptions depends on the capacity of practitioners to create diverse learning experiences that connect to what students know and how they most effectively learn."

In contrast to the above concerns, UNESCO (2005) rejects claims for the need for special skills and expertise, viewing them as misconceptions. UNESCO argues that these claims are obstacles to adopting an inclusive approach. While part of this argument could be legitimate, findings in this study show that while teachers should not underestimate the potential and creativity they have, it would be irresponsible to suggest that they can automatically understand and assimilate the profound changes to be made to existing support structures, and teaching practices.

Unrealistic workloads

Related to the lack of expertise is the notion of unrealistic workloads which characterises the life of case study schools' teachers and district officials. The majority of teachers indicated that they taught large classes and had an unreasonable number of teaching periods ranging from 30-38 hours per week. The Human Sciences Research Council and Medical Research Council of South Africa Report on factors affecting teaching and learning (ELRC, 2005) shows that 71,8% of Eastern Cape teachers have the highest formal contact hours with learners in the country and are teaching in the region of 25-35 hours per week. The report indicates that the most affected group is African teachers. In addition to this situation, the analysis of class size in this report indicates that African teachers in the impoverished communities are predominantly teaching large classes. This report supports the view that some teachers have unrealistic workloads.

The majority of teachers felt that their workloads made it impossible to implement inclusive education. Inclusive education was perceived as an added responsibility because after its introduction teachers faced increased pressure to perform a wider set of roles than before. It is often argued that inclusive education does not add new responsibilities, but rather requires a different way of thinking and creativity in organising teaching. Teachers' reflections in the case study seem to suggest that inclusive education in impoverished communities has profound implications for teaching workload. As Bartlett (2004), Veen, Sleegers and van den Ven (2005), note, teachers are expected to be more involved in activities in the school and outside their classrooms. This extension of the roles and responsibilities is a barrier to effective teaching and therefore to implementation of inclusive education.

8.3.5 Lack of capacity at school level

The findings of this study indicate that the resources in some of the schools were grossly inadequate and this impacted negatively on the teachers' efforts to teach effectively. Research shows that inadequate facilities and materials are a major barrier to the implementation of effective inclusion in developing countries (Eleweke & Rodda, 2002). It has been reported that as a result of lack of resources, "learners with special needs in rural areas in developing countries remain at home because the resources in the urban areas are inaccessible due to cost and distance" (Eleweke & Rodda, 2002: 116).

One provincial official and a researcher in the case study had a different view. They felt that focusing on resources takes away the focus on the critical issue of responding to learning diversity. They felt that providing resources without changing the system is a futile exercise. Some participants argued that the most fundamental change in the schools does not require many resources. It is not how *many* resources they have that counts, but rather *how* those resources are used. One could have many resources, but they could be misdirected. As outlined in Chapter Two, the magnitude of deprivation and under-funding in the former Ciskei where the case study schools are situated has had a major impact on the level of resources available in the schools (Cole et al., 2006).

8.3.6 Lack of capacity at provincial level

Some participants in the study felt that the placement of the inclusive education policy initiative in hands of the Directorate of Special Needs was an oversight or error of judgement. As stated in Chapter Seven, some of the participants at district and provincial levels argued that given the "weak administrative clout" and "weak financial position" of the Special Needs Directorate, linking inclusive education and special needs to that structure was setting the implementation process up for failure. Compounding this was that the directorate of special needs in the province

did not have authority over the activities of public schools, nor did they have the power to influence those activities.

Some participants held a different view. They felt that specialized expertise had been built up in the Special Needs Directorate, and that the directorate was therefore the best structure to lead the implementation process.

8.3.7 Curriculum

Curriculum stands out as a key issue in relation to inclusion (Department of Education, 1997; 2001; Saleh &.Vayrynen,1999; UNESCO, 2004). The NCSNET / NCESS Report (Department of Education, 1997) argues that, in an inclusive education and training system, the curriculum needs to be accessible and responsive to the needs of all learners. The report suggests that in order to enable schools to accommodate the diversity within the learner population, overall curriculum transformation is required. This includes the review of various aspects of the curriculum such as the learning environment, learning programmes, teaching practices, capacity of teachers, assessment of learning outcomes, equipment, medium of teaching and learning, materials and the nature of support provided to enable access to the learning programme.

It was assumed that the introduction of Curriculum 2005 and then the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) for Grades R – 9 (Department of Education, 2003) would enable teachers to implement inclusive education effectively (Muthukrishna, 2002; Stofile & Green, 2007). While this assumption seemed legitimate, all teachers in the case study experienced the NCS as a barrier to the academic inclusion of those learners experiencing learning difficulties. These teachers described it as a very complex curriculum that lacks specifics about subject content and how to teach multi-level and multi-grade classes through a common curriculum. Clearly, any curriculum guideline that does not provide such information is not helpful to teachers. Dyson (2001) notes that educating students with special educational needs “within common schools, through a common

curriculum and by means of broadly common pedagogical strategies" creates a series of dilemmas for education professionals.

These findings reveal a tension between theory and practice. The NCS has been built on a human rights approach as entrenched in the South African Constitution. In theory, therefore the NCS could be regarded as vehicle for providing access to education for all learners. However, at a practical level, the curriculum has to operate in the environment of realities. These realities include inadequate training, lack of resources, different learning abilities, different experiential backgrounds, different perceptions of inclusion, and different interpretations of the curriculum.

8.3.8 Lack of support for inclusion

One of the assumptions of the inclusive education movement is that mainstream schools can and should develop structures and practices that will enable them to respond more effectively to the diverse needs of their learner population (Clark et al., 1999; Da Costa, 2003; Department of Education, 1997; Department of Education, 2001). Such structures are described as Institutional Level Support Teams in Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a). These structures are to receive support and training from the District-Based Support Teams, Special Schools as Resource Centres and Full Service Schools.

The findings in this study show that none of the teachers in the case study schools felt supported by the Department of Education although Institutional Level Support Teams had been established in schools. As pointed out in Chapter Seven, it was difficult to establish a District-Based Support Team that could provide advisory services to the established Institutional level Support Teams and to teachers. These perceptions were confirmed by the Consolidation Phase Report (Mathot, 2003), the End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002) and the Completion Report (Department of Education, 2004b), namely that schools did not receive support from the relevant District-Based Support Team. This was regarded as a constraining factor in the schools' endeavours to develop inclusive practices.

