

*INCLUSION EDUCATION
IN AN AGE OF INDIVIDUALISM*

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Abstract

Inclusion is a term that, although seeming to have a commonly understood meaning, has changed its conceptual focus over the past 50 years. These changes emerge from the national shift in values and policy away from welfarism to post-welfarism and, more recently, austerity-as-ideology (Ignagni et al., 2015) - changes which have affected the societal territory, and the type of citizen into which inclusion is seen to be desirable. The effect on its application to primary schools has been to move away from a welfarist diversity discourse, in which opportunities were opened up for all children through a universalised education system, to the actuarial elitism of a standards discourse of post-welfarism, embodied in the form of National Curriculum learning expectations.

It is the balancing of these two discourses within the context of three case-study primary schools that is the central focus of this research. It employs a mixed-method approach to gather data from children, staff and school leaders – including the use of photography to capture meanings of inclusion. It also uses a conceptual framework constructed from the canon of work of Pierre Bourdieu as the basis for interpreting and analysing the contextual uniqueness of inclusion within these schools.

The research considers some overarching themes that arise from this analysis: inclusion as a means of social justice as it changed over the past

50 years to become synonymous with social mobility; the struggles of school leaders to find leadership pathways through the ‘tug’ of each discourse; the changing nature of citizenship and its effect upon inclusion as a means of induction into it and how this has impacted upon categorisations of children. Key to this has been the changing relationship between agent (child) and structure (school and government policy) with the latter currently demanding the compliance and conformity of the former. It is here that the current use of the term inclusion is misplaced, for it implies the *integration* of children into a structured system. It is this ‘messiness’ and confusion around the concept of inclusion that this research aims to clarify.

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Chapter 1 : Introduction to the thesis

1.1 The rationale for this research

This thesis is concerned with the ways in which inclusion, both as a concept and as a set of practices, has evolved and changed. It explores these changes over the duration of my career in education which began (in 1969) as a teacher in a post-Plowden Educational Priority Area (E.P.A.) school in Liverpool and concluded (in 2010) when I retired as headteacher of a primary school which had a reputation for its inclusivity.

This period saw enormous changes in primary education with the introduction of a National Curriculum and the standardising of expectations of children's learning. These changes arose from shifts in the political climate that increasingly impacted upon the life of schools and also impacted upon the notion of inclusion. The speed and mass of these changes caused confusions as personal principles were brought into question about the roots of teaching and learning – should they be (as they had been in the days of E.P.A.) focused on the child and the reality of the world they inhabited, or on accessing a prescribed curriculum and the knowledge it embodied. These were shifts that needed to be understood, their causes clarified. Yet, as they happened, their enormity afforded little time for such reflections – their legal status meant that they had to be implemented, and doing so caused uncomfortable confusions and compromises.

This research has grown out of this state of uncomfortableness. It is an attempt to provide a narrative which makes sense of the story of these changes – one conceptual course set through this sea of change.

From those E.P.A. years a principle was affirmed in me that inclusion was central to children's learning. On my first day of teaching I was introduced to the reality of the opening sentence of the Plowden Report (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967) - 'At the heart of the educational process lies the child' (p.7). This grew into a principle which shaped my understanding of teaching and learning throughout my career. It also shaped my understanding of inclusion as something which went beyond a focus on children with Special Educational Needs (S.E.N.) to expand as a concept which applied to all children and their access to learning as a right and entitlement, in which the 'presence, participation and achievement of all students' (Ainscow et al., 2006, p.25) should be aspired to. In this sense inclusion necessitated asking why some children were not included; how were their differences judged and measured; and what were they different from?

This principle grew stronger through the variety of settings in which I was privileged to work. However, the seismic shifts in political thinking that took place over this period of time defined and redefined the boundaries determining the territory into which inclusion occurred. My initial teaching

experiences involved engaging children as active young (and future) citizens in the communities in which they lived and increasing access to educational opportunities for disadvantaged groups, making learning relevant. Since that time the increase in prescribed national standards of achievement has impacted on how inclusion is conceptualised and realised, changing the territory to that of National Curriculum derived expectations of learning. Inclusion has come to signify children's access to this standards landscape.

In the mapping of these political shifts in thinking about education, this research considers how inclusion has been conceptualised over this period of time, in which it locates two historical eras – welfare and post-welfare states. This thesis argues that these eras correspond with a shift away from the notion of the welfare state as a means of caring for and supporting those who were recognised as different. Welfarist purposes and principles were to provide the resources which would act as a means of restoring 'normalcy' as far as was possible through the establishing of a National Health Service and education service (which were both open and free to all). Its aim, through this process, was to promote the active engagement of all in the construction of a vibrant post-war society. In so doing the aims of welfarism focused on equality and the enabling all to become 'full citizens'.

In contrast, it is argued that the shift towards post-welfarism challenged welfarism's failing (but well intentioned) policy to tackle inequality and its

centralised bureaucracy, which it saw as 'tyrannical and oppressive' (Hall, 2011, p.706). Welfarism was replaced by a political, capitalist agenda epitomised by the Thatcher years, driven by empowerment of individuals through choice. This was cast as a necessary and positive component of a market-place from whose competitiveness a better society would be constructed. Market-place economics (which reduces social actions to economic dimensions) gave rise to individualism. Here individual competitiveness was considered to be a means of increasing national productivity, replacing the welfarist emphasis on social cohesion.

This raises questions about principles of inclusion for the spirit of individualism translates to give little space for those children not seen as the 'strivers' (Ignagni et al., 2015) it demanded. Its essence seemed confusingly to be exclusive of children of difference rather than inclusive. Yet it argued that its form of inclusion (interventions that would enable children to access curriculum learning expectations) was a form of social justice, for through gaining this learning children could then continue to gain both education and social mobility.

These were personally confusing and disconcerting tensions, which led to even greater level of uncomfortableness. I thus envisaged this study as an opportunity to not only contribute to a growing wealth of research into inclusion, but also to help to unpick changes to its conceptualisation and practices over the past 50 years and so disperse my uncomfortableness.

1.2 The relevance of this research

This research has contemporary significance too. The current emphasis upon a standards discourse of inclusion and the importance given to this as a vehicle for social mobility has profound implications for the sort of society this is ultimately aiming for inclusion into, and the role of the school in achieving it. This begs questions about the sort of citizen demanded by society. Though severe, Ignagni et al.'s (2015) split between 'strivers' and 'scroungers' depicts a divided society – those who are included and those excluded or sent to the margins. The competitiveness of individualism produces a societal ranking with its higher echelons being constructed as the territory to aspire to, and this is even more so when, in a time of austerity, those in the lower strata are seen as 'scroungers', left-over from a welfare state. The divisions become wider, and with attention being focused on the perceived success of 'striving', those who are excluded from this become 'invisible' (McKenzie, 2015) – 'scroungers' in 'Broken Britain' (ibid.), a cause of the problem. Bourdieu gave them the phrase 'Outcasts on the inside' (Bourdieu, 1999), seeing this divisiveness as a consequence of a capitalist-driven, recurring reproduction of a class-stratified society.

This presents a confused, paradoxical concept of inclusion, one which is based upon the need for children to conform to the curriculum demands of the school, a totally opposed view to that of the E.P.A. school which, though it had other failings, constructed the curriculum around the children. The

current standards prescribed learning model necessitates the *integration* of children into its structures, their conformity and compliance with its demands, whilst the E.P.A. model was able to bend to the learning dispositions of its children and, with this flexibility, aim to include them all. These opposed meanings which fall under the heading of inclusion are a recurrent theme in this study.

This confusion challenges schools to reflect upon their ambitions for those they teach. Should schools follow the National Curriculum standards discourse as a means of inclusion into the capitalist market-place and as a fundamental to social mobility and social justice? But what of those that are excluded from such attainment - are they to become 'invisible' and 'outcasts'? Or should schools be seeking a meaning for inclusion as a means to effective citizenship – of children being part of and contributing to their world, no matter what their differences might be - respecting and being tolerant of others in the building of a cohesive, diverse and democratic society? These are enormous questions currently facing schools and their leaders, pointing to the role of the school in educating children for the society of the future, and its responsibility in determining what that should be.

These questions arise at a time when national austerity has led to the reduction of Local Authority control and support to schools and their leaders. Accompanying this demise has been an apparent increase in school autonomy through the processes of academisation, school clusters, school federations

etc.. This appears to present schools with opportunities to define their own identities, and in doing so interpret inclusion using their own values and principles. But this is tempered still by an Ofsted inspection system which is primarily concerned with the effectiveness of a school's delivery of a National Curriculum and the academic attainment of its children.

It is important to note that this study was begun in June 2009 at the University of Warwick, and I transferred to the University of Nottingham in November 2013. Data was collected from 2010 when a scoping study was undertaken. The main body of data was gathered between September 2010 and June 2013 which has a particular significance in locating the research in the shift from welfarism towards austerity.

1.3 The conceptual focus of the research

It is this tension between the importance of a curriculum-driven standards discourse and one that is more focused on children and their dispositions to learn, and how it is worked through in the real world of primary schools, which lies at the heart of this study. It is explored through three case-study schools, each seeking a balance between the principles of welfarist and post-welfarist discourses of inclusion.

To assist with this exploration the canon of work of Pierre Bourdieu is utilised, for many of his essential concepts match with the notion of inclusion implying access to territory (field) and having the required characteristics

(habitus) to allow this to occur. His concept of capital articulates the value base of each field, and how some actions are given worth and some are not. These are central concepts to this study for they establish a lens through which the tensions between these discourses in the case-study schools can be viewed. His work is used both to analyse policy and to understand practices of inclusion as observed in three case-study schools.

1.4 The study's research questions

To explore the ways in which each of the three case-study schools have managed the relationship between discourses of inclusion the following research questions provide a focus for gaining an understanding of each school's interpretation of inclusion.

The overarching research question is :

How do staff and children in schools which have a reputation for their inclusiveness conceptualise and realise inclusion during a period of rapid policy change?

To discover how each school goes about this, four specific questions are asked :

- i. How is inclusion understood in three particular case study schools?*
- ii. How is this understanding realised through the conceptual lens of Bourdieu in the practices of the case study schools?*

- iii. *How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices of inclusion in the case study schools?*
- iv. *How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant post-welfarist discourses?*

1.5 The plan of this thesis

Following this introduction is a review of literature (Chapter 2). This has two major purposes. The first is to explore the conceptual changes that have occurred to inclusion as it has moved from welfarist to post-welfarist interpretations and the impact that this has had upon inclusive policies and practices in schools. The second is to introduce and consider the work of Pierre Bourdieu as an apt medium for the exploration of inclusion in this changing context. The final section draws together the major themes of the chapter as a framework for examining inclusion in primary schools.

The methodology (Chapter 3) outlines the research paradigm and the methods used in the research that is a central part of this thesis. It provides the rationale for a mixed-methods qualitative case-study approach as a means of collecting appropriate data. The thesis then goes on to analyse and interpret the research and its findings (Chapter 4) before discussing the implications of this analysis (Chapter 5). Conclusions are discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2 : The review of the literature

2.1 introduction

The purposes of this review of the literature are twofold. The first is to introduce and explore the concept of inclusion before examining the transformations it has undergone during the evolution of its current post-welfarist state. The sweeping changes that have occurred both to the language that surrounds inclusion and to the policies that bring about its realisation in practice are also explored. The second purpose is to introduce the work of Bourdieu and the conceptual framework that it provides. From this the research 'lens' is constructed through which ways that the research's case-study schools relate to the two discourses of inclusion can be examined.

The chapter begins with a consideration of how the concept of inclusion has grown and developed over time and how this has led to and impacted upon current post-welfarist interpretations. This contextualising raises a fundamental premise that lies at the heart of this thesis – that the human condition is essentially one of social existence but within this the unique differences between individuals construct social territories into which some are allowed access while others are not.

2.2 Conceptualisation of inclusion

2.2.i Society's conceptualisation of inclusion as entry into a social territory

Inclusion is a concept that has been in existence since people began to come together in social groups, changing their understanding resulting in its becoming a 'slippery concept' (Mowat, 2010, p.632). As society has moved from its familial and tribal origins to the greater complexities of the world today, the concept of inclusion has developed as a way of understanding the changing social landscape. This complexity has given rise to an intricate pattern of groupings which function in the workplace, in leisure and social contexts, etc. – groups which not only stretch the range of social interactions, but position individuals by the very nature of the groups they are part of, and excluded from.

One starting point from which to explore these changes is Aristotle who argued that the hypostasis of the human condition was the need to coexist in social groups, this being part of 'human nature'. The natural necessity of humans is socialisation, and a central part of human nature is the ability for social action and co-existence (Petrou et al., 2009). He also posited that humans are 'political animals' and that these relationships and the actions that they produce are expressions of the power that exists within them.

This was furthered by Heraclitus who recognised that, while human nature is similar in us all, the natural necessity of co-existence does not imply

an 'equalisation of all people' (ibid.). Thus, the differences that make each person unique make it easier for some and more difficult for others to become part of social groups. This finds expression in a segmented society and social hierarchy which construct the degree of freedom individuals have to access social and political power.

Hobbes (1651/2009) considered that the need to accept individual differences presupposes a contract between those who co-exist. As industry and the market place became more widespread in the eighteenth century Locke (1689/1988) saw waves of capitalism swamping the 'natural law' replacing it with formalised industrial hierarchies, the products of which were social inequality and marginalisation and, as a consequence, social injustice. This caused Rousseau to comment 'man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains' (Rousseau, 1743/1998, p.49). Individuality was lost in the monotone of industrialised anonymity; identity was founded on the sense in which an individual could conform to the demands of a particular social group which could tolerate his/her individual characteristics. Free will was thus placed within a social context, losing any sense in which it might have a universal meaning.

Weber (1904/1949) considered the complexities of social action presenting it with two senses of meaning. On the one hand is the objective action itself, the human behaviour which can be observed; but on the other

hand there is the subjective meaning that is given to that behaviour - *verstehen* – which legitimises actions from the perspective of their conformity with the demands of the cultural context in which they take place. The significance given to a social action was therefore sited in a social meaning-giving context.

The advent of larger, more industrialised societies (driven by the forces of capitalism) was accompanied by seismic changes to this understanding of legitimation derived from equally significant changes to societal values and culture. A sense of ‘natural’ and the ‘industrial’ worlds was articulated by Tönnies in *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887), in which he defined two types of community. *Gemeinschaft*, which he characterised by values which are shared, and relationships which are ‘intimate, face to face and not discrete and segmented’ (ibid.) was seen as ‘organic’, in the sense that it appeared as a natural and reciprocal way for individuals to behave socially. In contrast, *Gesellschaft* was seen as typical of the then modern, large scale, industrial societies and institutions in which relationships were governed by notions of contract - it was ‘the aggregation of individualistic atomistic society’ (Plant, 1974, p.23). Authority is based upon ‘the legal, rational notions of consent, volition and contract’ (ibid.), implying a formalised, stratified and mechanical society. Naegale (1961) summarises the differences thus :

Relations of the Gemeinschaft type are more inclusive; persons confront each other as ends, they cohere more durably ... In Gesellschaft their mutual regard is circumscribed by a sense of specific if not formal obligations. A transaction may occur without any other encounters leaving both parties virtually anonymous.

(p.184)

But, no matter how the social grouping has been constructed, it is bounded. Within its boundaries common behaviours, which have become established as acceptable, are expected. Those who are seen to be different from this are judged to be deviant, and thus outside the boundary of accepted normality. The degree of perceived individual difference from these norms is a determinant of inclusion or exclusion. This introduces the idea that there is a defined, bounded social system – a social territory and structural components – within which its population shares a common understanding of how things are and what the limits of toleration are, and how things are to be. Structural edifices are constructed within society defining a social territory with which it is expected that individuals will comply and, by doing so, become included. It is this relationship between societal structures and individual agents that defines the context of inclusion, for it introduces the notion that to exhibit compliance and be included in this way enables agents to enter as citizens.

Weber's concept of *verstehen* roots the interpretation of behaviour in cultural contexts. By considering behaviour in this way Weber was able to position it against the legitimacy of the context – the localised, specific rules/laws that make behaviour acceptable or not. But contexts change over time, and therefore shifts will occur in the significance given to particular actions, realigning that which enables inclusion and that which does not. This chapter will now focus on a more recent and specific shift, which incorporates the period of time described in Chapter 1 - the ways in which the shift from welfarism to the rise of post-welfarism has altered perceptions, understandings and practices of inclusion in schools.

