Making Education Inclusive

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Edited by

Elizabeth Walton and Sharon Moonsamy

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FOREWORD

RUKSANA OSMAN

Making education inclusive: ethical and pedagogical imperatives

Making education inclusive is a collection of chapters which emerged from papers presented at a biennial symposium of the Southern African Association for Learning and Educational Differences (SAALED) and the UNESCO Chair in Teacher Education for Diversity and Development. The conference was designed to bring together a variety of individuals and organisations with a stake in education and with the intention of making education in diverse conditions inclusive. The format of the conference aligned well with the aims of the UNESCO Chair project.

The UNESCO Chair project in collaboration with research partners in Chile and Rwanda has been focussing its attention on building knowledge about diversity and development in teacher education, particularly knowledge generated from the global South about the global South. The collaboration between SAALED and the UNESCO Chair project has produced a unique contribution to the growing body of research on inclusive education and tackles some of the tough issues and questions confronting this area of study and practice. It allowed for Southern Africa to talk back to the world, the continent and the region, about diversity, inclusivity and exclusion.

This book addresses the complexity of educational exclusion in a post-apartheid and a post-colonial inclusive society. In particular, it contrasts two inter-related but competing concepts of inclusion and exclusion, and engages with this binary by looking at what is exclusionary in education and then proffering thoughts, ideas, insights and pedagogies associated with being inclusionary or inclusive. In many ways this book offers pedagogies of hope, particularly important for a world, a continent and a region where exclusion and inequality are ever present and seem ever widening.

Making education inclusive offers us thoughtful understandings of inclusion and exclusion in education, coming out at the right time because

of the growing interest in inclusion and inclusionary practices. This growth is fuelled by the increasing criticism of tokenism in inclusion and accompanied by significant advances in our knowledge about inclusive philosophies and pedagogies.

This book also comes from the right people. Much of the current conceptual, theoretical and practical work on inclusive education has been produced by scholars in northern and western countries, and this work has produced the predominant explanations of (educational) inclusion and exclusion. By way of contrast, the major part of this book comes from emerging scholars in Southern Africa. The accounts from these emerging scholars suggest that some of the well-established theories and ideas from the north and the west do not necessarily address and fit the present day realities of the post-colonial contexts in which they are expected to work. In this book an exploration of inclusive education is conducted by directly addressing the relationships between schooling and higher education, teachers and parents, pedagogies and inclusive values or philosophies.

The strength of this book comes from the variety of conceptual and methodological frames of reference and tackles a variety of problem areas across the broad spectrum of learning contexts, i.e., classrooms, university lecture theatres and the like. Such variety offers many opportunities for thinking and acting in ways that are novel and innovative, to produce practical results. This variety is also vital to educational contexts undergoing massive reform (as in South Africa), and navigates tensions and contradictions which always accompany educational reform. Importantly, the variety offered in this collection of papers shows us some of the goals that are achievable for inclusive education and some of the blind spots in inclusive education advocacy and provisioning.

Making education inclusive is unusual in that it addresses itself to the question of educational change (through inclusion) and that this change is addressed not just to teachers, but also to parents and students. All of the accounts in this book are relevant not only to South Africa, but also to societies undergoing educational reform; societies trying to find and forge new ways of seeing and being in this world. This book is aimed at teachers, university lecturers, parents, educational policy makers and students. It advances our knowledge not just about teaching in inclusive classrooms, but also about our values and dispositions relating to our ideas about inclusivity and exclusion. The material in this work will be of value to graduate students developing their trajectories in teaching at school or university and to researchers and policy makers with an interest in changing the ethos of schooling and higher education and "dismantling exclusion" systematically. Ultimately, *Making education inclusive* is a

strong reminder that inclusivity is not just a pedagogical project, but in the words of Allan (2005) an "ethical project".