Given the working conditions, teachers in poverty stricken areas have one of the most difficult and complicated jobs. If Institutional Level Support Teams are not trained and supported, classroom teachers often do not receive the support they need in order to provide for certain learning difficulties. The consequence of this is that learners experiencing learning difficulties are left without support. In addition, the lack of support and training towards the inclusion of learners with disability may lead to less positive attitudes towards the inclusion of learners with disability (Menlove, Hudson & Suter, 2001). UNESCO (2005) contends that the availability or non-availability of support in the classroom influences teachers' attitudes.

At school the attempts to establish fully functional teams were unsuccessful. It appears that differences and conflicts emerged. This was attributed to the history of working as individuals, the power dynamics, pressure to complete matriculation syllabi, fear of being evaluated, as well as the unavailability of the time for meetings. Consequently, teachers withdrew from participation in Institutional Level Support Team meetings and inclusion efforts collapsed. Similarly, at district level, officials reported negative experiences regarding the establishment of the District-Based Support Team. Power dynamics, heavy workloads, training orientations and diverse ideologies were cited to justify failure to work as teams.

The situation expressed above is not unusual. Friend and Cook (1992) assert that collaboration may pose a threat to teachers who are most comfortable with an isolated approach to education. Also, the behaviour of high school teachers can be located in micro-political theory. In the micro-political perspective, schools are conceived of as platforms of struggle that are characterised by actual or potential conflict between members (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991; Dom & Verhoeven, 2006). According to UNESCO (2005), a lack of shared values also makes it difficult for people to work together. One can then conclude that although teamwork was

perceived as a necessary and pragmatic way of organizing support at primary school level, in other contexts it presents as a complex social phenomenon.

8.3.9 Attitudes towards inclusion

While the majority of participants and the research reports analysed in this study (Department of Education, 2002; Mathot, 2002; 2003) reported enthusiasm and positive attitudes towards inclusion of learners with disabilities in the case study, there were indications that at school and district level, some participants displayed negative attitudes towards inclusion.

School level

It was reported that negative attitudes of some of the teachers, especially in the high schools, had a negative impact on the schools' attempts to include learners experiencing learning difficulties. Such attitudes also affected participation in the Institutional Level Support Teams and staff development programmes. As indicated in Chapter Seven, teachers attributed this negativity to the working conditions in schools, past negative experiences in working with learners with disabilities, lack of capacity and uncertainty about what needed to be done in the classroom.

Theories of change regard emotion and change as aspects that are closely linked (Hargreaves, 1994). Swart and Pettipher (2007: 111) argue that the change process raises uncomfortable feelings of panic, fear, inadequacy, and incompetence. Therefore, it is inevitable that some people would experience change as a threat especially when the change challenges their belief systems. However, others may experience change as an exciting venture. Given the working conditions and pressure to produce good matriculation results, it seems reasonable to suggest that teachers in the case study were likely to resist change. Van Veen in (Zembylas & Barker 2007) shows that even when teachers align themselves with the reform, the working conditions under which change has to be implemented triggers more negative emotions that one would expect. Many

researchers also link demographic and contextual factors to teachers' attitudes towards inclusion (Avramidis, Bayliss & Burden, 2000; Subban & Sharma, 2006; Van Reusen, Shoho & Barker, 2001).

Inclusive education imposes certain demands on teachers, including addressing different needs in common learning environments and through a common curriculum. As mentioned previously, this task is complex and is likely to create tensions that could lead to feelings of helplessness in some individuals. In line with this view, Zembylas and Barker (2007) contend that teachers' emotional responses towards change are the result of the ways in which teachers perceive their relationship with the changing environment.

A further factor is that teachers' past experiences with severe disability could trigger negative emotions towards inclusion of learners with disability (Kuester, 2000; Subban & Sharma, 2006). If those experiences were negative, teachers are likely to avoid contact with learners with severe disability. UNESCO (2005) also asserts that teachers' positive attitudes towards inclusion depend on their experience with learners that are perceived as "challenging".

District level

The district officials in the case study felt that some of their colleagues were opposed to the inclusive education philosophy and, as a result, were reluctant to engage in inclusive education activities. This was confirmed by one official who admitted that he did not believe it would work and that he clearly distanced himself from any involvement in inclusive education activities. Consequently, the envisaged District-Based Support Team could not be established, although several attempts were made to facilitate this (Department of Education, 2002, Mathot, 2002; 2003).

8.4 FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

Despite the absence of enabling factors such as policy guidelines, support from the Department of Education, sufficient resources, stable management structures, and funding, the participants in this study claimed to have succeeded in achieving some of their set goals for inclusive education. These goals included the improvement of school buildings, positive attitudes towards learners experiencing difficulties, creating awareness of inclusion, the development of partnerships with other projects and sectors, the refurbishment of schools, the development of vegetable gardens, parental involvement, community partnerships, empowerment and the ability to identify learners experiencing barriers to learning and development. These successes were attributed to following factors:

- Values, norms and beliefs of the school community
- Community involvement
- School-family relationships
- Teamwork

8.4.1 Beliefs, values and norms

The findings indicate that in the case study schools and district, inclusive education was implemented under extremely difficult conditions. The teachers and parents in particular asserted that the conditions could have easily discouraged them from participating in the process. However, they had committed themselves to the process because of the following beliefs: They have the responsibility for the education of all the learners irrespective of their differences; all children have a right to learn in their local schools; discrimination on the basis of disability is unacceptable; and it is part of their culture and values to take personal responsibility for the education and welfare of other people including people with disabilities.

The above set of practice was described as “ubuntu”. The examples of how “ubuntu” manifested itself during the implementation process are described in detail in Chapter Seven. If one examines the expressed beliefs, one could make the assumption that teachers in the case study schools have accepted diversity in their schools. The findings seem to suggest the participants’ belief systems, even in the absence of a legal framework and support, acted as a unifying force in the school communities and helped participants to consider alternative solutions to their problems.