2.2.ii. The shift from welfarism to post-welfarism and the implications for inclusion

The idea of a welfare state has radically changed over time shifting it from the associativeness of welfarism to the atomised individualism of the competitiveness of post-welfarism (Young, 1999, Tomlinson, 2011, Rao, 1996). It is a shift that is founded upon the growth of the market-place leading to its transposition into public sector services, particularly (in the context of this study) education and schools. It is a shift that largely took form in the Thatcher government, but one which has also had more recent translations through New Labour, the Coalition and the current Conservative government. In this process the description of an included citizen has changed as the understandings that underpin it have gained new meaning.

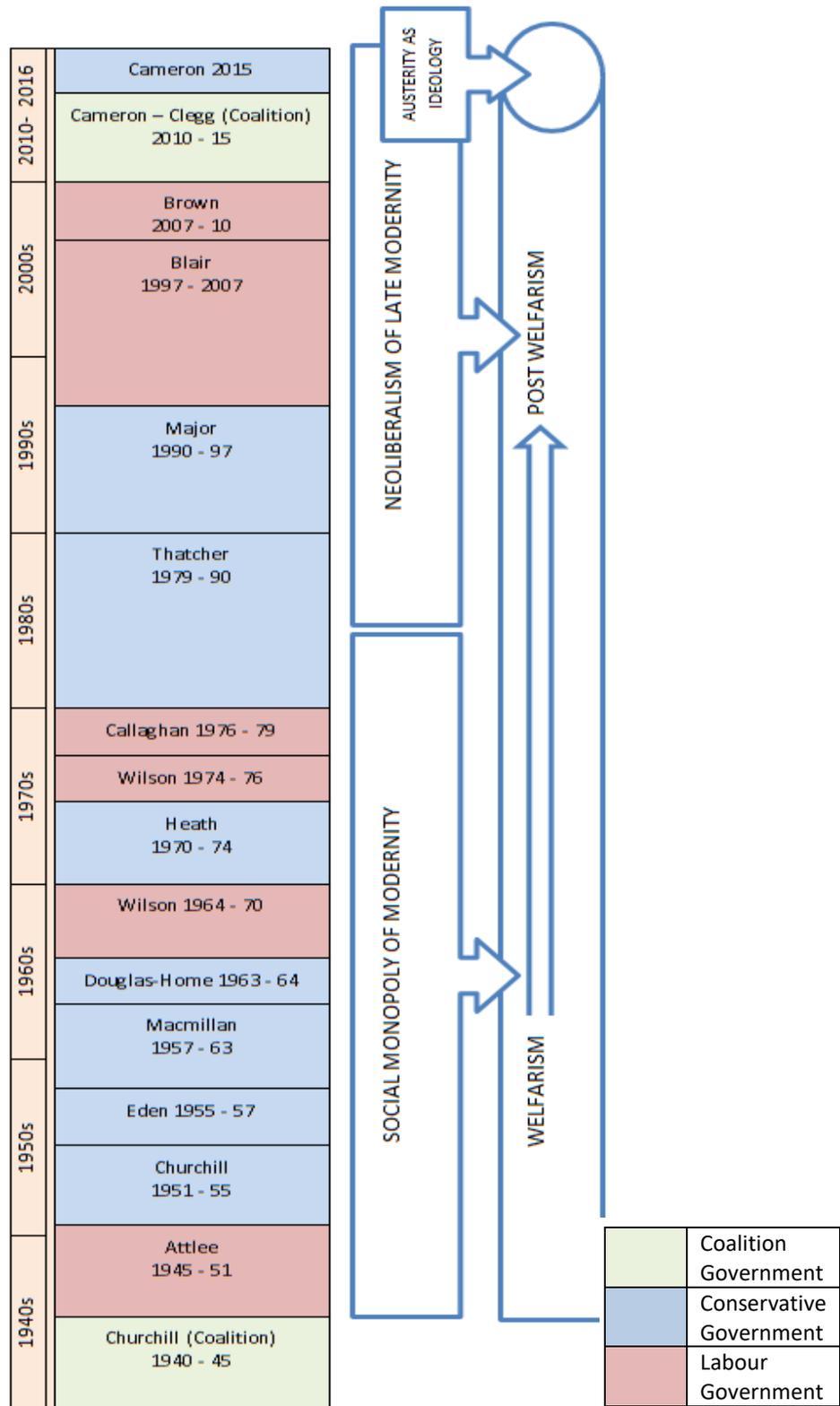


Figure 1 : The Welfarist/Post-welfarist Landscape

The purpose of this chapter is to describe a line of trajectory through this period, constructing a narrative that links events in government and society with developments in the notion of inclusion. As such, it is an interpretation of this shift. To assist in the placing of events in the narrative, figure 1 (above) presents a mapping of the shift as it moved across successive governments.

This section will begin by considering more generally the notion of welfarism and its post-war origins and also the rise of citizenship it engendered in order to construct the post-war back-story behind the development of inclusion in schools.

Welfarism and the rise of the citizen

This is a welfare state ... Nobody wants, and nobody goes without, all are provided for.

(Osborne, 1957, p.53)

Even before its election in 1945 the Labour government was committed to a far-reaching programme of post-war reform. On gaining power in the 1945 election and with the support 'in principle' of other parties, it built upon the war-time coalition government's Education Act (1944), to contribute to the construction of what has been described as 'perhaps Britain's greatest post-war achievement' (Sked and Cook, 1993, p.38), the welfare state. The National Insurance Act (1946) and the National Health Act (1946) were

milestones in social reform. The government displayed a 'spirit of true egalitarianism by espousing the principle of "universality"' (ibid.), ensuring that everyone would have equal rights to social welfare. In doing so they embraced a new notion of citizen as a member of a welfare community through which, in times of need, they would be supported in order that they might be able to be equal alongside others in their ability to participate in society.

Clarke (2004) suggests that '[w]elfare states mark a distinctive site of connection between people, politics and policies, constructing relationships, practices and identities of "citizenship"' (p.12). For Marshall citizenship was a dynamic which extended beyond the social and, indeed 'strictly legal definitions' (Procacci, 2001). He theorised it as a process based on the evolution of rights as the U.K. evolved towards post-war modernisation and democratisation. With citizenship come responsibilities and duties beyond the personal to pursue an improvement of society. Marshall defined three elements within the concept of citizenship : a civil element – 'the rights necessary for individual freedom' (e.g. freedom of speech), a political element – the right to 'participate in the exercise of political power', a social element – 'the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society' (Marshall and Bottomore, 1992,

p.8). Marshall thus set welfarism as part of a broad concept of citizenship and civic rights and responsibilities.

The ambition was that individuals should be 'full citizens' (Young, 1999, p.4) in this new post-war society, that the 'palpable injustices and differences in the life-chances of the well-to-do and of the poor could be diminished by public expenditure and redistributive taxation: and that the agents to bring about change were the bureaucracies of central and local government, under the control of elected ministers and councillors' (Annan, 1990, p.12).

The intention was that the vast proportion of the population would become 'full citizens' in the sense that they would access, and use effectively, all services then provided through a welfare state to benefit from them in terms of a 'sound' education, 'good' health, etc.. From this position they would be better able to participate as 'full citizens', engaged in a social contract which provided all with centrally administered equality of opportunity (Tomlinson, 2011, Rao, 1996).

This 'socialist rhetoric' (Sked and Cook, 1993, p.29) grew as the Labour Party gained its momentum in the early post-war years. It led to a 'specific constellation of assumptions and arrangements – political, economic, social and institutional' (Gewirtz, 2002, p.1) - shaped by the language and ideology of welfarism, which helped to define 'the citizen'.

The issue, however, lay with those who 'deviated' from this trajectory of presumed 'normalcy' for whatever reason and so ran the risk of not being included in the new opportunities of welfarism and its new form of citizenry. In schools, this focused attention on those children who did not act 'normally'. Indeed, one of the important texts for teachers at this time was *'The Normal Child and Some of His [sic] Abnormalities'* (Valentine, 1956) which set out criteria for normalcy.

This gave inclusion a remediating responsibility for tackling differences that were seen to inhibit an individual's understanding and attainment of this citizenship. Inclusion was thus formed here as a means of intervention and its ends as integration, for it was the subject who changed to comply with the demands of the societal structure. Such individual differences were seen as a form of social injustice for they prevented full inclusion, giving their remediation an ethical justification that emerged from the moral responsibilities of welfarist public services as providers of services to all. This heralded a new form of distributive social justice. Bureaucratic 'managerialism' was dedicated to 'doing the right thing' (Clarke and Newman, 1992) in taking responsibility, through their administration, for the equitable distribution of their service and the creation of greater (distributive) social justice. Thus its integrative means became legitimated.

Welfarist inclusion demanded assimilation and incorporation into the aspirations-made-real of post-war government policies which bestowed legal, political and social rights upon its citizenry – defining a minimum of conditions of housing, employment, income, health and education. In schools this resulted in the recognising that those children who could not access this minimum of education required interventionist programmes which would rehabilitate them and remediate this deficiency (The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies Education Group, 1981). The ‘difficulties’ (Young, 1999) that resulted from including children who expressed difference were tolerated in terms of the extent to which they presented challenge to the processes of rehabilitation and reform/remediation, which were aided by specialist supports skilled in meeting these challenges (Bailey and Skoro, 1987).

The challenge for the welfare state was to construct structures that would enable the more equitable distribution of social goods (Gewirtz and Cribb, 2002) leading to the active inclusion of more people as citizens. The 1944 Education Act, for example, sought to ensure that :

[The state would provide] education opportunities of such wide variety, encouraging experiments so comprehensive in character, and planning and staffing its schools, to provide such high standards of teaching and amenities that no parent, however rich or however snobbish, could gain

any advantage either in social prestige or social opportunity by paying £315 per year to maintain his son at Eton.

(Green, 1948, p.161)

Attempts to bring about welfarist equality ultimately failed generally because its reforms 'benefited middle-class children, along with a small number of selected working class children, and that the rich and influential did not attend state-maintained schools' (Tomlinson, 2011, p.3). Within the narrative of this thesis two significant reasons for this failure can be discerned. The first is that, by its very nature as 'perhaps Britain's greatest post-war achievement' (Sked and Cook, 1993, p.38) and its promise of societal renewal after the bleakness of the pre-war and war years, welfarism was built upon a social order founded upon notions of what society should be like. From this states of 'normalcy' were defined which many could not attain. Here confusions between inclusion and integration are evident. Welfarism was inclusive in its ambitions to open up opportunities universally to all, but looked to integration as a means to identify those who struggled to access them and to remediate in order that this could be resolved.

Such ambitions, though modernising the devastation of war-torn communities, located the causality of difference within individuals rather than the welfarist system itself. It atomised children and pathologised their differences and sought ways to integrate them into the 'normalcy' that led to

'full citizenship'. This was a sentiment that excluded many who remained disconnected.

Secondly, the rapid spread of globalised capitalism led to a universalising of the concept of the market-place, placing public sector services, including education, into its competitiveness and accountability. The shift away from this 'Golden Age' (Hobsbawm, 1994) of welfarism was caused by both the stress of the economic crisis of the early 1970s (which caused labour markets to be modernised and restructured), and the cultural revolution of the rise of individualism in the 1960s and 1970s. Their combination led to a disaggregation of welfare structures replacing them with a public service market-place. This greatly affected the concept of inclusion as it gained a new post-welfare meaning, one that was captured by Young (1999) :

*The modern [welfarist] world is intolerant of diversity which it attempts to absorb and assimilate, and is relatively tolerant of difficulty, of obdurate people and recalcitrant rebels whom it sees as more of a challenge to rehabilitate and reform.... The late modern [post-welfare] world celebrates diversity and **difference** which it readily absorbs and sanitizes ... Late modern societies **consume** diversity; they do not recoil at difference, they recast it as a commodity.... What they are less willing to endure is **difficulty**.* (p.59, emphases in original)

It is this change of inclusive territory and the consequent post-welfarist re-defining of the qualities that are deemed to be acceptable or tolerable and therefore allow admission (inclusion) into that territory that this chapter will now go on to explore.

Post-welfarism and the rise of the individual as citizen

The post-welfare re-incarnation of inclusion was fuelled by neoliberal views about the relationship between economy, society and government which shifts responsibility for the positioning of individuals in societal hierarchies from the state to the individual him/herself. It is thus a reversal of the direction of conceptual travel of welfarism and state provision of resources and initiatives to help determine this positioning.

A turning point was Thatcher's statement : '... who is society? There is no such thing! There are individual men and women and there are families and no government can do anything except through people and people look to themselves first. It is our duty to look after ourselves' (Keay, 1988, p.4). This could be said to signify the end of the welfare citizen, to be replaced by post-welfare citizen-as-individual sited in the market-place of economism. It has been translated by successive governments – by New Labour, then by the Coalition and currently by Conservative governments - under the pressures of austerity, as they seek a new meaning of 'citizen'.

In its educational context Rao (1996) saw this shift as the introduction of 'welfare pluralism', '[t]he aim of which was to inject plurality and diversity into the existing system – by exposing education to the free play of market forces and consumer sovereignty' (p.28), moving away from the monolithic qualities of welfarism. This is more sharply articulated by Gunter and Fitzgerald (2015) who state that '[a]t the heart of the shift is a right wing anti-state set of discourses and practices promoted by powerful interests where the family and not the state is the location of educational activity as a private matter' (p.101). This is a stance that can be seen across public sector services as they shifted towards limiting and even removing the state as provider of services, moving this role to the private sector and emphasising the neoliberalist 'deep' commitment to 'markets and to freedom as "individual choice"' (Apple, 2001).

It is here that the responsibilities of the citizen takes on a consumerist role, one that ensures that, in a Darwinian sense, only the best of services survive because only these are chosen and used. The citizen became a point of accountability whose opinions and choices were given powerful sway in making judgements about the effectiveness of public services.

This raises questions about equating public sector services (especially schools) with the world of commercial business and its market-driven values. Crouch (2003) argues that this 'market analogue' (p.32) fails to succeed for it

is dependent on a ranking of schools perceived as 'good' or 'bad' and their supply and demand. 'Good' schools thrive as pupils and resources gravitate to them, whilst 'poor' schools 'starved of both pupils and resources, will necessarily decline' (ibid.). In this 'evolution of the fittest' schools market and citizenship become incompatible for :

[the market] works by using parental choice to encourage inequalities between schools to accumulate, and then redistribute resources from poor to successful schools. The [welfarist] citizenship approach tries to limit the destabilising effects on schools of parental choice, redistributes resources to poor schools, and takes many direct action measures to improve their performance.

(ibid., p.34)

For Crouch there was a 'universal expectation that education should be available as a right, not needing to be purchased in the market' (ibid., p.26). In which sense all children have a right to be included in it. The market-place jeopardises this right through reducing universal welfare opportunities to those with the post-welfare ability to 'purchase'. Its foundation is the stance that '... neo-liberalism is grounded in the idea of the "free, possessive individual". It sees the state as tyrannical and oppressive. The state must never govern society, dictate to free individuals how to dispose of their property, regulate a free-market economy or interfere with the God-given

right to make profits and amass personal wealth' (Hall, 2011, p.706). It is in this individualised context that inclusion looked to find a new meaning from that of welfarist citizen.

Ball (2007) considers that the driving force behind this shift is that of the relationship between welfare provision and the economy, reconstructing the relationship between the state and the citizen as one which instrumentally defined the citizen as a contributor to state economic well-being (as opposed to a receiver of welfarist beneficence).

This placed upon education policy-makers the task of ensuring that learning in schools apprentices (includes) as many children as possible into the knowledge and skills which support the development of children as future citizen-contributors to the economy. This, supported by the introduction of the National Curriculum and a defining of required learning, became the new focus for inclusion, one which focused on the inclusive territory of a standards discourse – indeed, it became the entitlement of all children.

This shift was strengthened by the resurgence of capitalism to the extent that in Thatcher's words, 'There is no alternative' (Thatcher, 1993). She used this phrase to declare her beliefs in both the unquestionable strength of a free market within a capitalist, globalised economy and the need for this to become a means of combatting socialism. In doing so she rejected Keynesian economics, ending the power of labour (as heavy and manufacturing

industries moved eastwards where profitability would be increased because of lower labour costs), reducing the cost of the state through privatisations (de-nationalising industries and encouraging market-place entrepreneurship) and the creation of new 'modern' industries (finance, service industries, information technology ...). The consequence was the creation of a modern competitive market-place within which work-force members competed for positions. Education and schooling became a key component in contributing to the gaining of advantage in this competing market-place.

This found educational expression in the standards discourse becoming one which has immersed itself in the apparent truth of market-led data. This is evident in the domination of a standards discourse of inclusion with its measures of children's attainment against expectations, and their translations into school performance and thence as a tool for public accountability. Inclusion into these expectations is a powerful element of post-welfarist schooling, rooted in capitalist values that prize individualism and competition and are a central part of a much larger societal picture.