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INTRODUCTION

ELIZABETH WALTON

The Making education inclusive conference in Johannesburg

The ideals of inclusive education have been adopted internationally, with many countries giving effect to legislation and policy that would promote access to and participation in education by previously marginalised groups. Despite these policy advances, educational exclusion and marginalisation remains the experience of large numbers of children and young people across the globe. As Kozleski, Artiles and Waitoller (2011, 4) note, "...several key difficulties have emerged" as inclusive education has spread. These difficulties include the impact of cultural and historical contexts on how inclusive education is imagined, and the fissure between policy intent and practice on the ground. Different local realities enable and constrain the realisation of the ideals of inclusive education. Cross-national perspectives on these different iterations and ideations of inclusive education have long been an interest in the field (Alur and Timmons (eds.) 2009; Artiles, Kozleski and Waitoller (eds.) 2011; Booth and Ainscow (eds.) 1998). These accounts are a reminder that inclusive education cannot "...travel seamlessly across cultures and contexts" (Kozleski et al 2011, 8), but they also show that many of the challenges of transforming education to become more inclusive are similar across contexts.

South Africa, like many other developing countries, has adopted inclusive education in an effort to build an education system responsive to the needs of all learners. Implementation of inclusive education has been uneven, and efforts are often frustrated by negative attitudes, a narrow focus on special needs, and limited human and infrastructural capacity. Despite this, many teachers are positive about inclusive education and are interested in opportunities to learn to become more inclusive (Walton 2011). One such opportunity is the biennial conference of the Southern African Association for Learning and Educational Differences (SAALED). The challenge to the conference organisers was to offer a space that would

acknowledge the challenges facing (inclusive) education in South Africa, but contribute positively to the dialogue about what it might mean to educate in ways that include rather than exclude. The UNESCO Chair in Teacher Education for Diversity and Development (based at the Wits School of Education) collaborated with SAALED in conceptualising and arranging the conference, which included both a research and a professional development component. The latter focused more specifically on the knowledge and skills (Florian and Rouse 2010) that teachers are said to need for inclusive teaching. This book is made up of chapters based on a selection of papers presented at the conference, which was titled 'Making education inclusive' and was held in Johannesburg in 2013. The call for conference papers was structured according to Slee's (2011) hierarchy of questions about inclusive education, i.e. first comes the need to recognise and address the exclusionary pressures and practices that are maintained in education and society through unequal societal relations, and second to address the resources and reorganisation that are needed to achieve inclusion. These were simplified into two themes: dismantling exclusion and enabling inclusive education. From these themes, four focus areas were identified by the conference organisers: Identifying and addressing exclusionary pressures, policies and practices in education; the resources and reorganisation of schools required to address educational exclusion; teacher education for social justice, inclusion and diversity; and research-based institutional and classroom strategies to make education inclusive.

As a result of this focus, all the conference papers were thematically connected, and those selected for inclusion in this book address concerns in the global quest for greater inclusivity in education[1]. The majority of the chapters in this volume are written by South Africans, many of whom are emerging academics in the field. This is important, given that the available literature on inclusive education is mostly derived from the Global North. Perspectives from the developing world are valuable, particularly in the light of the challenges of implementing inclusive education in these countries. In countries unable to provide access to quality education for the majority of their children, it can be seen as unrealistic to expect that learners with disabilities could enjoy meaningful academic inclusion. In this argument, inclusive education is seen to represent an imposition on

1 Editors' note: Different authors use different terminology, e.g. teachers/educators; pre-service teachers/teacher trainees; learners/students; special needs/barriers to learning; etc, depending on their context and background. The editors have chosen to retain the authors' preferred terminology, rather than standardise it across this book.

these countries, given colonial histories and the challenges of post-colonial realities (Armstrong, Armstrong and Spandagou 2011). On the other hand, inclusive education can be regarded as the default educational position for some developing countries, particularly where there is inadequate special education provision. Given the communitarian ethos that prevails in some of these contexts, learners with disabilities have been included in education as a matter of course (Kisanji 1998). The addition of perspectives offered by the international authors confirm that the concerns of making education inclusive are global, and that it is important to encourage international conversations with a view to learning from each other and strengthening inclusive education in the respective contexts (Walton 2015). The chapters in this book have been clustered around themes. After the chapter on dismantling exclusion, is a cluster of chapters concerned with teacher development. The next cluster deals with various schoolwide and classroom interventions to promote inclusivity, and the final cluster looks beyond the school gate to the university and to parent attitudes. The concluding chapter makes suggestions for the way forward.