It is generally accepted that belief systems influence school practices. Carrington (1999) claims that beliefs could influence how inclusive practices are implemented and accepted. If beliefs are in favour of inclusion, they can influence the value systems, and “value systems influence the norms and standards which will in turn influence patterns of behaviour” (Carrington, 1999: 262). In support of this view, Owston (2007:70) regards teachers’ beliefs as a facilitating element insofar as inclusion is concerned. He contends that: “Teachers who believe that they are engaged in a worthwhile activity approach their innovative practice with high levels of motivation and determination to sustain it despite the inevitable setbacks and difficulties of implementing the reform.”

Hornby (1999) also asserts that teachers’ beliefs are critical in ensuring the success of inclusive practices. He believes that teachers’ acceptance of the policy of inclusive education is likely to affect their commitment to its implementation. Similarly, Swart and Pettipher (2007: 105) claim that “change is primarily about individuals and their beliefs and actions, rather than about programmes, materials, and terminology.” Of course, while the belief system can be regarded as a facilitating factor for inclusion, it can be a barrier as well. For instance, if participants believe that special education is the best practice, they could resist any attempts towards the inclusion of learners in mainstream schools.

8.4.2 Community involvement

The case study schools indicated that they had a strong tradition of engaging communities in the schools' decision-making and problem-solving processes. These communities were allowed to articulate their aspirations, needs and priorities, and to take initiatives where necessary. The concept 'community' in these schools meant more than neighbourhoods where learners' homes were located. It included all those people who were interested in working with these schools. This practice was perceived as one of the factors that facilitated the removal of some of the barriers to learning in the schools. Community involvement resulted in the refurbishment of schools, the development of vegetable gardens and the provision of security for teachers and learners.

It is interesting to note that these communities were not just involved in school affairs. They also took responsibility for the welfare of learners in their homes. They provided care for their neighbours' children, and they provided financial support for the child-headed families. Some members of these communities attended school meetings on behalf of their sick and old neighbours. This practice is a reflection of caring communities. It is worth noting that the special school reported minimal involvement of the community in the school due to the fact that the majority of parents did not live in the local community.

8.4.3 School-family relationships

All teachers in the case study and the End-Term National Quality Evaluation Report (Department of Education, 2002) viewed school-family relationships as one of the facilitating factors of inclusion in their schools. However, it was indicated that the process of establishing productive relationships was not easy. It requires perseverance, honesty, a positive attitude and sensitivity to cultural differences and socio-economic conditions of families. These relationships were associated with many benefits for inclusion. Amongst those are:

- Better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of parents and teachers;
- Dissemination of information about changes;

- Collaborative problem solving and decision making;
- Better understanding of learners' values and cultural backgrounds;
- Improved understanding of the existing and potential challenges that learners might face;
- Improved attendance and participation of parents in school activities.

It seems that the case study schools recognized that teachers and schools alone could not address the diverse needs of the learners. Families were regarded as a significant part of any discussion that pertained to the learners' needs. This is in line with systems thinking which encourages the teacher to look beyond the learner to the family and the multiple factors that may explain particular learner's behaviours and choices. This approach redefines school success as a product of what parents and teachers do to support learners (Virginia Department of Education, 2002). This thinking resonates with the philosophy of inclusion. Inclusive education requires the contribution of families to their children's education through collaboration with the schools. This view is based on the assumption that the more families become involved in their children's education, the better able they are to provide substantive learning support at home. Christenson and Sheridan (2001) share the view that a school-family relationship enhances learning and addresses any barrier that may impede learning. In addition, the Laurent Clerc National Deaf Education Centre (1999) views families as a resource of knowledge, expertise and caring regarding their children's schooling experiences.

8.4.4 Teamwork

One of the key levers of the South African policy on inclusive education and training is the establishment of Institutional Level Support Teams and District-Based Support Teams (Department of Education, 2001a). This policy assumes that teamwork will facilitate the provision of appropriate support for teachers and learners. The notion of teamwork in this policy constructs a vision of active participation by teachers, parents, and district officials in which everyone benefits.

All mainstream primary school and special school teachers in this study claimed that the action-reflection framework that case study schools used for problem-solving, encouraged teachers and parents to work as teams. Through this practice, teachers claimed to have gained a better understanding of learners' needs and that they could more competently identify learners that might benefit from intensive interventions in the mainstream schools. This, in turn decreased unnecessary referrals, and increased the desire to accommodate disabled learners within the classroom context. This seems to suggest that, at primary school level, case study teachers had identified a need for individuals to work collectively. As a result, they experienced benefits from using the principle of collaboration. This finding is congruent with the assumptions of the policy.

However, beneath this positive surface, a number of negatives emerged. High school teachers reported that when actual teamwork was explored in their school, a negative outcome was experienced. In other words teamwork did not work well in their school.

8.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study shows that while there were positive gains in the implementation of inclusive education in the case study schools, there were constraining factors that frustrated efforts towards inclusion. What emerges strongly in the study is that cultures and contexts within which implementation take place framed policy implementation. For instance, teachers' experiences of implementation in the mainstream primary schools differed from those of the high schools and special schools. This shows that where contexts varied, interpretations of inclusion and its implementation were also at variance. This leads one to conclude that while the inclusive education policy has its set objectives, it has to operate in an environment of realities which determine the outcomes. For example, a lack of resources places limitations on what can be done in the classrooms, how teaching happens, how learning occurs and what skills can be developed. In short, the situation is likely to hamper the teachers' efforts in developing the learners'

competence demanded by the new curriculum. The next chapter makes recommendations on more effective implementation.

CHAPTER 9
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study has been to investigate factors that impinged on the implementation of inclusive education policy in one specific Eastern Cape district. The focus of the study centred on both the identification of these factors, and on the question as to why and how these factors have affected the implementation of inclusive education policy. A qualitative research approach was adopted to explore these factors. Policy implementation and inclusive education literature was reviewed, and a conceptual framework was developed to guide the investigation and analysis. The participants selected for this study were drawn from people who played a role in the DANIDA project at national, provincial, district, and school level. Both top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation theories were used to investigate the topic, and to analyse the data. A top-down approach implied the need to explore the findings in relation to the policy as intended by the government, while a bottom-up approach emphasised the experiences of local implementers were analysed and the conditions under which policy implementation occurred. Chapters Seven and Eight describe and discuss the findings in detail.