Thatcher's phrase positions the standards discourse as a point of entry for children into an immutable, dominant and globalised economic market-place (Gewirtz et al., 1995, Gewirtz, 2006, Ball, 2007, Ball, 2013, Young, 1999). It presented opportunities for them to acquire not only knowledge which was determined as a basic requirement for successful admission, but also a

culture of categorisation based upon measurable outcomes, and a spirit of competition designed to heighten individualism, ensure elitism and the constant improving of society. Post-welfarism heralded new and profound changes to the notion of inclusion (Tomlinson, 2011, Clarke, 2004).

New Labour continued this direction of conceptual travel but recognised that there was a 'crisis in schooling' including, amongst other elements, the low standards of attainment in schools (Carvel and Brindle, 1999). A number of initiatives were established under the heading of, what Prime Minister Blair called, 'our social mode' whose purpose was 'to enhance our ability to compete, to help our people compete with globalisation' (Blair, 2005). Although this model and the policies that were constructed from it were founded upon previous discourses of 'validity and worth' (Mills, 1997, p.67), Ball (2007) considers them to be made up 'out of fragments – slogans, recipes, incantations and self-evidences. The recitations and rhetorics involved here are part of the process of building support for state projects and establishing hegemonic visions' (p.2). Fielding (2001) recognises that whilst acknowledging an invigorating climate of change coupled with a willingness to spend significant amounts of money, 'there is also a sense of regret, of an opportunity missed as well as positive steps taken. What is missing is a philosophically coherent vision of childhood education' (p.4).

This lack of coherence was epitomised by Educational Action Zones (E.A.Z.) which became a symbol of this in the New Labour government. They were heralded as ‘standard bearers in a new crusade uniting business, schools, local education authorities and parents to modernize education in areas of social disadvantage’ (DfEE, 1998), though the policy was ultimately short-lived and replaced by academisation. E.A.Zs. were a pivotal part of New Labour’s educational policy which was described by (Gewirtz, 2001) as having two focuses :

The first focus is on the education system itself, the structures and practices that New Labour believes need to be in place if schools and services are going to meet the needs of all children and not just a privileged minority. ... The second focus is on the need to promote ‘a culture of achievement’, as, according to Blunkett [the then Secretary of State for Education], the vision ‘depends on changing attitudes as well as the system itself’.

(p.365)

She goes on to argue that such policies amounted to ‘massive investment in an ambitious programme of re-socialization and re-education, which has as its ultimate aim the eradication of class differences by reconstructing and transforming working-class parents into middle-class ones. Excellence for the many is to be achieved, at least in part, by making the

many behave like the few' (ibid., p.366). Though intended to be a means of developing cultural justice which gave recognition to the cultures from which children came, E.A.Zs. confusingly became agents of distributive social justice and the making more accessible of legitimated learning through the National Curriculum. This reinforced the lack of 'a philosophically coherent vision of childhood education', reducing inclusion to a means of integration.

Though E.A.Zs. were seen as a flagship for this cause, Gewirtz (ibid.) is very critical of this policy being political 'spin' and not having the depth to bring about the social reconstructions at which it was aimed.

The intent of New Labour was to echo Plowden's (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967) concern for the inclusion of disadvantaged children in the processes of education as part of social reconstruction. Whilst its financial investment in E.A.Zs., and other initiatives, was colossal, its failing (like that of welfarism) was that it sought to improve provision rather than to realise the subjectivity of learning – the factors that shape individual dispositions to learn. It relied on a logic which saw that by 'enhancing the capacity of working-class families to function as effective consumers and users of educational services and as skilled "home educators", opportunities will be widened' (Gewirtz, 2001, p.373). The effect was that hierarchies of social class were continued by this approach for it failed to remove the advantage of certain classes within a social class structure that came through

their accessing educational opportunities which remained denied to others, excluding them because of their class dispositions to education and schooling.

Instead its emphasis was more objectively sited in a 'new commercialised world' (ibid.), (founded under Thatcher, built upon by Blair and indeed later extended by Cameron) in which :

... children have been recast as commodities. And they are commodities which are differentially valued. Now schools and teachers are being encouraged to value students according to what these children can offer the school financially and in terms of image and examination performance. In this way students have in many ways become objects of the education system, to be attracted, excluded, displayed and processed according to their commercial worth, rather than subjects with needs, desires and potential.

(Gewirtz, 2000, p.361-2)

The concept of inclusion became re-packaged in market terms, giving more value to some children than others. This was also evident within schools as attention was switched to those children most capable of contributing to the school's position in education league tables. This was at the cost of attention to special needs provision (Gillborn and Youdell, 1999). Fielding (2001a) is critical of an education service which had become dominated by 'a

reductionist backdrop of performativity' in which 'curriculum is seen to be replaced by "standards"' (ibid.).

The commodification of children's attainments through a standards discourse gave a specific emphasis to inclusion, keeping pace with shifts within societal values :

Values of competitive individualism, separation and exclusion were to be extolled and knowledge itself regarded as a commodity for private consumption.

(Tomlinson, 2011, p.32)

The National Curriculum provided a currency by which educational success could be measured, but this was over-layered with a range of schooling alternatives beyond the broadly comprehensive state system. Selective grammar schools, fee-paying schools, and academies and free schools have all contributed to the expansion of school choice, allowing various forms of specialisation and selection to creep into the system. This expansion opened up a 'public mythology' (Ranson, 1984) of educational opportunity and success for all resulting in the raising of aspirations that could not be matched, causing one civil servant to remark (in 1984) that 'we have to select, to ration the educational opportunities ... people must be educated once more to know their place' (ibid., p.241).

Commodification implies that a particular item has a use-value (Smith, 2016), a symbolic weight that can be exchanged for something else. The item becomes reduced to 'a thing, rather than an object' (ibid., p.26), losing the focus of any innate, subjective qualities it may possess to be replaced by objective data which are interpreted as worth. With the need for a process of selection, children have become similarly commodified – reduced to individualised and de-personalised data – in order that their 'use-value' can be ascertained and exchanged for further access to more educational opportunity, if possible. Increasingly throughout the Blair years commodification of educational attainment not only led in this way to greater educational opportunity, but this, in turn, was seen to have a further 'use-value' in terms of its exchange value when entering employment and contributing to national economic development.

More recently, under the Coalition and current Conservative governments, a key economic factor has been the enormity of the state welfare budget and the need for its reduction through moving more people in work (and thus removing/reducing their benefit needs – and also enabling them to contribute to and boost, the nation's economic output). From this has emerged a more defined view of the individual citizen, one who positively complies with the values of capitalism and who works hard for the benefit of self and nation. Such citizenry has less need of welfare benefits as it moves into greater employment opportunities, a position which has afforded the

government's cuts to welfare provision in a time of austerity. The shift of austerity to become 'austerity-as-ideology' (Ignagni et al., 2015) has heightened this notion of an 'able' citizen and the responsibility of schools to assist with the integration of children (as apprentice citizens) into its values.

Ignagni et al. interpret this as creating citizens who are 'strivers', competitive individuals committed to the principles of capitalism and to the accruing of economic capital. They leave behind those who are 'scroungers' dependent on and benefiting from the welfare system. This polarisation positions individuals either as included in the 'ableism' demanded by capitalism, or excluded from it – Ignagni et al. refer to such outsiders as 'labelled people'.

This has had a direct effect upon inclusion in schools, for this process of labelling identifies those who comply with learning expectations (or exceed them) as 'strivers' and presents those who do not with a label that signifies their 'difficulty' in doing so. The boundary around the territory of inclusion is clearly defined, as too are the interventions that will assist those not included (and therefore 'labelled') to gain access.

In summary, the shift from welfarism to post-welfarism has been one which switches the focus away from the role of the state as being one of providing and administering structures that enable individuals to engage with society, to the role of the individual (agent) and the requirement for him/her

to take responsibility for this engagement as a requirement of being a member of that society. Each perspective brings to light understandings of citizenship and of the role in school in apprenticing children into its values and practices. These ambitions are seen, in both the welfarist and post-welfarist contexts, as aims of inclusion – but its processes in both contexts can be seen to be focused on the integration of children, compelling them to change to the demands of political policy in order to gain access. Each phase has created a normalcy of citizenship into which it works, through its education systems, to generate integration. Children have gradually become commodified units made to conform to centrally constructed norms. The sense of the personal has been removed as this process has become more objectified and focused on meeting national targets for children’s learning. Personal differences which detract from the meeting of these standards have become themselves targets of intervention. Inclusion demands acceptance of difference, and it is clear that both welfarism and post-welfarism its meaning has been misused for both eschew difference. This compounds the ‘messiness’ of the term ‘inclusion’ (to be explored further at 2.3.ii).

Arguments about the nature of citizenship and the market-place’s positioning of schools linked with national economically-derived imperatives have become cloaked in additional discourses about social justice. It is these social justice ends which direct the nature of inclusion that the next section will explore further.

2.2.iii The changing focus of inclusion as a social justice end

What kind of world do we desire? Is it a world where we can comfortably rationalize exclusion and segregation of different groups of people?

What is the nature of social justice and democracy?

(Slee, 2011, p.42)

Slee's question is pertinent to the societal changes undertaken during the shift from welfarist to post-welfarist inclusion. Underpinning these changes there have also been changes to the notion of social justice as consecutive governments attempted to change the territory of inclusion. Welfarism attempted to bring about 'distributive' social justice, defined by Rawls (1971) as 'the way in which the major social institutions . . . distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the distribution of advantages from social cooperation' (p.7). This was translated into a post-welfarist context by Tomlinson (2011) who considered it a means to 'redistribute social goods and resources more equitably and to encourage economic growth and productivity' (p.13).

This switch in the aim of distributive social justice was summed up in a speech by Prime Minister Cameron (2016) :

The economy can't be secure if we spend billions of pounds on picking up the pieces of social failure and our society can't be strong and cohesive as long as there are millions of people who feel locked out of it.

Cameron's government sought to increase social mobility, and it saw the entitlement of all to engage with this principle and move up the social ladder towards a presumed more active and engaged citizenry. Social justice and social mobility became intertwined, the one recast as the other (Reay, 2013), an idea pre-empted by Cameron's predecessor Brown who stated that 'social mobility is modern social justice' (2010).

Crouch (2003) considers social mobility as a part-product of cross-political-party perceptions of education as a universal right and a means of social justice. Upward social mobility, however, is revealed as 'pale insipid version of social justice' by Reay (2013, p.663), and as Payne (2012) reflects :

Social mobility has been changed from an account in which it is inevitable that there will always be winners and losers – because that is built into the bones of the analysis – into bland reassurances that everyone can be winners, provided the right policies are in place. There is no room in this bright new social mobility future for the embarrassing fact of downward mobility or any need to dismantle the entrenched positions of the most advantaged classes.

(p.15)

For Tomlinson (2011) this has meant the maintaining of social class divisions and the functioning of schools (and their processes of inclusion/exclusion) as part of this divisive reproduction :

In effect, education remained a preparation for a class-divided hierarchical society in which those destined for skilled work or places on the margins of the economy received a different and inferior education to those destined for professional and managerial jobs and positions of power and influence.

(Tomlinson, 2011, p.32)

Kupfer (2015) states 'no one proposes the concept of reducing social hierarchies as a way to increase social equality or improve underprivileged people's living conditions' (p.3). The consequence is that 'the bland reassurances' cause class differences to persist in a camouflaged form. For example, *The Social Mobility Index* links educational attainment with type of job/income in its calculations (Milburn, 2016), revealing a widening gap between class, educational attainment and employment (echoed by Wilshaw (2016)). It has become the basis for more political concern about social mobility and for the creation of new policy. Central to this is the perceived need to prioritise inclusion into the standards discourse and its focus on core subjects even more (Dann, 2016) limiting inclusion to the narrowness of National Curriculum learning expectations in order to increase social mobility/justice.

For Young (1990), however, the issue was, '[i]nstead of focusing on distribution, a conception of justice should begin with the concepts of

domination and oppression. Such a shift brings out issues of decision making, division of labour, and culture that bear on social justice but are often ignored in philosophical discussions. It also exhibits the importance of social group differences in structuring social relations' (p. 3). This hits hard at concepts of social justice and at the barriers that exclude individuals from engaging with them, demanding that the structures change to accommodate and include difference rather than individuals change to accommodate the demands of structures (reflecting the difference between inclusion and integration). The latter perpetuates the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others and stretches this beyond its class roots to embrace special educational needs, cultural differences, gender differences etc.

This complexity of the movements within the social justice landscape provides a back-drop to the concept of inclusion in schools. Kupfer (2015) summarises this as a shift from micro individual motives to meso educational systems and then to macro societal structures, a movement which she considers to follow the 'chronological developments of scientific research ... as well as sociological analysis' (p.5) as the welfare state moved from welfarism to post-welfarism.

What the welfare state has come to represent before and during its transformation is key to understanding the nature of the changes which have

taken place to the understanding and practice of inclusion. There is a number of underlying key ideas that summarise this shift to post-welfarist inclusion :

The conceptions of the relationship between politics and policy : which questions where the site of decision-making around inclusion should be. Should it be at the macro governmental level, defining national policy applicable to all schools, or at micro school level, where school leaders are given autonomy to decide inclusion policies for their schools? (Tomlinson, 2011, Ball, 2007).

The ways in which government policy considers individuality and difference : the National Curriculum standards discourse reflects the individualism of post-welfarism in its focus on the attainments of individual children. It considers inclusion to be that a child has entered defined curriculum expectations. Its tolerance of difference is limited to that which complies with these expectations. The welfare-based discourse saw its role as one of providing the means for all children's inclusion in the processes of learning (Fielding, 2001a, Fielding, 2007, Clarke, 2004) as a universal right. Though starting from different perspectives each is based, to different extents, upon a form of integration, rather than inclusion, for they each demand that children change to a form of 'full citizenry'. In doing so, they start from a stance of a prescribed sense of normalcy to which children learn to conform.

The concept of social justice : which, throughout the shift, has concentrated on the more equitable distribution of access to opportunities. In welfarist times this was constructed as means of remediation/compensation to restore a defined normalcy, whilst in post-welfarism times this took on a more economically-driven significance. In each case there was an underpinning sense of citizenship, enhanced by the participatory associative justice of post-welfarism. Each was aimed at inclusion as a means of social justice, of enabling those who might be excluded to gain access to the valued territory of inclusion. Successive governments tackled this by constructing inclusive projects that centred on distributive justice with little reference to cultural justice and absence of cultural domination, which allows for the respectful recognition and acceptance of difference because of cultural context. As a consequence of this lack, there is non-recognition, an invisibility, of particular cultures which affords them little legitimated representation. The dominance of the culture of capitalism remains as the standard that all cultures should embrace. The benchmark of inclusion set by such values prevents the access of those unrepresented social classes or individuals with special educational needs, or other types of perceived difference. In which case exclusion persists.

Having explored the welfarist/post-welfarist shift and its effects on the concept of inclusion, this chapter will now go on to consider how this has affected the realisation of inclusion.

2.3 Realisation of inclusion

This section begins by considering a macro perspective – the relationship between localised school autonomy and centralised heteronomous governmental controls and the ways in which this has impacted on how schools construct inclusive policies and translate them into practices.

2.3.i inclusion as an end – who decides?

Post-welfarism's more open, market-place accountability of schools gave rise to 'associational justice' which Gewirtz (2000) defined as 'the capacity of individuals to participate fully in decisions which affect the conditions within which they live and act' (p.354). It led to the end of what Rao (1996) saw as 'producer capture' – the move of public services away from the time in which they 'were organised to suit the needs of producers rather than consumers' (p.14) towards consumer-accountability. This de-centralising of powers of decision making impacted upon parents/carers and schools through two governmental reforms. The first was that Local Education Authorities (L.E.As.) became 'influencers' and 'enablers' rather than the overarching bureaucracies they had been, as schools became more independent from their power base through the earlier introduction of 'Local Management of Schools' (L.M.S.) and the more recent growth of self-governing academies (Long and Bolton, 2016). During this the role of Local Authorities has moved 'from administration to management; from providing

to enabling; from maintaining to quality control; and from control to influence' (Rao, 1996, p.24). Over more recent times of austerity and the consequential enormous reductions in the funding of Local Authorities (with more of this finding its way into individual school budgets), many of the services they provided for schools have disappeared. In turn, this has led to schools (in principle) having greater autonomy to decide how budgets should be spent to decide inclusive policies to meet the needs of their children more effectively.