Dismantling exclusion

The first chapter of this book (based on the keynote address of the professional development conference) is a consideration of educational exclusion, and how the "empire" of educational exclusion (Slee 2011) can be dismantled. The chapter begins by considering characteristics of empires, and shows how educational exclusion shares many of these characteristics. In the light of South Africa's former president's life spent resisting apartheid, the chapter considers what can be learned about activism from Nelson Mandela, and what it takes to resist systemic and pervasive injustice, inequality and exclusion in education. Three suggestions are offered and explored: working against educational exclusion; working around educational exclusion; and working towards access, participation, social justice and inclusion in education for all.

Teacher development for inclusion

Inclusive education is not about admitting previously excluded learners into untransformed schools where attitudes, policies and practices prevent these learners from participating, experiencing success and feeling that they belong. Instead, it is about identifying and addressing exclusionary pressures in schools and harnessing the resources needed to provide the support that learners require. Teachers play a crucial role in making

education inclusive and yet many teachers believe that they are underprepared and ill-equipped for effective teaching in inclusive classrooms (Department of Education (DoE) 2001; Eloff and Kgwete 2007; Forlin 2010; Stofile and Green 2007). It is thus not surprising that a number of chapters in this volume are concerned with what it means to equip teachers to be pedagogically responsive in diverse classrooms. The first of the chapters clustered around this theme is Hamsa Venkat's chapter which focuses on teaching and learning mathematics. This, I would argue, is an important concern of inclusive education, given that many learners in the South African education system are excluded from learning the mathematical knowledge that they would need for access to learning at higher levels. Teaching and learning of mathematics in primary schools is an area of challenge in South Africa, with many teachers lacking pedagogical content knowledge in mathematics teaching and learners performing poorly in national and international studies (Venkat 2012). Mathematics teacher development is thus vital to enhance epistemological access (Morrow 2007) for learners in schools. In her chapter, Venkat presents details of the contextual rationales for a model for studying primary mathematics teacher development. After providing some background into the challenges of mathematics teaching and the policy landscape, she argues for the development of a model that that operates inclusively with "pedagogic zones of proximal development".

The second chapter in the teacher development cluster is by Sai Väyrynen and concerns teachers and schools in rural northern Finland. In the absence of educational support services, Väyrynen uses educational ethnography in a quest to understand the key competencies of teachers in these small, rural schools. She argues that inclusion "by default" can lead to a principled approach to inclusive education if there is commitment on the part of education authorities, school management and teachers. She also identifies three critical areas for inclusive teacher education: a contextual understanding of inclusive education; the development of skills to apply, adjust and modify learning situations through pedagogical encounters; and continuous professional development through reflection and problem solving. The third chapter on teacher development returns to South Africa. Jean Fourie and Elizabeth Hooijer report on in-service professional development for teachers in full-service schools. These are schools designated by South African policy to be the frontrunners of inclusive education. They are to develop the human resource and infrastructural capacity to include learners with low and moderate support needs in natural proportion to the incidence of these learners in the communities served by the schools. Fourie and Hooijer explore the extent

of the knowledge and skills of teachers and district officials both before and after the training received, and they discuss the content of the training programme. The authors report positive outcomes of the training, but note that there are many systemic constraints on effective inclusive practice.

The final chapter in this cluster considers contextual influences on novice teachers, with a focus on New Zealand. The author, Vijaya Dharan, argues that teacher educators have a professional obligation to provide on-going support for novice teachers and their mentors. This, she maintains, is necessary to ensure that the theoretical gains made in initial teacher education in terms of being responsive and inclusive are sustained and applied. Dharan works in the often neglected space between initial teacher education and early career teaching, and her chapter spans teacher development from the practicum to the classroom. She provides interesting illustrations from her research with student teachers, and points to ways in which the practicum might enable or constrain more responsive and inclusive teaching. Important implications of this research for initial teacher education for inclusion are raised, with a particular call for the development of professional and learning communities.

School and classroom interventions

The next pair of chapters moves from teacher development to consider two school and classroom practices, and ways in which these might make education more inclusive. These chapters move the focus from some of the meta ideas of inclusive education to research-based inclusive practice in schools by examining how teachers can reduce exclusion and promote access and participation for all learners. Reducing exclusion and marginalisation in schools requires a critical examination of school culture, policy and practice. It also requires teachers to implement pedagogical and other strategies that have been shown to be more inclusive of learner diversity, especially where learners are seen to have additional support needs. Thus these chapters go some way in translating inclusive policy or rhetoric (Nutbrown 1998) into what it might mean to realise inclusive practice in schools.