This chapter presents a summary and makes recommendations for the future implementation of inclusive education in similar contexts. Firstly, this chapter presents a summary of findings under the research questions. Secondly, it makes recommendations based on the key findings. Thirdly, it makes recommendations for future implementation of inclusive education in similar contexts. This is followed by a brief description of the limitations of the study, and finally, future research options are identified.

9.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

9.2.1 How did the participants interpret the goals of the DANIDA project?

The findings show that parents and teachers in the case study schools shared the common goal of wanting to make their schools accessible and to fight hunger in their schools. However, they had different views on how they would set about making these schools accessible. The primary schools and special schools in this study focused on improvement of access to the physical learning environments, the establishment of Institutional Level Support Teams, and the development of food gardens. The high school, on the other hand, focused on the adaptation of the existing curriculum, the development of an alternative curriculum, as well as the establishment of functional support teams. The Department of Education officials interpreted the intention of the DANIDA project as one which sets out to implement the objectives as intended in Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a).

9.2.2 What were the key participants' perceptions of their successes in the DANIDA project?

The findings show that there were perceptions of positive gains in the project. At primary school level, these successes were cited as improvements to school buildings, positive attitudes towards learners experiencing barriers to learning, an increased awareness of inclusion, increased parental (caregivers) involvement, the establishment of community partnerships, and the development of vegetable gardens. The officials of the Department of Education identified the main successes in the DANIDA project as an increased awareness of inclusive education policy, and a shift in identifying barriers from the learner to the system.

9.2.3 What did the key participants identify as the factors that facilitated inclusion in the DANIDA project?

At a personal level this study shows that beliefs, values and norms were regarded as the key facilitating factors in the implementation of inclusive education. Parents, teachers and some district officials claimed that their beliefs about the rights of all people including people with disabilities influenced their acceptance of the inclusive education philosophy. They observed that this had in turn influenced the implementation of inclusive education. The findings show that exposure to disability helped teachers and parents to share experiences about how to support learners with disabilities. Positive school-family relationships were seen as a vehicle that facilitated teachers' understandings of learners' needs, potential barriers to learning and development, and the supportive roles that parents and teachers could play. Community involvement in project activities was also deemed to be valuable. The findings show that team work increased teachers' understanding of inclusive practices and alleviated fears associated with the inclusive education reform. However, teamwork did not function well in the high schools because of the interpersonal dynamics that operate at that level.

9.2.4 What were the key participants' perceptions of their failures in the DANIDA project?

The findings reveal that the participants in the study, at different levels of the education system, experienced enormous challenges during the implementation of inclusive education policy. Consequently, they could not achieve their set objectives. The perceived failures in the DANIDA project included the inability to establish functional Institutional Level Support Teams and District-Based Support Teams, the inability to involve the special school in the District-Based Support Team, the inability to address the needs of learners experiencing barriers to learning in the classrooms, and the ongoing neglect of an already poor infrastructure. The factors that facilitated or constrained their efforts are outlined in 9.2.5.

9.2.5 What did the key participants identify as the factors that constrained the implementation of inclusion policy in the DANIDA project?

As stated in Chapter Seven and Eight, different participants in the DANIDA project experienced different challenges that prevented them from achieving their goals. These challenges were attributed to various factors that relate to three key areas: Policy implementation, the inclusive education policy itself (Education White Paper 6), and inclusive education in practice. The key factors that constrained the implementation of inclusive education policy are summarised under the three areas outlined above.

Policy implementation approaches

Chapter Two shows that the Department of Education used the combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches in the implementation of inclusive education in the DANIDA project. The top-down approach was used to advocate the inclusion philosophy to justify monitoring and evaluation, and to set policy objectives. The bottom-up approach allowed the local implementers to make their own discretion regarding solutions to their problems in their schools. The constraining factor was located in the manner in which these approaches were used in the project. There was a perception that the Department of Education did not provide clarity about the meaning of inclusive education and how it should be implemented. Instead, this responsibility was handed over to the private sector. Chapters Seven and Eight show that this situation led to tensions, resistance and non-implementation of inclusive education in some schools. There was also a perception that participants' initiatives were not valued after the DANIDA project, which suggests that although the bottom up approach was encouraged, its outcomes were undermined.

Inclusive education policy

With regard to the inclusive education policy itself, the study reveals that there were perceptions that Education White Paper 6 has limitations that constrained participants' understandings of how inclusion should be implemented. There were concerns that the policy itself bore signs that a conceptual shift from special education has not occurred; that it contains many other contradictions, and that the policy does not adequately address the problems confronting ordinary public schools. Consequently, this led to uncertainty about what was intended by the policy and how it should be implemented.

Inclusive education practice

The study reveals that an attempt towards inclusive practices in difficult conditions such as those described in Chapter Seven, is a daunting task. As stated in Chapter Seven, inclusion in the Eastern Cape was implemented in a context that was characterised by poor service delivery across departments, a legacy of poor infrastructure, extreme poverty, radical restructuring of the Department of Education, a series of radical reforms, and negative experience of Outcomes-Based Education and most notably, an absence of inclusive education policy guidelines. It seems critical that if inclusion is about responding to the diverse needs of learners, then the policy of inclusive education has to be implemented with other policies that are geared towards meeting the needs of learners. The study reveals that the inclusive education policy was confronted by the realities of extreme poverty and poor service delivery in the case study context, and these realities constrained policy implementation. Because of poor service delivery in the Department of Social Development and Health in the Eastern Cape, inclusion became the sole responsibility of the teachers, who found themselves forced into roles of volunteer social workers and health workers. This created tensions between teachers' pedagogical responsibilities and the need to respond to the diverse needs of the learners.