Secondly, this move to autonomy was enhanced by parents/carers becoming more empowered as consumers of public services, which, in turn, became more openly (and locally) accountable to them (Ball, 2007). The principle was to ensure that schools served the educational needs of their community and to establish a close working relationship between them. This sense of partnership equally provided an apparent means for school communities to be self-determining over the most appropriate territory for inclusion for their children.

Simultaneously, however, this rise of apparent school autonomy was balanced by a similar rise in the heteronomy of centralised government policy (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000). Whilst voice was given to stakeholders to determine the local identity of a school, simultaneously there remained restrictions upon this freedom through mounting centralised controls – none more so than the

introduction of a National Curriculum (Lawton and Chitty, 1988) and the expectations of age-related learning it defined. Thus both decentralisation and centralisation occurred simultaneously - autonomy within centralised policy framework restrictions creating tensions within localised interpretations of the territory into which children were to be included. This also had implications for the expansion of the role of headteachers moving them from 'professional leaders to institutional managers' (Rao, 1996, p.27), entrusting them with an expanded list of managerial duties. Amidst these were key decisions to be taken about the territory of inclusion to be adopted by a school.

The current context of this collaboration is one of 'austerity-as-ideology' (Ignagni et al., 2015) which has resulted in heteronomous pressures to comply with central government policies in a context of reduced local authority influence. Decisions about a school's approach to inclusion, therefore, have within them tensions about the needs of the children and also heteronomous policy demands for high quality service and budgetary constraints. There are tensions too about accountability both to the community the school serves and to the Department for Education and Ofsted, tensions which define the landscape of inclusion through which schools construct individual pathways.

Thomson (2010) explores school leader autonomy and their 'push' that 'I/we know what's best for my/our school. They [local authority, central office, politicians and policymakers] don't. If only they would give me/us the resources, stop interfering and leave me/us alone, we could just get on with it' (p.5). She considers the context in which this push is taking place as one of 'de-centralising' and 're-centralising'. She configures school leaders 'in new times' as needing to 'be expert at playing according to the codified rules of audit, management and markets, which individualise, through the use of data, the performance of each teacher, each head and each school' (p.15). Simultaneously, however, 'a key aspect of the push for autonomy has been the greater purchase it has provided over work *within* the school' (ibid., emphasis in original). Leadership 'in new times' (Hall, 1996) looks both externally at the heteronomy that defines national policy on inclusion and the ends to which it should strive, and internally at how best to interpret and manage this.

It is these pathways that this chapter will now go on to consider – how inclusion is defined as a means leading towards a particular end.

2.3.ii Inclusion as a means – or an end?

Means and ends – integration and inclusion

Inclusion has become a slogan, a word which is taken-for granted to the extent that its meaning is unquestioned because it is assumed to have

universal understanding. Indeed, it has become a word that penetrates current debates about many societal issues including immigration, same-sex marriage, the benefits' system, the Paralympics etc. But it is seldom that questions that lie behind these issues are asked, about the end to which inclusion is a means (Slee, 2011) – the issue under consideration (which is more immediate) becomes separated from the societal end to which it is a means, particularly in terms of policy development.

For example, the welfarist, remediating, psycho-medical model of inclusion (Clough and Corbett, 2000) was founded upon the science of measurement of children against defined measures of normal development with the intention of discovering the extent of a child's differences from these measures in order that they might be remediated. This sense of normalcy grew out of the welfarist notion of the 'full citizen', but also grew into a 'tyranny of developmentalism' (Goodley and Runswick-Cole, 2011) providing a template to which all children should conform. Children thus became the object of study (Burman, 2008). This found further roots in the developmental psychology of Piaget and Vygotsky which produced a 'regular and predictable' pattern of child development. At the heart of such delineations is the notion of the 'prototypical child' (Burman, 2008; Walkerdine, 1993) - a objective model of normal development.

There is a sense that the current post-welfarist standards discourse has continued this 'tyranny of developmentalism' through its creation of clear expectations of curriculum learning as territories for individual children to be included into. At the same time measures to pin-point a child's progression in this learning have been developed, which have become translated into measures of school effectiveness. Children's inclusion into these expectations thus enters the public domain of the education market-place as an accepted means of accountability. In doing so inclusion is again seen as an end, and integration (the changing of children to match the demanded values, dispositions and behaviours in order become included) is continued.

Both welfarism and post-welfarism have emphasised the ends of the inclusive process and the importance of moving children in their direction and of attaining them. This objectifying of children gives far less emphasis to a child's personal context - his/her needs, background, etc. - for the focus is upon equipping him/her to attain prescribed ends. This conceals a failure to penetrate the connection between those personal factors that might inhibit attainment and the attainment itself. For example, social class has long been linked with the perpetuation of differences in class accessibility to opportunity and thus of educational attainment (Wilshaw, 2016, Hardy and Woodcock, 2015). This objectification of children can be seen in the Pupil Premium initiative which identifies children who are 'disadvantaged' and provides additional funding aimed at improving their attainment :

Inspectors will take particular account of the progress made by disadvantaged pupils by the end of the key stage compared with that made nationally by other pupils with similar starting points and the extent to which any gaps in this progress, and consequently in attainment, are closing. Inspectors will first consider the progress and attainment of disadvantaged pupils compared with the national figures for non-disadvantaged pupils and how much any gaps are closing. They will then also consider any in-school gaps between disadvantaged pupils' progress and attainment and the progress and attainment of the other pupils in the school and how much these gaps are closing.

(Paragraph 177, p.55)

Such initiatives are focused on integration for they seek to identify difference and remediate by intervention, without fully considering personal factors. Ends take precedence. Inclusion and its recognition of difference as personal attribute which cannot be instrumentally remediated, is given less emphasis. Inclusion is a personally transformative process that is 'often effectively obscured, "camouflaged" or insufficiently valued' (Hardy and Woodcock, 2015, p.141) – its means-focus is usurped by the central importance of ends.

The next section will explore more detailed ways in which inclusion is realised and in particular how difference is considered.

Creating Categories

The boundary line around a territory of inclusion symbolically marks the zone in which children's individual differences can be tolerated, for those children have attained inclusion. Outside of this territory, in the exclusion zone, are those children whose differences preclude them from gaining access (Cigman, 2007). The notion of difference, and of being outside the bounds of acceptability (and indeed, inside them too), is accompanied by a vocabulary of classification which defines the degree to which this variance exists. It is hinged upon concepts of normalcy (and abnormality). Such concepts are enmeshed (Rowan and Shore, 2009) with underpinning societal values producing 'rules of formation' (Foucault, 1972), and asking 'who is different and who is the same?' (Cigman, 2007, p.xxii).

For Goodley and Runswick-Cole (2011) this is founded on a language that emerges from the 'claims and assumptions' of developmental child psychology as it has altered its understandings as it has moved from welfarism and post-welfarism. It is constructed around a notion of 'ableism' which defines the dividing line between those children who fall within categories that allow inclusion into a territory, and those whose categorisation leads to exclusion. It is :

A network of beliefs, processes and practices that produce a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as the

perfect, species-typical and therefore essentially and fully human.

Disability then, is cast as a diminished state of being human.

(Campbell, 2001, p.44)

Definitions of inclusion are dogged by apparent dualisms (see below, p.53) contained within them. Ableism implies disableism, for example, for if a child is placed outside ableism he/she is categorised as being less than 'fully human' (Oliver, 1990) and, by default, this deficiency places him/her in a disability classification of some sort. In this way inclusion is symbiotically bound to exclusion, depending on it for its meaning. The move to include someone has to be predicated on the fact that they are currently in an excluded state, and vice versa. The notion of a bipolar dualism (Benjamin, 2002, p.13) marks a boundary between what is judged to be territory of worth and territory which lacks worthy qualities. It is a demarcation which creates the former as aspirational - that all should desire to be placed into categories that would allow inclusion.

For Bernstein (1996) such categorising is rooted in hegemony – the power relations that exist within a societal setting that give dominant legitimacy to particular titles and their meaning. He states:

...dominant power relations establish boundaries, that is relationships between boundaries, relationships between categories. The concept to translate power at the level of the individual must deal with

relationships between boundaries and the category representations of these boundaries.

(p.6)

Classifications (and their category representations in individual children) thus emerge from a source of dominant power which bestows status upon certain behaviours and expectations over others, and which becomes accepted as an established order :

...for the principle of classification comes to have the force of the natural order and the identities it constructs are taken as real, as authentic, as integral, as the source of integrity.

(ibid., p.7)

This forms what Slee (2011) defines as 'collective indifference' within a society which denies the questioning of the fundamental ways in which the arbitrariness of these criteria become commonly held truths.

Classifications that have been defined from legitimate centres of authority thus become part of everyday language. In this way the terminology used to position children in terms of their attainments within National Curriculum learning has become a common vocabulary used by parents/carers, teachers and children.

Dilemmas of Difference

Minow (1990) raises ethical questions about how categorisations, which rely on interpretations of difference, impact on the reality of inclusive practice. Her concern is :

When does treating people differently emphasize their differences and stigmatise or hinder them on that basis? And when does treating people the same become insensitive to their differences and likely to stigmatise them on that basis?

(p.20)

It is this dilemma that questions the very nature of the realisation of inclusion - about whether it is concerned with establishing systems that will diminish differences so that individuals can be included within a society and its prescribed values (integration) or about enabling a diverse society in which difference is tolerated and accepted (inclusion). It is essentially a dilemma about homogenising children (in accordance with compliance with a standards discourse) or recognising a community of difference (in accordance with a diversity discourse). Dyson (2001) stated that there is a fundamental contradiction in the education systems of the UK between 'an intention to treat all learners the same and an equal and opposite intention to treat them as different' (p.25). It is this confusion facing the realisation of inclusion in its welfarist/post-welfarist context that this chapter will now go on to explore.

Minow (1990) considers that societal values and principles become accepted as part of a common-sense understanding – unstated and taken for granted, and they become the criteria for judging whether or not an individual is included within the territories it defines as worthy. The dilemma of difference is thus about the extent to which differences can be tolerated and accepted – between their conforming to societal requirements or treated in some integrational, remedial way in order that they are removed or reduced to allow inclusion (Wallace, 2016). Norwich (2008) (in exploring the inclusive schooling of children with special educational needs) considers this process of classification to comprise three dilemmas :

... (i) identification (whether to identify children as having a disability/difficulty relevant to education or not); (ii) curriculum (whether to provide a common curriculum to all children or not); and (iii) placement or location (to what extent children with more severe difficulties/differences will learn in ordinary or general schools and classes or not). (p.2)

Within a post-welfare context of inclusion, especially one trying to cope with austerity-as-ideology (Ignagni et al., 2015), the conformity demanded is rooted in the standards discourse. The degree of conformity (identification) is measured by nationally prescribed criteria. Children identified as not meeting these expectations are given intervention programmes (curriculum) to

support their inclusion into them. This might mean that they are taught outside of classrooms (depending upon the intervention resources needed), or, indeed, in specialised units or schools (placement). This places the ‘focus [of] learning squarely on the individual learner. In this new context, it is argued, the personalised learning process gains increased support through ongoing evaluation and monitoring’ (Masschelein and Simons, 2015, p.84-85).

This emanates from centralised government policies that have grown in strength through post-welfarism and austerity, creating a ‘politics of recognition [which] is concerned with the serious issue of who is included and who is excluded within education and society generally’ (Barton, 2003, p.12).

The demand by government for increasingly higher standards from schools, monitored by its Ofsted inspection service (Shain, 2016), creates a deficit culture in those schools that are judged to be underachieving, placing pressures upon them to remediate the standards deficit in individual children, a form of compensatory education. Minow (1990) fears the stigmatising of children in this process, polarising children :

Difference is linked to stigma or deviance and sameness is a pre-requisite for equality. Perhaps these assumptions must be identified and assessed if we are to escape or transcend dilemmas of difference.

(p.50)

The dominance of a post-welfare standards discourse frames those children who do not conform to its requirements as somehow deviant and in need of compensatory education (Shain, 2016). Behind this lies the notion that the 'good child' (one who conforms to societal and educational normalcies) will become a 'good person' (Fechter, 2014, Yan, 2011) or 'good' citizen (able to contribute to national economic well-being). There is a sense here that 'inclusion will come to be seen as more central to the work of schools than education' (Farrell, 2006, p.1-2), that the compliance and conformity of individual children to the demands of school is a precursor to their adult compliance and conformity with society and economism. This notion is rejected by Minow (1990) who considers any consequential labelling and stigmatising of differences within children to be opposed to a sense of equality, for it benefits those who can comply with normalcy requirements whilst excluding those who cannot. This point summarises how the shift to post-welfarism has brought about a focus on the reduction/removal of difference (as a means of integrating more children in prescribed states of standards-driven normalcy) as opposed to its acceptance and tolerance.

2.4 A 'principled' view of inclusion

... inclusive education is not about 'special' teachers meeting the needs of 'special' children in ordinary schools...It is not merely about placing disabled pupils in classrooms with their non-disabled peers; it is not about 'dumping' pupils into an unchanged system of provision and

practice. Rather, it is about how, where and why, and with what consequences, we educate all pupils.

(Barton, 1997, p.234)

Inclusion seeks to remove the pejorative nature of categorisations of difference – a dynamic that bestows upon it principles of equality, reflecting the notion that equality will only be achieved when difference is no longer considered as a stigmatic deviance (Minow, 1990; Young, 1990). It has become ‘an issue that extends beyond merely a practice or approach toward education; it is a means of calling into question a socially unjust and discriminatory system in favour of a system that is designed to enhance the schooling environment for all individuals regardless of their exceptionality’ (Shyman, 2015, p.354). In Ainscow et al.’s (2006) definition :

Inclusion is concerned with all children and young people in school; it is focused on presence, participation and achievement; inclusion and exclusion are linked together such that inclusion involved the active combatting of exclusion; and inclusion is seen as a never-ending process. Thus an inclusive school is one that is on the move, rather than one which has reached a perfect state.

(Ainscow et al., 2006, p.25)

Yet there exists a counter-narrative about the social justice of ensuring the inclusion of all children into a standards discourse which is their right and

entitlement. This narrative is built upon the measurement and categorisation of differences and interventions to help to remove them in order that all children can access age-related expectations of curriculum learning. This is also seen as a matter of principle and of social justice. For example, the then Education Secretary Morgan, speaking at the launch of a government drive to improve literacy standards (Perry, 2015) said:

No matter where they live or what their background, every single child in this country deserves the opportunity to read, to read widely, and to read well – it's a simple matter of social justice.

(p.451)

Morgan has here called into question the socially unjust and discriminatory system which Shyman also questions, but from a curriculum learning perspective. For her the resolution of injustice lies in opening access to essential learning through which eventual social mobility (and social justice) will be attained. But this is to see inclusion as integration and to premise this position on intervention programmes to bring about successful prescribed learning.

Inclusion's underpinning principles might appear to use the same language and indeed to have similar social justice ends in mind, but this is to obfuscate the complex and confusing range of interpretations of its meaning. It is also to hide the societal ends and the type of future citizen society

demands – and for which it gifts schools the responsibility for educating its children. It is the uncomfortableness (Chapter 1) of this confusion that this thesis seeks to remove by clarifying this complex inclusive landscape.

It is here that this thesis turns to the canon of work of Pierre Bourdieu to assist in making sense of this complexity. It provides a set of conceptual ‘thinking tools’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1989, p.5) that constructs an effective analytical ‘lens’ through which the differing interpretations of inclusion can be examined closely and their confusions and tensions clarified.

Beyond this, Bourdieu’s work also has significant impact on the understanding of social classifications and social justice – ideas which help to question current notions of inclusion as a means to social mobility and thence to social justice, for they interrogate underlying understandings of how difference between children (in the case of this study) is recognised and understood, tolerated and acted upon.

2.5 Bourdieu’s conceptual framework as a means of understanding inclusion

2.5.i Introduction

One of Bourdieu’s central interests was how the relationship between individual agent and societal structures was interpreted. The narrative above has attempted to describe changes in this interaction over recent times and connect them with changes to the concept of inclusion in schools. This next section begins with a discussion about the key Bourdieusian concepts that

make up this framework before moving on to their application to inclusion and inclusive schools.

2.5.ii Bourdieu's concepts

The vast canon of Bourdieu's work provides a conceptual framework for understanding social phenomena. These concepts help to understand how the positioning of individual children enables their inclusion into, or their exclusion from, particular educational territories. They explore the criteria demanded by the territory in order to gain access, and how these reflect the values upon which the territory is constructed. Successful inclusion demands a coming together of the child (agent) and the educational territory (structure). It is the centrality of this relationship between agent and structure that forms the basis of Bourdieu's conceptual framework.