Veronica Moodley engages with the issue of challenging behaviour, with a focus on foundation phase learners (grades 1–3). She reports on her ongoing research with teachers in Limpopo province in South Africa regarding the extent to which one model of behaviour support, the Positive Behaviour Support model, could serve as a useful tool in the identification and support of learners with behavioural difficulties. Moodley argues that it is essential to evaluate the contexts in which behavioural difficulties

occur and are sustained in order to understand the behaviour, as well as the possible supports that could be offered to teachers in their responses to that behaviour. Although the study is context specific, it shows the value of a module on behaviour support in a pre-service teacher education programme. In particular, such a module might shift pre-service teachers' discourse of learners as naughty, to one that considers behaviour in the light of the complex interplay of factors and actors in a learner's life.

The second of these two chapters is a conceptual discussion on metacognition and classroom instruction. Authored by Sharon Moonsamy, it explores an awareness of cognition and strategies that teachers should be mindful of, when developing effective classroom instruction. Moonsamy argues that the teachers' awareness of their own cognition is fundamental to developing thinking learners. She maintains that explicit metacognitive instruction exposes all learners to higher order processing, making learning inclusive and accessible throughout the grades.

Beyond the school gates

The field of inclusive education has tended to concern itself primarily with schools and schooling. Inclusivity is, however, an ethical project (Allan 2005) that reaches beyond the school gates. University education has a somewhat ambiguous relationship with inclusive education, given that access to university is not expected to be universal, with stringent academic entrance requirements usually applied. Access to, and success in university in South Africa is largely determined by previous advantage and relative privilege (Walton, Bowman and Osman forthcoming). Students with disabilities may find themselves further disadvantaged by disabling institutional practices and infrastructural constraints. Whether at university, or in society at large, discriminatory attitudes towards people with disabilities continue to function as "disabling barriers" (Oliver 2013, 1024) and these need to be recognised and challenged. University campuses are characterised by spatial complexity and the need for people with limited mobility to be able to move efficiently from one facility to another. Interventions that are made in response to accessibility legislation tend to be piecemeal and inadequate.

Anne Fitchett explores adaptive co-management in her chapter as she reports on a pilot study on the Education Campus of the University of the Witwatersrand. She argues for a more systemic and rights-based approach to the facilitation of universal physical mobility. This means that technical interventions need to be informed through engagement with a variety of stakeholders, specifically people with impaired mobility; and that

implementation should be incremental, drawing on the experiences of these end-users. It seems particularly apposite that the Education Campus is the focus of Fitchett's work. Pre-service teachers will be learning on a campus where access for people with disabilities has been prioritised. We might hope that these pre-service teachers would enter the profession with an understanding of the need to address disabling barriers in the built environment.

Finally, Jane Mutasa and Nancy Ruhode engage with parental attitudes to disability. This chapter, drawing on research in Zimbabwe, raises important concerns in the African context regarding attitudes to people with disabilities, including beliefs about the causes of disabilities. Significantly, parents indicate that the learning of their children has not been affected by the presence of children with disabilities, and they maintain that their children benefit from the inclusive learning model.

Towards more inclusive education

Making education inclusive is no small endeavour, and a book like this cannot begin to encapsulate what is required to achieve this at various levels of education and society. What it does hope to achieve, though, is to offer a record of some of the thinking and working that people in academic spaces are engaged in to dismantle exclusion and promote inclusion in their educational spheres. The editors acknowledge that the contributions to this book do not represent a consistent theoretical orientation, or even an agreed understanding of what inclusive education is or should be. The contributors come from different disciplinary backgrounds and are likely to see themselves at different points on a "spectrum" (Allan and Slee 2008, 16) of inclusive education researchers or scholars. This collection thus represents an inclusive approach to the field of inclusive education, and we need to make it clear that the contents of the chapters reflect the views of the authors. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors, SAALED or The UNESCO Chair in Teacher Education for Diversity and Development.

The 2013 Making education inclusive conference took place under the shadow of the failing health of former South African president, Nelson Mandela. These words of his were displayed prominently throughout the conference:

> "Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that the son of a mineworker can become the head of the mine, that a child of

> farmworkers can become the president of a great nation." (Mandela 1994, 194)

The challenge is that by making education inclusive, its transformative potential becomes accessible to all.