Inclusive education is a curriculum issue. It demands new ways of thinking about teaching and learning in a context of diversity, as well as the time and space to explore different ways of teaching. The findings show that teachers and district officials felt that their capacity to implement inclusion was lacking. This lack of capacity included a lack of expertise in interpreting and implementing the curriculum, unrealistic workloads and insufficient resources. This perception is corroborated in the Situational Analysis Report of the field-testing phase (JET Education Services, 2007). This report reveals that some district officials did not assist with training teachers in an inclusive learning programme, as well as screening, identification, assessment and support, as they felt that they were not yet adequately equipped to do so. Linked to the curriculum issue, inclusive practices imply the availability of support structures within the school and in the district. The study shows that although efforts were made to establish these teams, they were not functional. This had a significant negative impact on teachers' attempts to embrace inclusive principles in their classrooms.

The inclusive education philosophy emphasises the importance of parental involvement in the education of children. The inclusive education policy in South Africa also assumes that all learners have parents who could be involved in education. However, the study shows that this assumption was problematic in the case study context because the majority of learners were being raised by their grandparents and other caregivers whose priorities were on the provision of shelter, food and clothing. This was perceived as a major constraining factor in understanding the backgrounds of learners, understanding the potential and existing barriers experienced by learners, as well as supporting learners in the case study schools.

9.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study acknowledges that inclusive education is a multi-agent system whose effective implementation depends on the interaction of the different agents. In other words, the success or failure of policy implementation is a product of the interaction between and among agents such as policy, central policy making

bodies, teachers, learners, parents (caregivers), context, local communities, Department of Education officials and social partners. This section therefore makes recommendations to the Department of Education (custodian of the policy) and to the local implementers (recipients of the policy)

Given the facilitating and constraining factors discussed in this study, there are several recommendations that can be made. These recommendations are based on the assumption that implementing inclusive education is a good thing to do. These recommendations are organised around three key areas namely: Policy implementation, inclusive education policy, and inclusive education practice. These recommendations do not relate only to the further implementation of inclusive education in the case study. Most of them refer to strategies that could be pursued across provinces and districts. While some of these recommendations are not new, all emerged from the findings of this study. One could argue therefore, that many of them reinforce recommendations that have already been made by different studies and at national level.

9.3.1 Policy implementation

This section makes recommendation on three key issues that relate to policy implementation. These are approaches to policy implementation, commitment to policy implementation, and support for policy implementation.

Approaches to policy implementation

The perceptions expressed by the participants in the study suggest that clear policy directives could have facilitated a coherent understanding of the policy objectives and the manner in which policy was to be implemented (top-down approach) in their context. In addition to this, there were concerns that the Department of Education (custodian of the policy) relegated its responsibility of policy advocacy and implementation to a service provider. Although participants acknowledge that there could be legitimate reasons for using that model, this was perceived as a sign of a lack of commitment to policy. There were also concerns

about the sustainability of inclusive cultures and practices after the withdrawal of the service provider. As indicated in section 9.2 in this chapter, there were indications that the bottom-up approach to policy implementation used in the project was valued by the participants. However, there were perceptions that participants' initiatives were not valued by the Department of Education. Based on the finding it is recommended that:

- The Department of Education incorporates the lessons from the local implementers' initiatives in the further development of the inclusive education policy as well as in its implementation strategies;
- The Department of Education takes full responsibility for the advocacy, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of inclusive education practice, rather than relying on independent services of providers;
- The Department of Education examines the way in which it engages with the top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation to ensure that lessons learnt 'on the ground' do, in fact, influence ongoing policy development.

Lack of commitment to policy

In this study, the perception was expressed that commitment to the implementation of inclusive education policy was lacking. There was a general perception that inclusive education was not prioritised at national, provincial, district and school levels. Linked to this was the perception that the placement of the inclusive education initiatives in the directorate of special needs contributed to the delays and non-implementation of the policy in the DANIDA project. In addition, there was a perception that because inclusive education is a curriculum issue that affects ordinary public schooling, it should not be so closely linked to special needs. It is therefore recommended that:

- The Department of Education places inclusive education initiative in the directorate of curriculum;

- The Department of Education ensures that inclusive education becomes one of the key priorities of the Department of Education;
- The Department of Education ensures that the Heads of Departments are accountable for the progress of the implementation of inclusive education in each province;
- Schools develop inclusive school policies, and include inclusive education aspects in their school development plans.

Lack of support for inclusion

There was also the perception that support for the implementation of inclusion in the DANIDA project was lacking at all levels in the Department of Education. This included inadequate support for teachers who wished to engage with the curriculum, lack of support for the development of Institutional Level Support Teams, and lack of financial support for policy implementation. If schools are to implement inclusion successfully, it is recommended that:

- The Department of Education identifies and work with champions or a critical mass of people with passion for the goals of inclusive education;
- The Department of Education develops strategies to guide and support teachers to implement the curriculum;
- The Department of Education continues to improve its organisational development and service delivery;
- The Department of Education addresses the complexities that prevent districts from establishing District-Based Support Teams;
- Schools continue to identify and utilise local community resources in addressing learners' needs;
- Teachers establish learner-to-learner support programmes in the schools.

9.3.2 Inclusive education policy

The findings show diverse interpretations of what inclusive education means and how it should be implemented, at various levels of the Department of Education. This was attributed to the limitations of Education White Paper 6. This resonates with other research studies conducted in South Africa (e.g. Da Costa, 2003; Wildeman & Nomdo, 2007). The absence of a common understanding constrained the implementation of the policy in the DANIDA project. The findings show that key to ensuring that implementers in that context accept change, is an understanding of the change required, how to affect it, and how it is going to affect them. This is confirmed in the Situational Analysis Report of the field-testing phase conducted by the Sisonke Consortium (Joint Education Trust [JET] Education Services, 2007). This report claims that there was an understanding across provinces that inclusive education requires one-on-one interaction with learners with special needs, and that this would detract from regular teaching time. Based on the findings of this study, it is therefore, recommended that:

- The Department of Education ensures that messages communicated to all stakeholders about inclusive education are consistent;
- The Department of Education develops clear implementation plans and time frames;
- The Department of Education sets clear, practical, measurable and achievable goals;
- Teachers and parents evaluate their understandings of inclusion and negotiate a common understanding.