Structure and agent

His dissatisfaction with the objective narrowness of Parson's (1977) structuralism, which instrumentally separated structure and agent, led Bourdieu to reconsider their connectedness. Grenfell and James (1998), in looking at the work of Bourdieu related to education, state that schools are more than objective structures in a Parsonian sense; they engage with the children for whom they are responsible, acting as 'structuring structures' (p.12), actively categorising and giving an identity to individual children determined by their accordance with the values and principles which

underpin the structure. This determining of identity/categorisation then permits or precludes the child's inclusion into the territory.

Bourdieu considered schools as sites in which a cultural dominance operates to help to maintain a social order, acting on behalf of society to define both a notion of aspirational citizenship and the means to begin to attain it. The consequence is that those excluded become part of the 'generational phenomenon of poor students, poor results and poor life opportunities' (Bills et al., 2016, p.218). This he saw as the 'reproduction' of social and cultural difference and status through societal structures and institutions. Bourdieu entitled this the 'destiny effect', and he applied it to schooling :

It is through the 'destiny effect' that the social institution of schooling contributes to the production and reproduction of the overall patterns of social, economic, political and cultural difference, differentiation and distinction.

(Bourdieu, 1999, p.63)

Bourdieu also considered the 'mechanisms' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: p.7) which lead to the continued reproduction of difference. He considered schools to be 'bidimensional' in that they exist in the 'objectivity of the first order', in their role as distributors of education ('capital', see below). But they can also be considered, in the 'objectivity of the second

order' as definers of 'mental and bodily schemata' which become templates for the behaviours and thinking of social agents ('habitus' – see below) – by which means agents become classified according to the extent to which they conform with this template.

Habitus

Habitus lies within individual agents. Bourdieu defined habitus 'as a system of dispositions' which impact upon and predict behaviour in particular contexts (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.77). The relationship between agent and social context is summarised by Reay (1995) as 'the ways in which, not only is the body in the social world, but also, the ways in which the social world is in the body' (p.354).

It is the acquisition of dispositions that is central to a Bourdieusian understanding of inclusion. To possess required dispositions facilitates inclusion into a territory (field) – it provides the means for a rite of passage. The greater the level of acquired dispositions, the greater is the extent to which an individual can enter into and engage with valued areas within this territory.

Bourdieu argues that in such engagements there is a meeting of two 'histories': the personal story of the individual (agent) and that of the context (field/structure) in which he/she is placed. He defines these as :

- Objectified history – *'history which has accumulated over the passage of time in things, machines, buildings, monuments, books, theories, customs, law, etc.'*
- Embodied history – *'in the form of habitus'*

(Bourdieu, 1981: p.305).

Habitus is the 'product of a historical acquisition' (ibid.), the personal key to unlocking symbolic doors in order to gain entry and become included into this objectified space.

Bourdieu thus brings together the personal, individual dispositions, and the 'history "frozen" in the form of institutions' (Wacquant, 1990, p.685). In which sense, actors/agents are always structurally constituted. Reay (1998) sums this up :

At the centre of the concept [of habitus] is the interplay not only of the past and present but also between the individual and the forces acting upon them; in other words, agency and structure.

(p.59)

The interaction of agent and structure, only permits inclusion 'when activated by agents endowed with the pertinent categories of perception and appreciation' (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 155), which '...presuppose mastery of a common code' (ibid. : p.59). Here there is a sense of Althusser's (1984) being

'hailed' into a context, which is based upon a passivity within agents and the power of the hailer to recognise enough of the required habitus in the hailee to permit entry into a territory. This passivity begs questions about the extent to which individuals have choice, which reflects back to Bourdieu's notion of 'the destiny effect' which predetermines the life trajectories of individuals based upon a fixedness of habitus. It raises the issue of the transformability of habitus.

Underlying this issue is the assumed connection between habitus as a set of dispositions and the accuracy of their expression in action, a point which concerns Nash (2005). His focus was cognitive habitus :

*The content of cognitive **habitus**, that is to say the distinct skills that confer the ability to think in particular ways, must be described if the status of an explanation of attainment is to move from the level of disposition as a demonstrable skill. To know that someone has a disposition to act in a certain way does not necessarily disclose the mechanism by which the performance is enabled.*

(p.14, emphasis in original)

This is to seek causality between social structures, dispositions, and practices, and to question a school's capacity to use expressions of attainment within a narrow field of knowledge (such as those that emerge from a standards discourse) as accurate measures of disposition acquisition.

One of the criticisms made of Bourdieu is that states of individual psychology and their associated dispositions are obscured by his concern for the power of 'socially regulated system[s]' (ibid., p.15-16) to dominate and control how these dispositions should be recognised. His emphasis is more on structures and their power to recognise appropriate habitus than on individual agent's and their psyche.

Habitus is symbiotically connected to Bourdieu's concept of field in determining behaviours. The value of such behaviours is recognised through the capital they acquire, and this is determined by the extent of their compliance with the habitus demands of the field.

Field and its capital

Bourdieu defined a field as '...a structured social space' (1998, p.40) in which individuals dominate or are dominated. It is thus a territory in which power relationships operate to position those inside its boundary. The inequalities of relationships lead to a 'struggle' (ibid.) in which individuals seek to preserve or change the nature of the field. It is a site of social tension and flux.

Field has a powerful role to play in the understanding of inclusion as a means of mapping the territory into which it is to take place. But within that conceptual space are systems of power dynamics which constantly interplay as agents seek to gain position and status determined by the power they have

accrued, and the extent to which they have become included (represented by accrued capital).

These field relations can be considered to exist within a 'repository' (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014) in which are stored legitimated competences necessary for the 'production or reproduction of a specific corpus of knowledge' (Bourdieu, 1991, p.9). Through demonstrating a match with these competences, an agent also acquires capital as a demonstration of their achievement. Hilgers and Mangez, 2014) state that '[a]ll specific capital in a field ... is in reality a capital of recognition' (p.6). To have capital is to be recognised; to have capital is to possess 'values, tastes and life-styles of some social groups ... elevated above those of others in a way that confers social advantage' (Moore, 2008, p.102). Capital can thus be seen to articulate the extent of an agent's acquired habitus and his/her inclusion within a field.

Bourdieu recognised three forms of capital – economic, cultural and social. It is with the latter two that this thesis is concerned.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital exists, according to Bourdieu (1986), in three forms. The *embodied state* is concerned with 'long lasting dispositions of mind and body'. The *objectified state* considers the ways in which certain goods have become culturally valuable (books and art, for example), and the *institutionalised state* is a particular form of objectification which confers a

guarantee of worth on types of cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications, for example. This study will be mainly concerned with cultural capital in its embodied and institutionalised forms.

In its embodied form, cultural capital symbolises the extent to which an individual has acquired the wherewithal to become assimilated into a socially constructed field. The position taken reflects the amount of legitimated capital that he/she has acquired.

This capital becomes *symbolic* because it has value within the field in which the individual is positioned - in other fields it might not have the same value. It bestows upon the individual a 'certificate of cultural competence' (ibid.); it is capital which represents 'accumulated prestige or honour' (Bourdieu, 1992' p.351). The accumulation of cultural capital thus becomes a measure of social positioning, a consequence of which is that :

... the continuum of infinitesimal differences between performances, produces sharp, absolute, lasting differences, such as that which separates the last [successful] candidate from the first unsuccessful one.

(ibid.)

Differences become ranked in relation to the amount of cultural capital accrued. Such capital becomes a symbol of knowledge and skill acquisition

expressed in a quantifiable (capital) form. Recognised cultural acquisitions of worth thus can become commodified in terms of amounts of cultural capital.

However, because of the arbitrary nature of this selection process, (for it will differ from society to society) Bourdieu sees this as 'authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.257), arbitrarily defining what is a capital of worth (and arbitrarily discriminating against difference – i.e. those that do not have acceptable measures of capital).

As well as cultural capital Bourdieu also conceptualised social capital. His conception of social capital differed from that of Putnam, who conceived it of having a more associative role as opposed to Bourdieusian social networking and the advantages that this gave to some social groups. Both the forms of social capital are now considered.

Social Capital : Putnam v Bourdieu

The contrast between Bourdieu and Putnam's views of social capital was rooted in the functions they understood it to have. Putnam's lay in a sense of brotherhood whilst Bourdieu's was a consequence of the market-place of capitalism, for :

Where the market is allowed to follow its own autonomous tendencies, its participants do not look towards the person, or each other, but only towards the commodity; there are no obligations of brotherhood or

reverence, and none of those spontaneous human relations that are sustained by personal unions.

(Weber, 1956/2013, p.636)

For Bourdieu social capital was concerned with the effectiveness of social networks 'because they enable people to cooperate with one another – and not just with people they know directly – for mutual advantage' (Field, 2003, p.12). In this way social capital became a tool for social reproduction for it relied on the nepotism of social networks. It is here that Putnam and Bourdieu differ for Putnam's view of social capital was one of 'associativeness' (Giddens, 1984, Giddens, 2000) which enables social co-operation and leads to democratic participation (Putnam, 2002); Bourdieu saw it as a tool for social reproduction, one that perpetuated privilege through social connections. These contrasting conceptualisations define a social capital landscape in which :

Putnam's idea of social capital deals with collective values and societal integration, whereas Bourdieu's approach is made from the point of view of actors engaged in struggle in pursuit of their interests.

(Siisiäinen, 2000, p.9)

Each will be explored briefly to consider how it affects the notion of inclusion.

Putnam : Social capital as a symbol of ‘associativeness’ was championed by Putnam (1995) who defined social capital as ‘features of social life – networks, norms, and trust – that enable participants to act together’ (p.65). This social cohesion requires personal investment by members in the networks, norms and values and expectations which lie within a field, and which enable them to function effectively and become included within it.

Putnam (1995) also extends this argument into the restoration of ‘civic engagement and civic trust’ which he considers to have declined, particularly in ‘advanced democracies’ (Putnam, 2002). This was echoed by The Commission for Social Justice (1994) which acknowledged an associative, civic trust understanding of social capital :

Social capital consists of the institutions and relationships of a thriving civil society—from networks of neighbourhoods to extended families, community groups to religious organisations, local businesses to local public services, youth clubs to parent–teacher associations, playgroups to police on the beat. Where you live, who else lives there and how they live their lives—co-operatively or selfishly, responsibly or destructively—can be as important as personal resources in determining life chances ... The moral and social reconstruction of our society depends on our willingness to invest in social capital. We badly need to mend a social fabric that is so obviously torn apart. (p. 308–309)

Putnam saw social capital as a symbol of the essential precondition for a civil society and of citizenship, and beyond this, a means of civic engagement in democratic processes, reflecting the earlier and pioneering work of John Dewey.

Bourdieu : considered social capital as part of the functioning of a field. In his analysis of Bourdieusian social capital, Grenfell (2009) unearths the following key features :

- That social capital acts together with other forms of capital and is symbolic within a field – it is a means of acquiring other capital.
- That social capital enables a network through which other forms of capital can be accrued, or not.
- That it enhances other forms of capital and acts as an accelerator.
- That the amount of social capital an individual may possess facilitates or hinders the ease with which additional capital can be acquired.
- That it can only have value within the field in which it exists.

Bourdieu's concept of social capital is founded on 'the extent to which individuals can access practices defined by systems, the logic of practice of which already excludes them' (Grenfell, 2009, p.25). Access is accelerated through the acquisition of social capital.

Bourdieu defined social capital as 'the possession of a durable network' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.119) of prestigious relations through which reciprocity occurs and is expected by its members. Through the build-up of this network, social capital is established. The differing extent to which agents acquire social capital determines social hierarchies, not only creating inequality but also reproducing it. The possession of social capital provides a network which contextualises other forms of capital, amplifying or inhibiting their effect :

...different individuals obtain a very unequal return on a more or less equivalent capital (economic or cultural) according to the extent to which they are able to mobilise by proxy the capital of a group (family, old pupils of elite schools, select club, nobility, etc.).

(Bourdieu, 1980, p.2)

These two conceptualisations of social capital each have relevance to seeking an understanding of inclusion. Putnam's view points more towards an acceptance/toleration of difference through associativeness. On the other hand, Bourdieu's interpretation is part of a deeper understanding of societal forces which advantage particular social groups. Each therefore, in its own way, impacts upon the notion of inclusion.

It is towards the ways in which certain capitals are recognised as of high status and are given symbolic worth and become legitimised, and how they

operate through exchange mechanisms to promote inequalities in post-modern times that this thesis now turns.

Symbolic capital, consecration and transubstantiation

Capital only has significance within the field in which it has been created. Capital has a symbolic context-driven meaning, a product of the power of the field to recognise particular values and behaviours as legitimated – a process defined by Bourdieu as *consecration*. For example, in *The Rules of Art* (1992) he discusses the ways in which certain art forms become dominant over others, and the ways in which they acquire legitimacy. In particular, he considers how such status (and its associate recognition of inclusion) is gained by writers. He questions :

[Who has] the monopoly of the power to say with authority who is authorized to call himself writer ... or even to say who is a writer and who has the authority to say who is a writer; or, if you prefer, the monopoly of the power of consecration of producers and products.

(p.224)

The status of consecration makes distinct those dispositions necessary for inclusion. It therefore defines habitus.

Capital functions and declares its worth only in a context of exchange, a process which Bourdieu conceived as *transubstantiation* for it shifts capital from one form to another. Thus the cultural capital of the standards discourse

at a primary school level can be seen to be part of a longer curriculum learning process which leads to its becoming transubstantiated into employment and the economic capital that this brings. Bourdieu, however, recognised that this was not a simple equation. He was concerned that the arbitrary base upon which it was founded gave privilege to some and little to others resulting in social generational reproduction. His concerns were thus centred on issues of social reproduction and social justice.

Misrecognition and symbolic violence – inclusion and social justice

In *The Racism of 'Intelligence'* (1984b) Bourdieu generalises the concept of racism considering it as 'many racisms [as many] as there are groups who need to justify themselves in existing as they exist' (p.177). He conceives of it as a characteristic of a 'dominant class', dependent upon the transmission of a particular cultural capital which, because of its embodied state, appears doxically as 'apparently natural, innate capital' (ibid.). Here Bourdieu highlights both the arbitrariness of the selection of what is judged to be worthy of being classed as cultural capital and the effects of this classification. He articulates the consequences of being different (and thus lacking viable capital) as acts of symbolic violence and of accepted social injustice. Arbitrary and socially constructed dividing lines between inclusion and exclusion are established between what can be accepted and tolerated and what cannot. This is reflected in the arbitrary construction of curriculum learning expressed in the National Curriculum and its expectations, and the ways in which it has

grown prescriptively into defined attainment categories which label those who are included in its learning expectations and those excluded.

In his *A Theory of Social Justice* Rawls (1971) states two principles of justice :

First : each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others

Second : social and economic qualities are to be arranged so that they are both :

(a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and

(b) attached to positions and offices open to all

(p. 60)

The first principle implies the essential freedom of each individual; the second places an onus on the state's responsibility to create policy and practices directed towards 'removing barriers, arising from unequal power relations and preventing equity, access and participation' (ibid.), and indeed it is the function of national policies on inclusion to help to remove such barriers.

For Rawls, the primary subject of justice was 'the basic structure of society', and its 'deep inequalities' (ibid. : p.7). He recognised '... that this structure contains various social positions and that men [sic] born into

different positions have different expectations of life determined, in part, by the political system as well as by economic and social circumstances' (ibid.). It is in this way, he posited, that the institutions of society favour certain 'starting places' (and their implicit habituses) over others (ibid.).

Gewirtz (2006) describes two forms of social justice which develop out of the seminal work of Rawls. Firstly, distributive justice (see 2.2.iii) which emerges out of Rawls's second principle which is concerned with how major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties. Her concern is not solely with the distribution of economic capital, but also with the distribution of social and cultural capital (in the Bourdieusian sense) and the link with inequality of opportunity and attainment. In her second form of social justice (recognitional justice) Gewirtz cites Young (1990) in building an argument which, like Althusser (1984), considers inequality a consequence of the domination of one group over another, and, in recognising only its own experiences, the failure of the dominant group to recognise the experience of others. Young (1990) wrote of this as 'cultural imperialism' and a means of inclusion or being 'othered' :

To experience cultural imperialism means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as Other. Cultural imperialism involves the

universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm ... Often without noticing they do so, the dominant groups project their own experience as representative of humanity as such ... Those living under cultural imperialism find themselves defined from the outside, positioned, placed, by a network of dominant meanings they experience as arising from elsewhere, from those with whom they do not identify and who do not identify with them.