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CHAPTER ONE

DISMANTLING THE EMPIRE OF EDUCATIONAL EXCLUSION[1]

ELIZABETH WALTON

Introduction

It may seem unlikely that a volume dedicated to making education inclusive begins with a chapter on exclusion. Indeed, it may seem churlish and a rebuttal of the valiant efforts made by people in various contexts to make education more inclusive. There is much literature available that supports a positive orientation to inclusive education, with many texts promising solutions and strategies to make inclusion work (Pienaar and Raymond 2013). In texts like these, the current education system is assumed to be generally unproblematic, just needing teachers "trained" to be able to adapt or modify what they do so that the previously "excluded" can be accommodated. Taking this approach, however, makes those seeking "inclusion" a burden on the system (Slee 2011), representing a constant additional effort that needs to be made for certain learners by teachers and school managers. It is therefore not surprising that teachers cite inclusive education as yet another imposition on their "regular" work, together with new curricula and other administrative responsibilities (Stofile and Green 2007). This chapter is premised on the idea that recognising and resisting exclusion must be the starting point in making education inclusive.

For inclusive education to serve its mandate to promote the access and participation of all learners in quality education systems, it first needs to understand and address the exclusionary pressures that currently operate in schools and the wider education system. In particular, it has to

[1] This chapter is based on the keynote address given at the Making Education Inclusive professional development conference held in Johannesburg on 4 July 2013.

acknowledge the ways in which schools both lead and lag social inequality. Access to quality education is both determined by, and determining of social and economic status and educational achievement, or lack thereof. Thus access determines destinies. Inclusive education will have to do more than find ways to "accommodate" certain learners by making adaptations to curricula, but will have to look critically at the architecture of schooling to see how exclusion is inherent in many of our current arrangements (Slee 2011). Educational exclusion has been metaphorically compared to an empire by Roger Slee (2011) and in the section that follows, I will explore the conceptual possibilities that this metaphor offers.

The empire metaphor

In analysing how a metaphor works conceptually, we need to understand how the characteristics of the source domain (empires) are mapped onto the target domain (educational exclusion). I would suggest that there are at least three characteristics of empires that further our understanding of educational exclusion. These are that empires are *vast and pervasive,* they *serve the interests of society's elite* and they are *powerful and difficult to resist*. I am going to discuss each of these separately in terms of educational exclusion before suggesting how the empire can be resisted.

Empires are vast and pervasive

Well-known sayings about the British and Roman empires capture the vastness and pervasiveness of empires. It was said that, "All roads lead to Rome" at the time when the Roman Empire was at the peak of its power, and roads had been built linking the various provinces of that empire with its centre. The sun supposedly never set on the British Empire in its heyday, attesting to the reach of that empire across the globe. Similarly, the reach and impact of educational exclusion is vast. Exclusion pervades much of what happens in education, and because it is so commonplace, we tend to ignore it, or assume that it has to be so. Importantly, we find it difficult to imagine anything else. In the introduction to his account of the struggle to abolish slavery, Adam Hochschild (2005) explains how imagining a world without slavery was almost impossible to British citizens during the eighteenth century. Those who might have conceded that abolition was theoretically desirable, would still have seen it as impractical, since the economy of the British Empire depended on slavery. So too, the facts of educational exclusion become absorbed into our

schemas of how education is, and we find it difficult to consider that it could be any other way.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) include the target that by 2015, there will be universal primary education. Many countries have made significant progress towards this, but the target is unlikely to be met, with Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) being home to most of the out-of-school children in the world (UNESCO 2013/4). Lewin (2009, 155) looks closely at patterns of access to education in SSA and offers useful insights into educational exclusion. In particular, he proposes a model of "zones of exclusion" which shows that educational exclusion is a nuanced phenomenon. The first zone, is that of those children who never enrol in school. There are two sub-groups in this zone, both of which resonate with the traditional concerns of inclusive education. The first of these sub-groups is that of children who could or should be enrolled in conventional schools, and require that the formal system extends its reach, and the second is of children who for various reasons (e.g. nomadic lifestyle or disability) are precluded from the conventional system and will require non-traditional solutions to educational access. In South Africa, the government reports at least 200 000 children out of school, mostly because of lack of access to what they call "special needs" support (Department of Basic Education 2010), although other factors are also implicated in children being out of school. While this number may be relatively small in terms of the overall enrolment in 2010[2], it remains significant. South Africa ranks among the countries in Africa with the highest percentage of disabled children out of school (UNESCO 2009). Globally, disability remains a significant reason for children not attending school, with the Education for All Global Monitoring report of 2013/4 noting "children at higher risk of disability are far more likely to be denied a chance to go to school" (UNESCO 2013/4).