9.3.3 Inclusive education practice

Inclusive education philosophy was generally accepted in the case study, but there were factors that prevented its implementation. These include negative attitudes towards inclusion, lack of capacity to implement inclusion, and context challenges.

Negative attitudes towards inclusion

The findings reveal that while the majority of participants appeared to be positive about the principle of inclusion, some participants held negative attitudes towards its implementation. This was attributed to a lack of knowledge about inclusion, negative experiences with other policy initiatives, new roles required by the inclusive education policy, an inability to cope with changing demands, and participants' general discomfort with changing from their beliefs about how learners learn to new ways of teaching. The Situational Analysis Report of the field-testing phase (JET Education Services, 2007) indicates a general acceptance of inclusive education, with teachers and district officials in all provinces voicing some negativity regarding the implementation and the resources required. This study and the recent field-testing findings (JET Education Services, 2007) indicate that there is a perception that inclusive education requires one-one-interaction and that this would detract from regular teaching time. In order to change such negative perceptions about inclusive education, it is recommended that:

- The Department of Education ensures that communication channels are created where stakeholders can raise their views and concerns about the policy of inclusive education and how it should be implemented;
- The Department of Education and schools create informal and formal feedback channels to show that stakeholders' views are acknowledged;
- The Department of Education and schools establish strategies to encourage the adoption of the policy, to mitigate resistance and to manage the implementation of inclusive education.

Lack of capacity to implement inclusive education

Inclusive education is a complex undertaking which calls for the provision of equal opportunities for all learners. In theory this sounds simple, but in practice it presents enormous challenges to those who have to implement it. The majority of

teachers, especially in the rural contexts, are confronted by the dilemma of teaching multi-level and multi-grade classes in the same environments within a common curriculum. There was a perception in the study that the National curriculum Statement (NCS) does not address the issues of multi-grade and multi-level classrooms. Consequently teachers experienced difficulties in teaching and assessing multi-level classes.

Inclusive education requires an investment in those assets that enable teachers, as change agents, to construct and reconstruct new ways of thinking, and to cope with the complexities that arise, which are further compounded by poverty-related issues. The findings of this study have revealed that the majority of teachers felt overwhelmed by their roles in the poor areas, and that they had not been trained to address the diverse needs of learners. It is not reasonable to ask teachers to accept new responsibilities and to expand their roles without the provision of adequate training.

To address these challenges it is recommended that:

- The Department of Education simplifies strategies for implementing inclusive education and avoids complex initiatives;
- The Department of Education conducts quantitative and qualitative analyses of teachers' training needs in different contexts, and in the context of an analysis of the requirements of inclusive education;
- The Department of Education develops clear operational guidelines that address the practicality of assessing and teaching multi-grade and multilevel classes;
- The Department of Education supports the improvement or transformation of the curriculum by revisiting the relevance of learning outcomes for all learners;
- The Department of Education explores how training may be pursued in pre-service and in-service teacher training programmes - training that is informed

by both the expectations of the inclusive education system and the needs of the teachers ;

- School Management Teams consider how schools position teachers in relation to knowledge about teaching multi-level classes, and how universities might collaborate with schools in this area;
- Teachers undertake research and use existing research publications to develop their own teaching practices;
- School Governing Bodies, in collaboration with the district develop school policies that address overcrowding in schools;
- School Management Teams organise ongoing school-based training and regular meetings to discuss the progress, the challenges, as well as the needs of the teachers.

Contextual challenges

As revealed throughout the study, poverty has been identified as one of the major challenges. It had clearly had devastating effects on effective teaching and learning in the case study schools. Poverty is a social phenomenon that the Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001a) and other preceding documents such as the NCSNET / NCESS Report (Department of Education, 1997) identify as a major barrier to learning. Despite this, there are no clear short-term, medium-term or long- term goals that have been developed to effectively address poverty in schools. One may argue that nutrition schemes have been introduced and schools are allocated budgets according to the condition of the school, and in relation to the relative poverty of the community surrounding the school. However, while the funding formula (norms and standards for school funding) is very useful, it does not consider the individual specific of the poor. If inclusive education has to be implemented in the poverty stricken areas, it is recommended that:

- The Department of Education investigates, through quantitative and qualitative research the specific needs of poor learners;
- The Department of Education develops a differentiated inclusive education guideline that addresses inclusion of learners in poverty stricken contexts;
- The Department of Education investigates through qualitative research how the education system can be adapted to meet the diverse needs of the poor;
- The Department of Education and schools investigates how responsibilities can be shared with other government departments (such as Social development) and how accountability of different stakeholders can be assured;
- The Department of Education continues monitoring the procurement of basic resources in the poor schools;
- The Department of Education pays special attention to the working conditions, and support needs of teachers teaching in the poor areas;
- Schools explore local cultural practices that can help to improve educational opportunities for the poorest learners;
- School communities strengthen the existing traditional support systems for children (ubuntu).

9.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As stated in Chapter Six, participants were selected from different interest groups. The result has been an array of multi-voiced narratives in this study. Some of these narratives were dominant and some were marginal. The challenge in data analysis was to explore the dominant narratives without ignoring minority narratives. However, attempts were made though to reflect on the diverse perspectives of the participants and the existence of different accounts on the same issues.

Merriam (1998) argues that a researcher as a human instrument is limited by being human because personal biases interfere during research. As indicated in Chapter One, the researcher was involved in the DANIDA project, and she brought certain experiences and beliefs to the research. It is possible that this could have had an impact on how the research was conducted and how the

participants responded to the research questions. Attempts were made, however, to constantly involve the participants in the verification of the data and interpretation. This involved drafting and redrafting of participants' stories until they were satisfied.

The selection of case study schools from the informal settlement and the township was intended to obtain the diverse perspectives of participants in these settings. Attempts were made in Chapter Seven to highlight some of the issues that were significant in these different settings. However, the study did not compare the different perspectives of participants in these settings. This could be regarded as a limitation of this study, but as stated in Chapter One, the study did not intend comparing the different views.