(ibid., p.59)

Bourdieuian fields establish hierarchies of discrimination founded upon the principles and values that underpin them and which legitimise them, inflicting degrees of discrimination on those who differ. To Bourdieu this was an act of symbolic violence for its products are founded on processes of legitimation which are arbitrary – a misrecognition that becomes a common sense.

It is here that an agent's habitus and its dispositions meet the hailing power of the field to permit inclusion or exclusion into it. But this is an act of symbolic violence not only because it is based upon a misrecognition – a partial, arbitrary granting of legitimacy and recognition to some qualities over others – but also because of this arbitrary selection perpetuates the advantage of some agents over others and the social divisions that ensue.

Having broadly explored Bourdieu's conceptual framework, this section will now begin to apply them to the concept of inclusion within this research.

2.6 The dynamics of inclusion

This section will attempt to bring together the concepts and ideas about inclusion that have been discussed above in order that a clear framework can be constructed which not only connects inclusion and Bourdieu but also considers the defining of an inclusive school.

2.6.i The dynamic of inclusion – towards discourses of inclusion

The landscape of inclusion has many discourses emerging from political, sociological, moral/ethical, psychological sources. This research cannot do justice to them all, but has adopted a narrative which, in threading a way through welfarism and post-welfarism to contemporary times of austerity, has unearthed two dimensions of discourse of inclusion faced by schools today. Their emergence is shown in figure 2 below. The two discourses are :

- **The standards discourse** – which is the post-welfarist emphasis on inclusion as a means of enabling more children to access age-related expectations/learning prescribed by the National Curriculum.
- **The diversity discourse** - which is the more welfarist emphasis upon what Giddens (1984) calls 'associativeness' – the sense of being part of and engaging with a community, of being a citizen

in a society that is accepting and tolerant of difference. In this study this is the social world of a school.

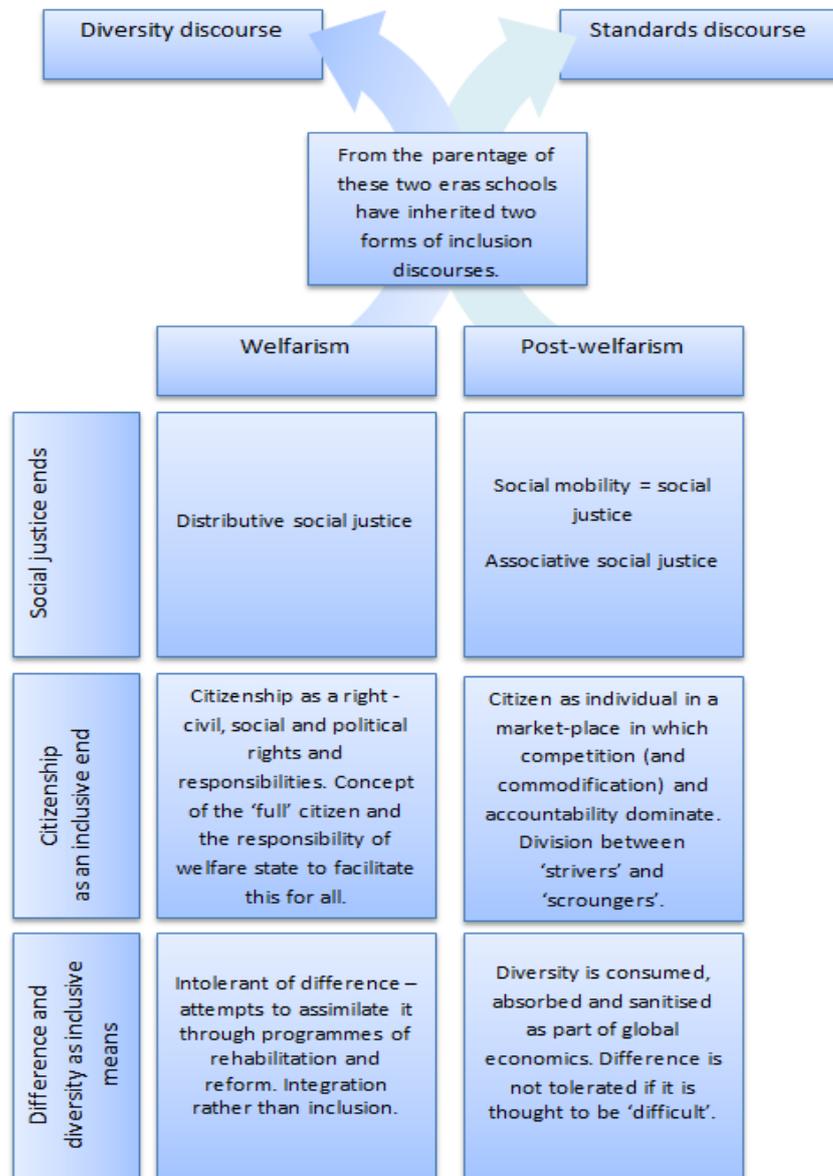


Figure 2 : *The emergence of the standards and diversity discourses of inclusion*

They have grown out of the social justice ends that welfarism and post-welfarism have striven to attain; they have also emerged from how difference and the notion of citizenship was considered during these eras. They are

presented here as separated polarised entities whilst in reality their relationship is far more complex and over-lapping. It is upon the 'messiness' (Mowat, 2010) of the conceptualising and operationalising of these two discourses that this thesis will focus.

2.6.ii The dynamic of inclusion and the Bourdieusian lens

Field 'fuels its operations and defines what is included and excluded from it' (Grenfell, 2009, p. 19). This is the essence of a Bourdieusian view of inclusion, for within a field there is a sense of normative, expected behaviour and the need for an individual to have a habitus which conforms to field expectations in order to become included in it. Because of the acceptance of these behaviours and expectations as a consequence of the power structures within the field, they become a common-sense, natural and right, unquestioned – a doxa, ingrained as habitus, giving it meaning and significance (Bourdieu, 1981). Bourdieu expressed this congruence as :

... when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself 'as a fish in water', it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world around itself for granted.

(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.127)

Bourdieu's concepts help to analyse the doxic acceptance of inclusion. It reveals how doxa simultaneously naturalises and conceals the power-laden nature of understandings and practices. Applied to inclusion in schools it can

be seen that the standards discourse of inclusion has gained dominance because of its governmental legitimisation. It has become doxic in that it has developed its own pervasive systems which have become accepted as the basis for children's learning. It is based on a 'tyranny of developmentalism' (Goodley and Runswick-Cole, 2011) from which a prescribed trajectory of learning has become embodied in the National Curriculum from which age-related expectations have been formed. This system defines a learning entitlement for all children as a right and as a means of initiation into eventual successful employment. As an entitlement to all it professes to represent the means of social mobility for children.

It presents, however, 'a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, [which] it represents and imposes itself as a universal point of view' (Bourdieu, 1994, p.15). Individuals participate in their own domination, accepting their position within it and the categorisation that accompanies it; 'This can lead to a kind of systemic self-depreciation, even self-denigration' (Bourdieu, 2001b, p.119).

To assist with a further understanding of the application of a Bourdieusian lens, Thompson (2008) defines four 'semi-autonomous levels' which she sees as active within Bourdieu's analysis of field :

- *The field of power*
- *The broad field under consideration*

- *The specific field*
- *Social agents in the field as a field in themselves*

(p. 79)

These will now be considered in order to articulate a Bourdieusian conceptual model of the field of power which affects a school and its staff and children in their understanding and practice of inclusion.

The field of power (and the broad field under consideration)

In seeking ways to understand the meaning of inclusion, this study utilises Bourdieu's 'field theory' which provides a model for articulating the conceptual landscape in which schools understand and practise inclusion.

At the macro-field level national government policies about inclusion are formed based on political ambitions for schools. These affect the meso-field of the school, and indeed, the micro-level within a classroom. This study uses three case study schools to explore this inter-connectivity of macro and micro fields.

Behind this macro to micro process, however, lies the question raised by Slee (2011) about what is the territory that inclusion is a process into. The translation of inclusion from the macro to the micro involves, at each stage, reinterpretations of what is deemed to be legitimate.

Bourdieu is helpful here in his conceptual model of *Spheres of legitimate power* which inter-relates the macro powerful stance of the sphere of legitimacy (e.g. government policy on inclusion) through to its translation to the reality of inclusive practices within a specific classroom setting.

In this model (figure 3 - adapted to illustrate its use within a context of inclusion within a school), Bourdieu demonstrates how the world is objectively organised according to a hierarchy which 'defines ***cultural legitimacy*** and its gradations' (Bourdieu, 1990c, p.95 : emphasis in original).

The model helps to define the 'field of forces' at work within a given field, classifying each force in terms of the gravitas of its status (from macro governmental policy to micro classroom practice). It thus provides a topology through which the meaning of inclusion, in this context, is legitimated.

The sphere of legitimacy provides the power landscape in which debate occurs about the nature of inclusion, and decisions are taken about policy which will directly affect practice. This review of the literature has attempted to describe and analyse macro ways in which inclusive policy and principles have changed over time, based on changing notions of the purposes and function of education. The standards and diversity discourses have emerged from this shifting in thinking and understanding.

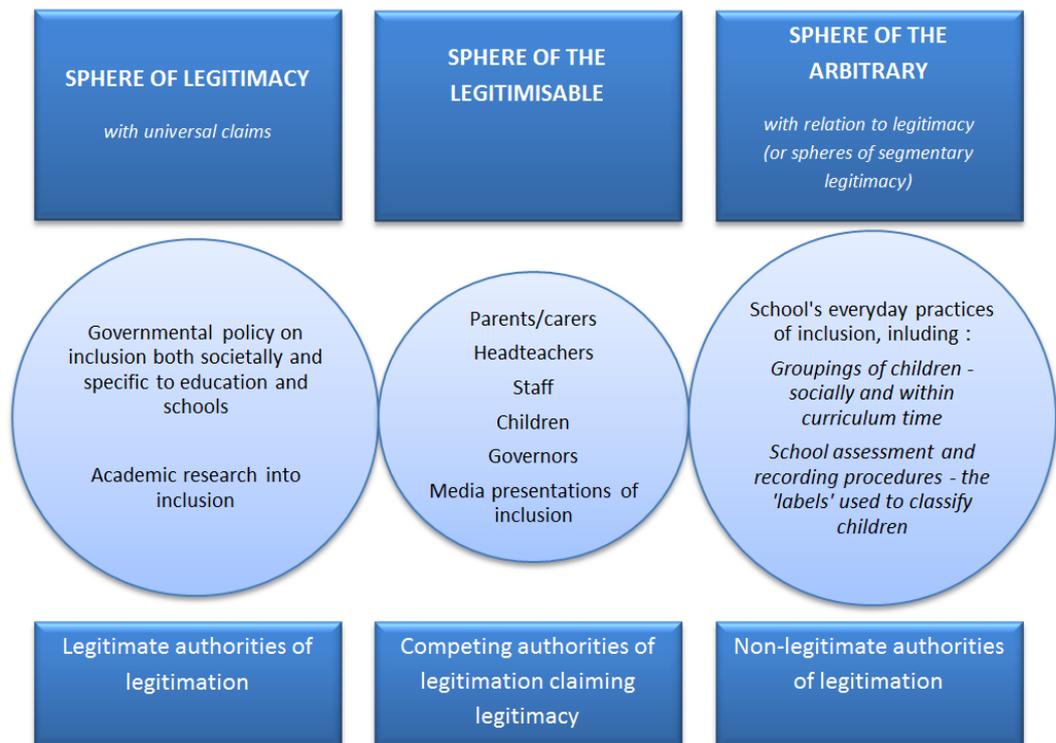


Figure 3 : *The Hierarchy of Legitimacies (adapted from Bourdieu, 1990(c), p.96)*

The specific field of power

The sphere of the legitimisable is located in the specific school in which inclusion is being explored. A consequence of the educational ‘market place’ is that there is a number of ‘competing authorities of legitimation’ who claim the power to grant legitimation. Parents/carers have rights as consumers to whom schools are accountable in their service provision; staff have professional responsibilities; governors have legal responsibilities, and there is a growing demand (led by child protection and safeguarding concerns) for children’s voices to be listened to. These interact with each other, creating a

power map of opinion about inclusion. Sources of power (agents) construct a unique understanding and practice of inclusion depending on power status.

Social agents in the field as a field in themselves

The sphere of the arbitrary relates to the position of an agent, and the power he/she might have, to bring about the realisation of inclusion, through its day-to-day practice, in the context of the spheres of legitimacy and the legitimisable. It thus considers the power of agents within the structures of an institution and beyond this to the more universal structures of national government.

The capacity for a school at the micro level to determine its own autonomous interpretation of inclusion is thus placed within a complexity of power sources which reflect the dynamics of the structures of relationships within it. This is especially so within the context of revisions made to the National Curriculum from 2014 through which more autonomy has been granted to schools to determine its own processes for curriculum learning and its measurement, for example, though these remain firmly set within the context of government's rigorous emphasis on performance of schools and standards of children's learning. This will impact upon the capacity of school leaders to determine pathways towards inclusive practices which relate to values inherent within the school rather than gleaned from external sources.

The shift to post-welfarism has also led to movements within these Bourdieusian spheres as they apply to inclusion in schools. Though apparently increasing school autonomy at the micro level, this has been matched with tighter regulation from the macro government/Ofsted level.

This section will now continue by examining how schools might legitimise an interpretation of inclusion and take up a position in terms of the two discourses.

2.6.iii The dynamic of inclusion – towards a conceptual framework for ‘positioning’ inclusive schools

It would be too simplistic an understanding of the complexity of the concept of inclusion to conceive of the two discourses being at either end of a continuum along which schools could be positioned depending on their balancing of standards and diversity values and principles (figure 4 below).

Indeed, as has been argued earlier in this chapter, inclusion is a means to ends which are determined by values and principles. Inclusion begs deeper questions about the purposes of the education to which it is enabling access and, in so doing, opening up a series of pathways to them.

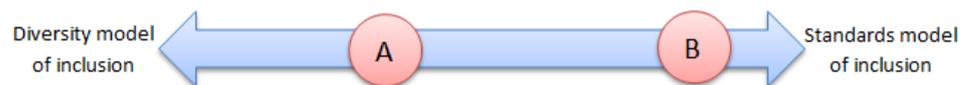


Figure 4 : The standards-diversity continuum

The complexity of this dichotomised position is further explored by Slee (2001) who looks behind the realisation of inclusion to consider its conceptualisation. In particular, he attempts to expose 'that which parades as *inclusive schooling*' (ibid., p.385; emphasis in original). For example, a standards-driven school might profess to be inclusive but the fact that its standards criteria produce categories, labels some children as 'outcasts' (Bourdieu and Champagne, 1999). Inclusion in this sense is always accompanied by exclusion, positioning children either as included or 'othered' (Lahman, 2008). Barton (2010) entitled this 'the politics of recognition', and more specifically Oliver (1990) called it the 'politics of disablement'. Slee looks to the democratisation of inclusive schools as a more positive means of enabling schools to recognise, respect and represent difference through the participation of all children, and in so doing remove the exclusive consequences of a politics of recognition.

The politics of recognition are thus central to the effective functioning of an inclusive school. To clarify how they might not only provide a value base for understanding the purposes of inclusion but also provide insights into how this might be interpreted in school practice, the work of Gutmann, Bottery, Fielding and Touraine will now be considered. Gutmann and Bottery provide a conceptual landscape in which the politics of recognition can be positioned, whilst Fielding and Touraine provide school-focused classifications of its practice.

Gutmann (1987) considers that 'relations of domination' within a field of power comprise 'democratic repression' and 'discrimination' (p.14), which lie at the heart of 'the politics of disablement'. These undemocratic features seek to exclude those whose differences are judged to be unacceptable. To be inclusive, therefore, in Gutmann's model, schools need to be founded on principles of participative democracy which she sees as being rooted in moral ends which are the ambitions of a society. This reflects the diversity discourse for its focus is on habitus and on social capital (Putnam) rather than the cultural capital of the standards discourse. Within this participative democracy habitus dispositions of tolerance of difference, respect and co-operation are of central importance in gaining the social capital of associativeness.

Bottery (1990) further clarifies the macro-forces at work within a field, and the habituses that they demand. In devising four 'Codes of Education' (figure 5 below), Bottery attempts to classify the 'kinds of educational values and ideologies it is possible to hold, and the kinds of relationship between morality and the school that are likely to follow' (p.6).