Lewin's second zone is the zone of the highest dropout, and this occurs in the primary school years or in the transition to secondary school. Factors that Lewin (2009, 156–157) cites as being "precursors" to dropout include issues that can be seen as exogenous to schools, like household poverty, poor health and nutrition, child labour and overage enrolment, and those endogenous to schools, like poor teaching, large classes and degraded facilities. Low achievement and repetition, also precursors to exclusion, may arise from both school and contextual factors. Those who drop out usually become permanently excluded. The third zone of

[2] In 2010 there were 12 250 000 learners in all schools in the country (Snyman 2011).

exclusion is that of "silent exclusion" where learners are in schools but they are at risk of dropping out. Here factors such as sporadic attendance, low achievement and discrimination are influential, and compounded by sickness and nutritional deficiency. The fourth zone of exclusion represents those who are excluded from lower secondary school, either because they were not selected or because they could not afford the costs. Finally, the fifth zone refers to those who fail to complete secondary school, and reasons cited here include poor performance, lack of motivation, pregnancy and affordability.

It is clear from Lewin's descriptions of the zones of exclusion that poverty is hugely implicated in educational exclusion. But addressing exclusion means more than enrolling learners in schools and suggesting that MDGs are met with 100% gross (or even net) enrolment rates. Lewin (2009, 155) makes the crucial statement that, "Access to ineffective schools with excessive class sizes, few teachers and no learning materials, where little is learned, is not meaningful access to education". He proposes an expanded definition of education access, which focuses on the quality of education within schools. The minimum requirements for a definition of access should include that schools are safe; that they have acceptable facilities, staff and resources; that learning outcomes that meet national norms are met; that admission and progression is age appropriate; that attendance is consistent and continuous and that post-primary educational opportunities are available. Measured against this definition, the number of children without access to education would be much greater. The notion of "silent exclusion" is relevant here, as learners may be deemed to have access to schools, but they find themselves as tenants on the margins of schools (Slee 2011). They are tenants because their place in school is conditional and possibly temporary, not like those whose experience is "[s]ecure enrolment, attendance and achievement" (Lewin 2009, 156). Exclusion pervades much of what happens on a daily basis in schools too, as a constant process of sorting takes place in the race to be the best. Many teachers (and parents) cannot imagine schooling without stratification according to ability and providing some with "remediation" and others with "enrichment"; without competitions to find the "best" and reward them; and without systematically whittling away the masses until only the elite remain to be given access to rarefied educational, and hence economic opportunities.

Empires serve the interests of a powerful elite

Living in an empire is usually not good news for people who are poor, weak or marginalised, because empires are not built to serve these people. The empire is perpetuated to serve the economic and social interests of the few, and, in return, these few are invested in preserving the empire. In the comparison with education, exclusion serves those who need to maintain their hold on economic and social privilege. Schools are not neutral institutions. They reflect and reproduce, through various mechanisms, the inequities and injustices of the societies in which they exist. The outcomes of schooling are inevitably inequitable. More affluent people can secure educational advantage for their children through geographical positioning, providing extra tuition and enriching activities and having confidence in dealing with schools. For some learners, enrolment, attendance and achievement in effective schools results in the completion of primary and secondary education, and access to post-secondary education. Their success, though, is relational—it comes at the expense of the educational failure of others (Reay 2010). Reay further suggests that "educational systems across the globe enshrine an educational competition premised on middle class levels of resources and defined by rules that advantage the middle classes" (2010, 403). While Reay's argument about educational inequality is primarily framed in terms of class inequality, Slee (2011, 157) asks broadly, "Who benefits from the current arrangements?" Reay (2010, 399) might answer that the middle classes do as they have access to "the kind of material, cultural, psychological resources that aid educational success". Working class children, by contrast, are outsiders in education, or "outsiders on the inside" (Reay 2010, 398). While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to explore the notion of class in any depth, it is evident that educational achievement remains closely linked with class (Brantlinger 2003), and, in SSA, school participation is closely linked to household income (Lewin 2009). Other writers have attempted to describe some of the ways in which schools reproduce the status quo by privileging dominant class assumptions and practices. Bernstein (1964) proposed a code theory in which the restricted codes of working class children, linked to their context of production, were said to be less valued in schools than the elaborated codes of middle class children. Bourdieu maintained that education is part of a process of symbolic and cultural reproduction, with middle and upper class children advantaged in schools because of their social and cultural capital (Sadovnik 2007). Other factors like gender, race and ethnicity, and household structure (Butler and Hamnett 2007) also intersect with class to influence educational attainment.