9.5 FURTHER RESEARCH

The findings in this study show that poverty was one of the major constraining factors in the implementation of inclusive education policy in the case study schools. As stated earlier, children from families defined as poor experienced numerous disadvantages in relation to children from affluent families. However, the nature of the relationship between poverty and the implementation of inclusive education is complex, and an accurate assessment of poverty is lacking in educational studies. One can therefore conclude that for the Education Department to truly respond to the needs of poor children, it needs to take the issue of poverty into special consideration in its planning of educational services (UNESCO, 2001). While the concept of poverty has dominated the interest of researchers in South Africa, poverty itself has not been researched in its context of education in the Eastern Cape.

It is therefore suggested that further qualitative research be conducted to investigate how the education system can ensure that children from the poorest families have equal opportunity to access, and to success in learning. Because the focus of the study was limited to the factors that constrained the implementation of inclusive education, the dynamics of poor learners could not be adequately

probed in this study. Quantitative and qualitative research should also be conducted to concretely understand the dynamics of poverty and the effects on those living in poverty-stricken conditions. Other recommendations for further research are identified in the section 9.3 of this chapter.

9.6 CONCLUSION

There are some final conclusions that can be drawn from this study. At policy level, the findings show that while the DANIDA project succeeded in making inroads in the implementation of inclusive education policy in the Eastern Cape Province, some of the policy assumptions need to be revisited. The assumption that the DANIDA project would assist the special school to become a resource centre and form part of the District-Based Support Team was a miscalculation. This assumption could have been underpinned by the notion that the implementation process would be linear and context-free. This study shows the DANIDA project, and the Department of Education, failed to articulate the practicality of the different roles of special school teachers in their context. Hence, this led to contestation and resistance in the planning and implementation of this objective.

In terms of the District-Based Support Team, the assumption that the DANIDA project would establish the District- Based Support Team in the Eastern Cape proved problematic in the study. The DANIDA project and the Department of Education failed to consider the complexities of changing structures that had evolved in a very specific socio-historical and political context. The Special School and Education Support Centre in the district had experiences of relative advantage for decades, which left distinct traces in the way these institutions operated, and how they identified themselves. Therefore, any change process that is perceived as threatening that status quo was likely to create tensions and resistance to the implementation of inclusion.

Recent rhetoric surrounding the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) suggests that the curriculum is inclusive, but the study reveals that at a practical level, this

curriculum can actually exclude learners. With regard to policy it can be concluded that policy implementation that takes place in a social environment in which objectives processes are poorly understood, limits implementers' accountability, and impacts negatively on the implementation process.

This study also concludes that implementing inclusive education in a context that is characterised by complex layers of poverty is an enormous task for teachers, especially when policies that are supposed to address poverty issues are not effectively implemented. In other words, inclusive education policy cannot be effective in isolation; it has to articulate with the network of other policies. In addition, attempting to address the diverse needs of learners who are confronted by complex social problems, in a context of poor service delivery, is an impossible task.

It can be concluded that the involvement of multiple levels of organisations in policy reforms such as inclusive education is fraught with tensions and contestations which delay or derail the process of implementation. The study also reveals that policy implementation is influenced by the norms, values and beliefs upheld by implementers. Policy makers, therefore, need to understand the fundamental beliefs and values of those who have to address the diverse needs of learners in the schools and communities, and focus on these aspects when planning strategies for successful policy implementation and educational change.

This study concludes that no single model of implementation guarantees the achievement of policy objectives. Clear guidelines and control from the top can help to facilitate an understanding of what change is all about, and create urgency for change. However, allowing the local needs to inform policy implementation processes is also crucial. A combined top-down and bottom-up approach to policy implementation is therefore essential, particularly within a democratic society.

In conclusion, the following statement by Pratt (2003: 55) captures the complexities of policy implementation, but we cannot wait:

Policy is formulated in the real world of messy problems and complex interactions of uncontrollable variables. There are few mono-causal explanations of complex phenomena. What research can do is to identify limitations and circumstances within which policies work….Deep-seated social or environmental factors that inhibit learning may not be remediable within the time-scale in which the teacher has to operate. It is may be better, on occasion, to attempt different solutions and see which one works. We cannot wait for complete theoretical understanding of a social ill before acting to diminish it.

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APPENDIX A

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University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
Tel. 021-959 2246
Fax: 021-959 3943 / 3358

Faculty of Education

31 August 2007

The District Manager
East London
Private X 9007

Sir / Madam

REQUEST FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN THE SCHOOLS

I am a Doctoral student at the University of the Western Cape under the supervision of Prof. S. Lazarus. The focus of my thesis is the implementation of Education White Paper 6 Policy on Inclusive Education and Training (Department of Education, 2001a) in South Africa. The aim of the research is: To investigate factors that facilitate or constrain the implementation of inclusive education and to examine how these factors affect implementation. I have identified seven schools in your district as my research site because of their participation in the implementation of inclusive education policy in the DANIDA project

The purpose of this letter is to seek permission to conduct research between August and September 2007 in seven schools in your district. The following ethical issues will be considered:

- The selected schools will not be compelled to participate in the research.
- The schools' identities will be concealed
- Interviews will be conducted after tuition hours and with minimal disruption to educators' work.

- The research report will be made available to the district

Yours sincerely

_____

S.Y. Stofile

TEL: (021) 9592925 (W) Fax (021) 9593943 CELL: 083 6503819

APPENDIX B

Request for Interview

11 Maree Street
Oakdale
Bellville
7530

_____

_____

_____

Dear Sir / Madam

REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES

I am a Doctoral student at the University of the Western Cape under the supervision of Prof. S. Lazarus. The focus of my thesis is the implementation of Education White Paper 6 policy on inclusive education and training (Department of Education, 2001a).

The aims of the research are as follows:

- To investigate factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of inclusive education policy in the DANIDA project.
- To examine how these factors affected the implementation.

The purpose of this letter is to seek permission to interview you as a relevant role player in the implementation of the inclusive education policy. I will strive to conduct the interview with minimal disruption to your work.

The following is very important:

- You should volunteer to participate.
- You can withdraw at any stage from the research without having to furnish the researcher with reasons.
- If you wish not to permit the researcher to record the interviews, this will be respected.
- Your privacy and anonymity will be secured at all times.
- All relevant research information regarding the research will be available to you if you wish.