View	Type of knowledge valued	Role of the child	Role of the teacher	Status of society and type aimed for	Linkage between morality and schooling
CULTURAL TRANSMISSION	Cultural heritage	Passive imbibers, one of many to be graded	Guardian, transmitter of appropriate values	Main determinant of knowledge content, teaching style. Elitist, static.	Objectivist. Permanent values to be transmitted, internalised, practised.
CHILD CENTRED	Based on child's experience and interests	Active, involved, unique constructor of his/her own reality	Facilitator, constructor of beneficial situations for the child	Individual strain At best irrelevant, at worst intrusive and damaging. Communitarian strain Democracy aimed for.	Individual Imprecise blend of individual development and expression of pre-existing tendency to care for others. Communitarian Development of community values as preparation for criticism and reform of society. Both subjectivist, probably relativist.
SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION	Topic/problem centred, based on present pressing social issues needing to be resolved	Active, critical identity gained through interaction in social groups, each seen as contributor	Facilitator, constructor, selector of relevant materials/problems/issues; critical guide, guardian of value from the past	The focus of rational criticism and change. Democratic.	Critical analysis of society's values to be undertaken in terms of validity and social utility.
GNP CODE	That which is conducive to the furtherance of the nation's economic well-being, generally technological/scientific/practical bias	A being to be trained to fit into economic machine. Initiative and activity encouraged only as far as this dovetails with ultimate occupational destination	Trainer, constructor, transmitter, low-order member of hierarchy	Source of content, teaching style. Hierarchical model for schools to copy.	Values conducive with future role in society's economic hierarchy – respect, hard work, obedience to be transmitted and internalised by some: creativity and discovery fostered in others.

Figure 5 : Four Codes of Education and their Effects (Bottery, 1990, p.7)

Bottery's categorisations help to understand the ideologies and purposes of education for which inclusion is a means. Thus its practice is determined by the ends to which it is aimed, whether these are concerned with cultural transmission and the GNP code, or with child-centredness and social reconstruction.

This argument reflects Touraine's (2000) inherent principles which epitomise the contrasts between 'classical education' (which prioritises education as a means of promoting societal values and its rational knowledge, access to which allows for involvement in the social life of that society) and 'A School for the Subject' (which prioritises the learner and his/her learning needs and development).

This contrast echoes that which exists between the polarised standards and diversity dimensions of this thesis. A School for the Subject, argues Touraine, would be founded upon three principles. Firstly, that education must 'shape and enhance the freedom of the personal Subject' (ibid., p.269) in order to play a part in the world, rather than the classical (standards discourse) model's moulding of children into defined societal norms.

Education also, according to Touraine's second principle, must give 'central importance to diversity (both historical and cultural) and to the recognition of the Other' (p.270). The implication of this is that an imperative of the School for the Subject is that it is founded upon a dialogical dimension

which actively engages each child in the interactive process of developing their learning: 'Recognition of the Other is inseparable from the self-knowledge of a free Subject' (ibid.). This echoes Ainscow et al.'s 'presence' and 'participation' and the centrality of habitus.

Touraine's third principle is 'the will to compensate for unequal situations and inequality of opportunity' (ibid.), which runs contrary to the classical model of learning hierarchies which, in its standards discourse form, still reproduces class and other differences.

The classical model also separates agency from structure and gives power to the school as a powerful societal structure, which reflects government policy, to state what knowledge and skills are valued and for these to become the determinants of children's learning. The habitus of the child develops to match the demands of the field of the school, which echoes that of society (integration). Touraine's School for the Subject, in contrast, opposes this in suggesting that the school should reflect its community, valuing its members and understanding their context (inclusion). He takes a democratic stance, arguing that 'it is the idea of freedom that inspires the democratic spirit' (Touraine, 2000, p.245). His view is that education is about the personal - self-determination; that the classical model, through its hierarchical systems, is about the structural (centralised policy and its demands).

The relationship between the two discourses of inclusion is analysed in more detail by Fielding. In his earlier work (2001b) Fielding argued that target setting (the standards discourse) has 'considerable educational potential. It can be genuinely enhancing of progress ...' (p.149); but on the other hand it 'has the capacity to be profoundly destructive of our educational well-being' (ibid). His argument is that to separate out the functional and the personal (the affective and the person-centred) in this way is to create a 'myopia' which prevents inclusion.

Fielding questions the overt simplicity of this debate in his later work (Fielding, 2007) from which four categories of school modes can be discerned, ranging from the structural orientations of the totalitarian and manipulative modes through to the personal focuses of the expressive and aspirational/intentional modes.

The *manipulative mode* is focused on performativity based upon defined standards and expectations, which Fielding describes as '... an often desolate landscape of incessant, dispiriting demands of little educational significance and considerable personal cost' (ibid., p.399). Agents become subsumed by structures. Fielding recognises, however, that in the manipulative mode that the personal is used for the sake of the functional, and that '[a]s either a student or a member of staff ... your contributions are enhanced through your carefully managed 'ownership' of what others desire for you' (ibid., p.399-400).

This external control becomes internalised through the *totalitarian mode* which, in a Bourdieusian sense, occurs when habitus emerges from ‘the wider corporate context [which] loosens our grip on our capacity to discern what matters most and most of what matters’ (ibid., p.401).

The *aspirational mode* is seen by Fielding to be an emergent mode in which the functional (curriculum learning) is considered to be for the benefit of the personal; in which the school is committed to ‘wider human purposes’ (ibid., p.402). It is based upon ‘flexible and more open engagements within which the personal is more likely to emerge’ (ibid.).

In the *expressive mode* the functional is ‘only justifiable insofar as [it] help[s] young people become better persons’. It considers success as ‘satisfying morally and interpersonally as it is instrumentally’ (ibid., p.403).

In the context of a move to more standards-driven schooling, Fielding is, however, wary that such schools will negatively affect holistic education for children because of the narrowness of their focus on specific curriculum learning. He concludes :

If the high performance approach to schooling continues to exert its current level of influence, it will inevitably result in the demise of education as a holistic process of human being and becoming. For this reason, amongst many others, it should be vigorously resisted. In its

stead, my argument and my advocacy valorises a person-centred approach in which the purposes of educational organisations are accomplished, not by abandoning their distinctively educational aspirations, but rather by transforming their organisational forms and capacities into the vibrancy and creativity of inclusive educational communities.

(ibid., p.405)

Indeed, Ainscow *et al.* (2006) consider that the standards discourse has ‘disturbed’ the diversity discourse, provoking ‘school communities to refine and elaborate their own understandings and practices’ (p.169). It is the extent of this provocation that this thesis explores through examining the seismic shifts and turns which arise when these two forces (agent and structure : diversity and standards) collide.

In their own particular ways, Gutmann, Bottery, Fielding and Touraine establish individual perspectives which explore the outcomes of these collisions as they relate to individual schools. These perspectives will now be drawn together and considered through a Bourdieusian ‘lens’ in order to construct a conceptual landscape against which schools can be positioned according to their understandings and practices of inclusion.

2.6.iv Towards an inclusive school

The work of Gutmann, Bottery, Fielding and Touraine provide criteria for positioning a school in its understandings and practices of inclusion. Their distinct interpretations of concepts that are pertinent to inclusion provide the basis of a conceptual landscape which questions the purposes of the education into which children are to be included. The mapping of this landscape (figure 6) groups together categorisations of purposes for inclusion, ranging between the standards and diversity discourses against which schools can be positioned in terms of their understandings and practices of inclusion.

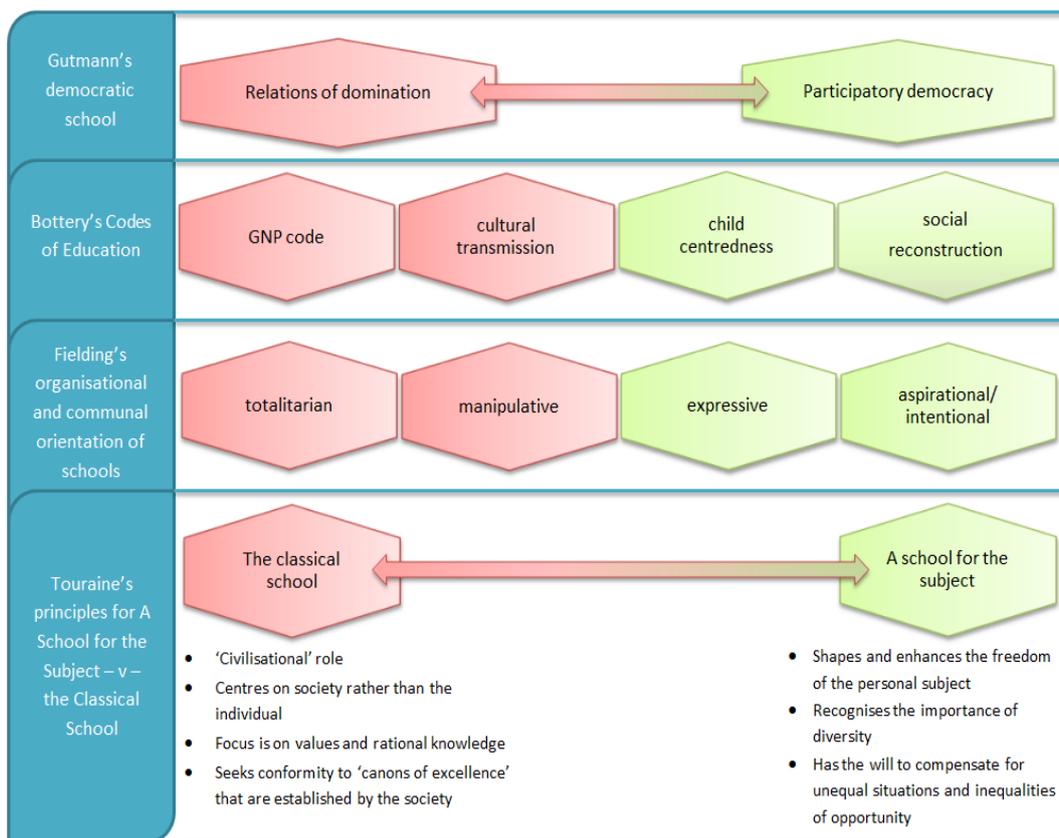


Figure 6 : Conceptual map of inclusive principles and types of inclusive schools

	STANDARDS DISCOURSE	DIVERSITY DISCOURSE
CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION	Oriented towards the successful inclusion of children into standards of learning derived from National Curriculum learning expectations. This implies that the structures of learning dominate teaching and learning.	Oriented towards the successful inclusion of all children into a community which is respectful and tolerant of difference, and through which children not only acquire personal qualities of self-confidence and self-esteem but learn to be effective and engaged members of a community. This implies that learning is constructed around children and their learning needs.
TEMPORAL ORIENTATION	Oriented towards a child's future contribution to societal economic well-being	Oriented towards the child and his/her present engagement with community/society
WELFARIST ORIENTATION	Orientation is towards post-welfarism individuality	Orientation is towards welfarism community/society
BOURDIEUSIAN FOCUS	Capital (particularly the cultural capital derived from National Curriculum learning).	Habitus (particularly the dispositions to enable respect and tolerance and engagement in contributing to a learning community).
TYPE OF INCLUSION	Integration – inclusion becomes interpreted as a means to integrate children into a curriculum learning system.	Inclusion – in Ainscow et al.'s (2006) principled focus on presences, participation and achievement of all children as an end in itself.

Figure 7 : Distinctions between the standards and diversity discourses of inclusion

The discussion in this review of the literature about inclusion has also drawn out particular distinctions between the standards and diversity discourses. These describe the polarised ends of the inclusive range shown in figure 6. These are shown in figure 7 above.

The standards discourse argues that justice can only be obtained through a child's accessing a formalised National Curriculum and the knowledge that it contains. Its priorities look towards the acquisition of the cultural capital of curriculum learning towards which inclusion (which would be better termed integration) is a means. In this its future orientation is towards equipping children with the beginnings of skills and knowledge that would enable them to contribute to an economically-driven globalised society.

On the other hand, the diversity discourse is based upon a set of principles which are concerned with the child becoming an active member of a social community which is accepting of all of its members, and built upon social principles of co-operation, concern for others and the world in which they live. The child as agent within this world is its central tenet. The curriculum through which this is learned is based upon the development of personal and social skills and knowledge (*habitus*). The focus of its principles is community/societal rather than economic, and more present than future oriented.

It is the process that a school has embarked upon to define its position on inclusion that positions a school at any point in time. Indeed, Ainscow et al. (2006) state that a 'principled' inclusive school is in a constant state of repositioning. The fluid nature of Ainscow et al.'s concept reflects the

contrapuntal ways in which schools manage the two discourses in the dynamic of a constantly evolving political context (sphere of legitimacy) and its translation into specific schools settings (sphere of the arbitrary). It is the narrative of this process that is the focus of this thesis – capturing the position within the range of interpretations of inclusion that the model in figure 7 demonstrates.

2.7 Conclusion

The primary purpose of this review of the literature has been to explore the nature of inclusion. Its defining reveals the value-base for constructing the territory into which children are to be included. However, the ‘slipperiness’ (Mowat, 2010) of inclusion is a product of the messiness of the changing nature of these values and the ends (and the notion of citizenry) they imply. ‘Slipperiness’ has been assisted by the impact centralised political power has had on adjusting values, made even more complex by their translation into individual school site practices.

This process of school adjustment to changing societal ends demonstrates the ways in which inclusion has developed both conceptually and in its practice as the English education system has become drawn into the post-welfare, market economy culture which has affected all service industries. This has had profound effects, shifting inclusion towards a standards discourse and individualism, and a post-welfare understanding of

citizenship. The dominance of this discourse has led to inclusion shifting towards an integrative form in which children have to conform to its demands in order to gain access. The diversity discourse has difficulty in finding a place within this dominance. In this reforming of inclusion it has become an even less clear concept, creating tensions and confusions about its meaning.

The work of Gutmann, Bottery, Fielding and Touraine provides both a conceptual landscape to assist in clarifying the meaning of inclusion and also a typology of inclusive school practice. The work of Bourdieu adds to this in providing a conceptual lens through which a deeper understanding (particularly how power is structured) of how schools have arrived at inclusive understandings and practices can be obtained.

The review of the literature has thus presented the key concepts from which inclusion is constructed, and the shifts over time that these concepts have undergone. It has further considered, through the work of Bourdieu, a means of analysing and understanding a school's approach to inclusion. This centres mainly on his concepts of field, habitus and capital.

From these understandings a central research question emerges upon which this research is focused :

How do staff and children in schools which have a reputation

*for their inclusiveness conceptualise and realise inclusion
during a period of rapid policy change?*

Under the rapidity of policy change within a post-welfare landscape lies Ainscow et al.'s (2006) notion of a 'principled' inclusive school and the ways in which principles held have become 'universal principles of justice' (Swartz, 2013). On the surface of this landscape schools have created their own, specific narratives of inclusion which this study will now go on to examine through the exploration and analysis of three case study schools.

To introduce this research the next chapter will detail the methodology adopted to explore the understanding and practice of inclusion in the three case study schools and the reasons for its selection.

Chapter 3 : Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research explores how understanding and practices of inclusion are realised in the real-world setting of schools. This overall aim translates into a number of research questions which are explored in the context of case study schools :

- i. How is inclusion understood in three particular case study schools?*
- ii. How is this understanding realised through the conceptual lens of Bourdieu in the practices of the case study schools?*
- iii. How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices in the case study schools?*
- iv. How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant post-welfarist discourses?*

These questions lie at the heart of the research.

It is the purpose of this chapter to explain the reasons for adopting a case study methodology for this research, and to describe the research methods that were used. In doing so, it will be influenced by the work of Bourdieu both in positioning the researcher and in the research design.

3.2 Issues raised in researching into inclusion – taking a methodological stance

3.2.i Methodological issues in researching inclusion

A school's conceptualisation of inclusion defines a territory. Its practices of inclusion are aimed towards enabling as many children as possible to enter that territory. Implicit in this too is the complexity of a multi-layering of fields that constructs the power context which impacts upon conceptualisation and practice from the macro-political to the micro-school level. These key areas will now be explored in terms of seeking an appropriate and effective methodology.

Inclusion and knowledge (ontology – epistemology) : the conceptualising of inclusion

The issue here is the unearthing of the principles which determine the 'principled' approach to inclusion referred to by Ainscow et al. (2006) and the type of knowledge that underpins it within each case.

Bourdieu's interest lay in establishing a theory of practice which explored 'what people do and how they actually do it' (Goodsell, 2013) which demanded seeing action as more than a 'mechanical reaction' (Bourdieu, 1977, p.73) predetermined by an agent's position within a structure (field) and his/her personal history. The nature of knowledge within a structure, Goodsell argues, is not enough to determine action, 'meaning ... is contained outside of structure' (p.78).