The current arrangements in schools clearly do not benefit everyone. Consider, for example, pedagogies that hinder epistemological access; language policies that consign certain learners always to learn in an additional language; standardised assessments designed to sort and segregate learners; and facilities that suppose only ambulant users. In addition, discipline policies assume particular cultural norms for behaviour; extra-curricular activities require additional finances and top achievers receive visible rewards. It seems that there is little in the regular school that does not operate to effect a silent exclusion, or position some learners as tenants on the margins of schools (Slee 2011). Competition seems to be particularly complicit in the process of educational exclusion. While competitiveness is not new to education, globalisation seems to have exacerbated the need to be the best to secure economic advantage. Competition operates at every level where resources are perceived to be limited, and where success is perceived to be scarce. But the effects of competitiveness are often deleterious and lead to the exclusion of those who are not successful. Reay (2010, 400) says that "students experience a zero sum game in which one child's educational success too often means another child's sense of educational failure". Educational achievement thus becomes increasingly the result of competing successfully, with many either unable or unwilling to compete.

Schools may say that they value everyone equally, but in what they do, they show that they really only value those who achieve academically (or, in some cases, in sport or cultural activities). Dorling (2010) is scathing about the intellectual elitism that is perpetuated in societies, premised on the assumption that some people, because of their extraordinary intelligence, deserve to be put on a pedestal and paid more. He maintains that differences in intelligence are not enough to justify the inequitable division of society's resources, and is concerned to address the myth that elitism is efficient. Privilege is, however, largely invisible to those who wear it (Kimmel 2010) and power often works "without the conscious knowledge of whose interests are being served" (Lukes 1974, in Branlinger 1997, 438). At all levels of the education system, those who benefit from current arrangements are likely to perpetuate these arrangements, either without consciously considering how these arrangements marginalise or exclude, or, as in the case of those who might have questioned the morality of slavery, simply see it as impractical to do things any other way.

It always sparks much debate in my undergraduate education classes when I ask pre-service teachers to question the common practice in schools of recognising top academic achievers with badges to wear on uniforms as a constant mark of their enhanced value, and also with

symbolic and material prizes. Clearly, many of the pre-service teachers were recipients of these accolades at school, and they are adamant that this practice serves as a fitting reward for the best learners, as well as a motivation to work harder for the rest. Most pre-service teachers are quick to defend the practice as being a fair competition in a meritocratic world, and resist suggestions that the process may be inherently exclusionary, unfair and hardly a motivation for those struggling to meet minimum criteria. This is a small, even inconsequential example, given the enormity of the problem of educational exclusion, but it does serve to illustrate at a very accessible level, the complicity of the beneficiaries of the status quo in its preservation. To link to the empire analogy, it helps to explain why resisting the power of an empire is difficult.

Empires are powerful and difficult to resist

Empires become vast and pervasive because they are powerful and difficult to resist, as the subjugation of people groups who resist the advance of any empire attests. Schools and schooling have remained remarkably stable over time because of "[t]he circular, reciprocal interaction between ideology and institutions" (Brantlinger 1997, 439). Citing Popekewitz, Brantlinger (ibid) expands on this, saying, "[I]nstitutions evolve into hierarchical bureaucracies that resist change and generate ideologies that naturalize their existence". Prevailing beliefs and practices usually work to impede, resist and obstruct change, and it is not easy to resist these beliefs and practices. But, I would argue, empires do fall and regimes do change. It might be difficult to resist the power of the empire of educational exclusion, but it is possible.

In what follows, I suggest that lessons can be learnt from the life and activism of Nelson Mandela which can inform a resistance to, and dismantling of, the empire of educational exclusion.