Please could you complete the consent form at the end of the letter and return it to me.

Yours sincerely
S.Y. Stofile

TEL: (021) 9592925 (W) Fax (021) 9593943 CELL: 083 6503819

CONSENT FORM

I, the undersigned, give written consent to participate in the research undertaken by S.Y. Stofile, a PhD student at the University of the Western Cape.

I understand everything that is stipulated in the covering letter. I have not been coerced to participate in the research.

Full name of participant:_____

Signature of participant: _____

Signed on this day: ____of_____ 2007__

APPENDIX C

(Isicelo sodliwa-nondlebe nabazali)

11 Maree Street
Oakdale
Bellville
7530

_____

_____

_____

Mnumzana / Nkosikazi

ISICELO SOKWENZA UDLIWANO -NDLEBE

Ndingumfundi owenza isidanga kwicandelo lezemfundo elikwiYunivesithi yaseNtshona Koloni phantsi koqeqesho lukaProfesa S.Lazarus. Uphando endilenzayo lujolise:

- ekuphandeni izinto ezathintentela okanye ezakhuthaza ukusetyenziswa kwemfundo equka wonke umntu kwiprojekhti yakaDANIDA.
- Ukuphonononga iindlela ezi zinto zichaphazela ngayo ukusetyenziswa kwale mfundo.

Iinjongo zale ncwadi kukucela imvume yokuba ndenze udliwano –ndlebe nawe njengomntu obalulekileyo nothathe inxaxheba kulo mba selendiwuchazile ngasentla. Ndakuzama kangangoko endinako ukuba uphando olu lungaphazamisani nomsebenzi wakho.

Nazi ke izinto ezibalulekileyo:

- Awunyanzelekanga ukuba uthathe inxaxheba kolu phando.
- Ungarhoxa nanini xa uziva ufuna
- Ukuba awafuni ukuba udliwano-ndlebe lushicelelwe, ezo zigqibo ziyakuhlonotshwa
- Igama lakho aliyiyikwaziswa nakubani na

Ndingavuya kakhulu ukuba ndingafumana intsebenziswano yakho.

Ozithobileyo
S.Y. Stofile

TEL: (021) 9592925 (W) Fax (021) 9593943 CELL: 083 6503819

IFOMU ENIKA IMVUME

Mna utyikitye le fomu ndiyavuma ukuthabatha inxaxheba kuphando olwenziwa ngu Nkosikazi S.Y. Stofile, umfundi weYunivesithi yaseMntla Koloni

Ndicaciselwe ngophando nendlela elizakuqhuba ngalo. Andinyanzelwanga ukuba ndithabathe inxaxheba kolu phando.

Igama lomzali:_____

U: _____

Ityikitywe ngomhla: _____wenyanga_____

2007

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE PRINCIPALS, EDUCATORS, RESEARCHERS, SERVICE PROVIDERS, DPO, DISTRICT, PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL OFFICIALS

QUESTION 1: Participation in the implementation of inclusive education

1.1 Did you participate in the DANIDA project?

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1.2 What role did you play?

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1.3 What helped you to play the role you have just described?

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1.4 What challenges did you experience in playing that role?

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QUESTION 2: Understanding of inclusive education philosophy

2.1 How would you define inclusive education?

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QUESTION 3: Understanding of policy objectives

3.1 What do you think the DANIDA project and Education White Paper 6 expected schools and the Department of Education to do?

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3.2 Has your school made any changes in the DANIDA's original plan? If the answer is YES, mention the changes.

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3.3 What did your school aim to achieve?

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QUESTION 4: Perceptions of success of the policy implementation

4.1 What would you consider as successes of policy implementation in the project and Why?

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4.2 What do you think has contributed to the success of the project?

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QUESTION 5: Perceptions of failures of policy implementation.

5.1 What do you think were the failures of policy implementation in the project and Why?

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5.2 What do you think has contributed to the failures in the project and Why?

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QUESTION 6: Recommendations

6.1 What aspects of policy implementation do you think your school could have done differently and Why?

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6.2 What type of support would you need for more effective implementation?

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APPENDIX E

UDLIWANO-NDLEBE NOMZALI

(INTERVIEW WITH PARENTS)

UMBUZO 1: Inxaxheba kwiprojekthi kaDANIDA

1.1 Wawuthathe inxaxheba na kula projekthi kaDANIDA?

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_____

1.2 Wawudlale eyiphi indima?

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1.3 Yintoni eyakunceda ukuba ukwazi ukudlala le ndima?

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1.4 Ziziphi iingxaki owahlangabezana nazo?

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UMBUZO 2: Ulwazi mayela nemfundo equka wonke umntu

2.1 Ungayichaza njani imfundo equka umntu wonke?

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UMBUZO 3: Ulwazi mayela neenjongo zeprojekthi

3.1 Ucinga ukuba le projekthi kaDANIDA yayilindele ukuba izikolo zenze ntoni?

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3.2 Ingaba zikhona izinto enazitshintshayo kwisicwangciso sikaDANIDA? Ukuba impendulo yakho ngu-Ewe, natshintsha ntoni?

_____

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3.3 Ingaba isikolo sona sasinqwenela ukutshintsha ntoni?

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UMBUZO 4: Iingcamango ngempumelelo yeprojekthi

4.1 Ucinga ukuba yaba yintoni impumelelo yale projekthi?

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4.2 Ucinga ukuba yintoni eyakhokhelela kule mpumelelo?

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UMBUZO 5: Iingcamango ngokungaphumeleli kweprojekhthi.

5.1 Ingaba ziintoni ocinga ukuba le projekthi kaDANIDA ayizange ikwazi ukuzifezekisa?

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5.2 Ucinga ukuba yintoni eyakhokhelela kuloo nto?

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UMBUZO 6: IINGCEBISO

6.1 Ucinga ukuba ziintoni izinto engenanizenze ngolunye uhlobo kule projekthi?

6.**2 Yeyiphi inkxaso ebeninqwenela ukuyifumana ukuze niphumelele?**