Dismantling an empire: The life and activism of Nelson Mandela

Apartheid South Africa was not an empire in every sense of the word. But, I would suggest, it had characteristics of an empire. Apartheid pervaded every part of South African life, with its reach both grand and intimate. From the institution of the "homelands" and forced removals in the service of "separate development", to the intrusion of intimate life to prevent miscegenation, the effects of apartheid were ubiquitous. White people were the beneficiaries of apartheid, and they constituted the elite

whose interests were served by that system. The ideology and machinery of apartheid proved powerful and difficult to resist, as many years of oppression attest. But history shows that resistance was effective, and the apartheid state has been formally dismantled. Many people were active in the struggle against apartheid, but none so famous as South Africa's former president, Nelson Mandela.

The rest of this chapter considers what can be learned about resistance to systemic and pervasive injustice from the life of Nelson Mandela. I suggest that he modelled three approaches to dismantling an empire. These are, simply put, working against the system (active resistance), working around the system, and working towards a more just system. I will apply these three approaches to resisting exclusion in education, with a particular, though not exclusive, focus on South Africa.

Dismantling an empire: Active resistance

In the face of the might of the apartheid state, Nelson Mandela and countless others who were discriminated against and disenfranchised resisted their oppression actively. This resistance took a number of forms: defying the petty laws that segregated people in public spaces; civil disobedience; economic boycotts and strikes; marches and demonstrations; and military activities against state and civilian targets. The point here is that those resisting apartheid did not believe that the status quo was either inevitable or immutable, and they sacrificed their lives for liberation. I would argue that dismantling the empire of educational exclusion also requires active resistance and suggest that people at all levels can engage in the following:

Identifying and exposing policies, practices and cultures that result in educational marginalisation and exclusion

It becomes very difficult to claim ignorance of oppression in the face of active resistance to it. The "ignorance contract" has been explored by Steyn (2012) with reference to South Africa's apartheid past. Steyn (2012, 8) asserts that apartheid could not have been sustained without the co-operation of white people, who used separate amenities and paid minimum wages, and thus she calls into question claims that white people "did not know what was happening during apartheid". I would add that when people were being executed for treason against the apartheid state, and shot during protests, and dying in detention, it is difficult to imagine that white people (or the international community) could believe that apartheid

was anything but viciously oppressive. "Systematic ignorance", argues Steyn (2012, 10) "is an important means for the production and maintenance of the unequal positionalities in society". It is thus incumbent on those who identify exclusionary pressures and practices in education to expose them for what they are, lest anyone claims, "I didn't know", and hence, "I am not responsible". Steyn (2012, 22) cites Smithson in this regard, saying, "Choices around ignorance, to know or not to know, are deeply implicated in choices to take, or evade, responsibility in relation to others".

Identifying and exposing exclusionary practices and pressures in education will require vigilance, being ever alert to the workings of power to perpetuate exclusion. Also important is the systematic uncovering and "flushing out" of exclusionary practices and pressures. Doing this requires a research agenda that considers the (un)intended exclusionary consequences of policies and practices, and a commitment to hear from those whose experience is of marginalisation and exclusion.

Tracy's story is illustrative of one such exclusionary practice, and it is one I often tell to pre-service teachers. Tracy experienced quite severe spelling and other learning difficulties in primary school, and she recounted (once she left school) the excruciating embarrassment that she felt during "peer assessed" spelling tests. The teacher would dictate spelling words and then have the learners swap books and "mark" each other's tests. Tracy used to dread this moment when her spelling difficulties would be on display for her friends and her experience of humiliation was still keenly felt many years later. Typically, pre-service teachers respond to this anecdote by saying that this type of "peer assessment" is a good practice because it saves time and allows learners to learn from each other. They often note that they had also experienced this practice when they were at school and they had not been harmed by it. Some pre-service teachers, however, realise for the first time that practices that they had never considered problematic may in fact be harmful. This is always an excellent opportunity to explore how people are often unaware of ways in which they are privileged by a system, and those who benefit most are least likely to be critical or see fault. Tracy's story is an individual experience, and it is not told to individualise or depoliticise educational exclusion. It is told, however, as a reminder that exclusionary practices have a real impact on real lives.

School culture and identity is often built on its supposedly distinctive characteristics, and *esprit de corps* is engendered by emphasising a collective belongingness, enabled by shared values and traditions. The expectation is that both insiders and outsiders will recognise its