Meaning is interpreted within the habitus. The point at which the epistemology of a field meets the dispositions of a habitus pinpoints a moment of tension in which real-world ontology is created. The research is concerned with understanding this construction of meaning, and this emphasis directs it towards more qualitative methods. This implies the researcher's diligence in comprehending (and interpreting) language used by participants and relating this to other evidence gathered, through a process of triangulation, to facilitate reliability and validity.

The individual and the collective : the realisation of inclusion

The macro-micro conditions that combine to define inclusion demand that a balance is required between exploring the fields of power that determine the territories of inclusion, and the habitus and capitals demanded and how they affect individuals. This will require a range of research methods to gather more generalised data about the conceptualisation and operation of inclusion in each setting as well as data related to individual experience (including their positioning in the field) in order to forge connections between the two.

Understanding complex contexts :

Building from the issues above, this research seeks to find ways of exploring the complexities of the fields of power that operate within a school and those which impact upon its organisation from outside. Thus methods

need to help to understand issues around the ways fields of power relate to each other and work to construct inclusive practices in each case. Thus sensitivity is needed not only in order to gain understanding of each case in its own right, but also to discover common and unique issues between them.

These three issues inform the design of appropriate methods for this study. Having defined a focus for this study, this chapter will now consider appropriate paradigms for establishing the underpinning positioning of this research.

3.2.ii Positioning the research and the researcher : research paradigms

Cohen, et al. (2007) explore the ways in which researchers conceive and interpret the social reality into which they are researching. They define four sets of assumptions which underpin the position a researcher might adopt (figure 8, below), each set relating to an objectivist or a subjectivist view of social science.

Since the 1950s social science has undergone substantial changes, shifting from the normative, scientific approaches of positivist empiricism symbolised by O'Connor (2001) who saw science as a paradigm of knowledge - a 'self-correcting procedure' (ibid. : p.74), and Hirst (1966) - a 'logically interconnected set of hypotheses that have been confirmed by observation'

(p.35). Connor (1997) was critical of such modernist, empirical processes and their explaining of scientific truth :

The claim to know the contemporary is...often seen as a kind of conceptual violence, a fixing of the fluid and formless energies of the urgently (but tenuously) present now into a knowable and speakable form, by fundamental and irrevocable acts of critical choosing. This formulation rests upon a sense of the inherent division between experience and knowledge, a belief that, when we experience life, we can only partially understand it, and when we try to understand life, we are no longer really experiencing it.

(ibid. : p.3)

Cohen et al. (2007) state that this objectivist-positivist perspective is dependent on an objective view of reality – of a ‘truth’ which objectively exists. Equally, it is founded on a view that knowledge is ‘hard, objective and tangible’ (ibid., p.7), and that human behaviour is mechanically determined by these fixed structures. This approach places the researcher in a positivist ‘observer’ role, describing what unfolds in a world that exists independently of him/her. Methods employed would thus concentrate on measuring and identifying underlying themes in order to explain general/universal laws which determine that which is being observed.

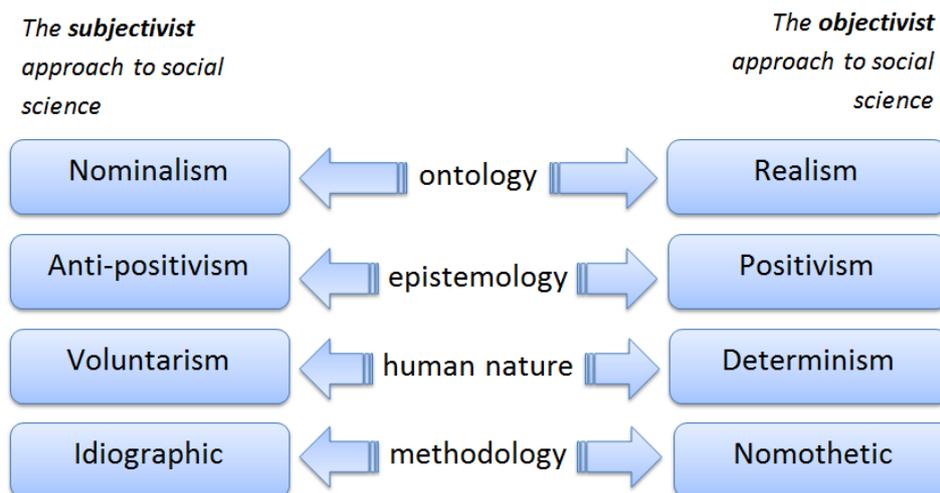


Figure 8 : A scheme for analysing assumptions about the nature of social science : (Cohen et al., 2007, p.9: after Burrell and Morgan, 1979)

On the other hand, a subjectivist approach considers the role of the researcher as more actively constructing meaning. It recognises that reality is a product of individual consciousness and that knowledge, too, is personal, subjectively unique to each individual. Further, it gifts individuals a free will rather than the instrumental logic of positivism, and explores the particular and the individual rather than being a quest for generalised laws.

This research seeks to explore the meanings of inclusion that might exist within particular school settings and how these meanings relate to competing discourses about standards and diversity. It thus positions itself towards the subjectivist approach defined by Cohen et al., for the research entails an interpreting of the narratives about inclusion that that are to be found in these settings. This demands a qualitative and participatory approach to data

collecting for a more quantitative positivist/objective approach would not allow for 'the complex messiness of the real world' (Reay, 2004, p.438).

This subjectivist positioning is expanded upon by Lincoln et al. (2011) who compare the differences between inquiry paradigms. Guba and Lincoln, (1994) state that a paradigm is :

... a set of basic beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the 'world', the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts.

(p.107)

Questions about paradigms precede questions of methods in that they 'guide the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways' (ibid., p.105). Lincoln et al. (2001) also argue that the introduction of postmodern paradigms (Critical Theory, Constructivism and Participatory) has led to a trend in the 'blurring of genres' (p.97): 'Indeed, the various paradigms are beginning to 'interbreed'' (ibid.). They posit that it is 'useful' to explore the linkages (the 'confluence') between paradigms as they weave together to create a methodology.

It is in this spirit that this research proceeds. From Lincoln et al.'s analysis (figure 9 below) this study can be placed mainly within the

Constructivist paradigm for it is fundamentally concerned with the ways in which staff and children interpret an understanding of inclusion and how this is influenced by a context of competing discourses taking place at a macro government level as well as within the micro setting of the school. Thus in terms of ontology it is concerned with the constructions of inclusion; in its epistemology it is concerned with the ways in which areas of knowledge become valued as an essential part of the territory into which inclusion is thought to be desirable; and in its methodology it is concerned with discovering the dialectical debate which determines the conceptualisation and realisation of interpretations of inclusion within a school setting.

However, (as shown in the text highlighted in red in figure 10 below) there is a 'confluence' of paradigms within this research. Its use of a Bourdieusian conceptual framework extends the means by which constructions of inclusion can be analysed by providing both a language and a template for understanding how participants have constructed inclusion.

On the one hand the research is positioned within the Constructionist paradigm, especially in the Bourdieusian sense of the constructions of fields of power and the capital that they generate. These concepts facilitate the analysis of the practices and understandings of inclusion within settings, offering ways of explaining their modus operandi.

Item	Positivism	Post-positivism	Critical Theory	Constructivism	Participatory
Ontology	Naive realism – ‘real’ reality but apprehensible	Critical realism – ‘real’ reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible	Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallised over time	Relativism – local and specific constructed and co-constructed realities	Participative reality – subjective-objective reality, co-created by mind and given cosmos
Epistemology	Dualist/objectivist; findings true	Modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/community; findings probably true	Transactional/subjectivist; value mediated findings	Transactional/subjectivist; created findings	Critical subjectivity in participatory transaction with cosmos; extended epistemology of experiential, propositional, and practical knowing; co-created findings
Methodology	Experimental/manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental/manipulative; critical multiplicity; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	Dialogic/dialectical	Hermeneutical/dialectical	Political participation in collaborative action inquiry; primacy of the practical; use of language grounded in shared experiential context

Figure 9 : Basic beliefs (metaphysics) of alternative inquiry paradigms (Lincoln et al., 2011, p.98)

	<i>Critical Theories</i>	<i>Constructivism</i>	<i>Participatory</i>
<i>Nature of knowledge</i>	<i>Social/historical insights</i>	Individual or collective reconstructions sometimes coalescing around consensus	Extended epistemology: primacy of practical knowing; critical subjectivity; living knowledge
<i>Knowledge accumulation</i>	Historical revisionism ; generalisation by similarity	More informed and sophisticated reconstructions vicarious experience	In communities of inquiry embedded in communities of practice
<i>Goodness or quality criteria</i>	Historical situatedness; erosion of ignorance and misapprehensions; action stimulus	Trustworthiness and authenticity, including catalyst for action	Congruence of experiential, presentational, propositional and practical knowing; leads to action to transform the world in the service of human flourishing
<i>Values</i>	Included – formative		
<i>Ethics</i>	<i>Intrinsic – moral tilt towards revelation</i>	<i>Intrinsic - process tilt toward revelation; special problems</i>	
<i>Inquirer posture</i>	'Transformative intellectual' as advocate and activist	'Passionate participant' as facilitator of multivoice reconstruction	Primary voice manifest through aware self-reflective action; secondary voices in illuminating theory, narrative, movement, song, dance, and other representational forms
<i>Training</i>	Re-socialisation; qualitative and quantitative history; values of altruism, empowerment and liberation	values of	Co-researchers are initiated into the inquiry process by facilitator/researcher and learn through active engagement in the process; facilitator/researcher requires emotional competence, democratic personality and skills

Figure 10: Paradigm position on selected practical issues
(Lincoln et al., 2011, p.101. Only the relevant sections of the original figure are used here)

On the other hand, the Critical Theory paradigm focuses on an ontology which considers 'struggles for power', and an epistemology which is 'driven by the study of social structures' (ibid., p. 103 and 105). Indeed, a major focus of this study is the tension between the epistemological (curricular) demands of national government, and the ways in which schools translate this into a manageable and principled ontology which underpins their practice.

Bourdieu provides a conceptual framework and a language (discussed in chapter 2) which enables a consistency of research method. Of particular relevance here is his notion of misrecognition which explains how one set of values and their practices comes to dominate over others, with a consequence that certain groups of children (in the case of the focus of this study), whose dispositions (habitus) allow, can gain benefit from accessing them, whilst those whose dispositions prevent access are disadvantaged.

In essence, such explanations could be considered as modernist in that they consider forms of power and the injustices that might result from them. However, the Bourdieusian lens allows for a more postmodern perspective, situating events in their contexts in order to see how meanings have been constructed and what the consequences of this might be. This is a central component of this study, and is assisted by Bourdieu's bringing together of Critical Theory and Constructionist paradigms. This is important in considering the multi-layered complexity of the contexts being explored by this research.

From this research positioning, a research methodology can be considered which will form the basis of the design of specific methods to gather data.

3.2.iii The case for case study

The argument so far presented in this chapter is that to understand the ways in which participants comprehend and practise inclusion within a setting demands a reflexive exploration in order that their voice and thoughts can be brought to light. To achieve this, the research adopts an approach which allows for the uniqueness of each case to be expressed and understood. To enable this analysis to promote the development of more generalised argument, a similar methodological approach is adopted for each setting, but one which explores them as separate and distinct cases (Cohen et al., 2007, Strake, 1995).

Stenhouse posits that a case study approach could degenerate into an art because of its unverifiability (1993); that from its specific nature it is difficult to build generalisations. This study attempts to avoid Stenhouse's warning by considering its approach against Strake's (1995) typology of case studies. Strake devised three categories: intrinsic, collective and instrumental. An intrinsic case study is one in which the researcher is interested not in a generalised issue, but in a specific situation. This can be extended through collective case studies which allow for comparisons to be made. A case study

is instrumental if it has been decided as the most appropriate methodology for answering the specific questions upon which a research is based. This research has elements of all three approaches. It is instrumental because of the particular focus of the research questions on schools known to be inclusive. It is intrinsic in its focus is on inclusion in these particular settings, and it is collective because the small number of cases studied will provide comparisons.

Yin (2008) provides what he calls a 'technical' definition of case studies :

A case study is an empirical study that :

- *Investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when*
- *The boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*

(p.18)

This research complies with Yin's definition in that :

- It explores real-world phenomena in depth
- The exploration recognises that contextual conditions are highly pertinent in that the relationship between context (school) and phenomena (inclusion) is confused by each being seen as part of the other, especially in terms of causality.

Only a case study would meet these research requirements. An experiment would separate phenomenon from context; a history would link them together but not be contemporary; a survey might again make the link between phenomenon and context but its quantitative findings would provide a limited ability to investigate context.

Yin probes deeper into the technical characteristics which assist in the distinguishing of context and phenomena (which he states might not always be clearly distinguishable) :

The case study inquiry

- *Copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result*
- *Relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result*
- *Benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis*

(ibid.)

Case study is an all-encompassing method which embraces research design, techniques for collecting data, and approaches to data analysis. Its unlimited character allows this research to elicit and analyse the perceptions and understandings of inclusion of staff and children in each of three case

study schools. This chapter will now look at the methods used to gather this evidence.

3.3 Towards a research design

3.3.i Scoping study

The original intention of this research was to explore the nature of inclusion in mainstream schools which hosted 'bases' in which children with profound speech and language disabilities were supported. I had been a headteacher in such a school and the ways in which children from the base were seen within the school was of deep interest. This early phase of the research took the form of a scoping study in order to 'determine the value of undertaking a full systematic review' of this area of study (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005, p.21). This involved both 'mapping' the literature to gain understanding of the extent of existing research, and the initial trialling of some innovative research methods in order to understand the feasibility of eliciting data from children with speech and communication disabilities.

Research was carried out in a primary school of 145 children, a third of whom had some form of recognised special educational needs and 12 of whom were placed within a Speech and Language Resource Base. The school was suggested by a Local Authority Service Development Officer responsible for managing such bases as one which worked hard to try to ensure that all children, but especially those who are part of 'The Base', were not seen as

'outsiders'. The study was to research into the perceptions of school managers, teaching staff, parents and children to explore the extent to which this school could be said to be considered inclusive.

To gather data interviews took place with :

- The headteacher
- A specialist Speech and Language Teacher
- A parent of a child with speech and language needs currently attending the Base
- A group of 'mainstream' children
- A group of children from the Base
- The Service Development Manager of the Local Authority Integrated and Disability Service which managed the Speech and Language Bases in schools

The interviews with children centred on an exercise which asked them individually to draw a 'map' of the school to discover if they knew of the location and work of the Base. This was followed by asking the children to take one photograph which captured their understanding of inclusion.

Interviews also took place with staff whose work was heavily committed to the development of learning and inclusion of children from the Base. These took place individually.

From the study several issues emerged which have been set against relevant stages of Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) framework for conducting a scoping review :

Stage 1: identifying the research question

The original research questions of the study were too narrowly focused and heeded neither the tensions that were apparent between competing discourses of inclusion nor the macro-political debates from which they were constructed. They also presumed a school's clarity of thinking about inclusion which was not apparent from the headteacher, for example, who stated :

When you've been doing it a long time you sometimes do it subconsciously. Because you do sort of embrace all the children that come in. You do make them feel welcome. You make the parents feel welcome. But I think you do it without thinking sometimes. ... I don't know how we do it, to be honest. It happens.

(Headteacher – Scoping Study School)

The need to redefine the research questions to probe deeper into what understandings about inclusion exist, and how they operate within the social structure of a school became evident.

Stage 2: identifying relevant studies

A range of relevant studies was explored which built up a broader conceptualisation of inclusion and of the developments in its understanding.

This again linked with the tensions of differing fields of power determining the status of interpretations and causing discourse clashes and confusions.

Stage 3: study selection and Stage 4: charting the data

As relevant literature was explored and a review of the literature begun, it again became apparent that the original focus was a small part of much larger context of the development of inclusion and the discourse dilemmas that schools face.

Stage 5: collating, summarizing and reporting the results

The findings of the scoping study were discussed with my then supervisor, and it was agreed that a broader focus on competing discourses of inclusion and how they are understood and practised should be undertaken.

The result of the scoping study (and a synthesis of the literature) was a complete reappraisal of the research resulting in revisions to the research questions and research design.

3.4 Research design

Following the redefining of the research, new research questions were set together with revised methods for gathering data. Three case study schools were also selected.

3.4.i Selecting cases

Three case study schools were selected because of their reputation for managing the balance between dominant discourses of inclusion well. To

achieve this, *purposive sampling* strategies were adopted. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) state that this allows researchers to ‘handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought’ (p.114-5). To define this further, the study has taken two more specific sampling strategies :

- a *critical case* sampling strategy which enables ‘logical deductions of the type’ (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p.307) – generalisable characteristics of, in this case, conditions necessary for inclusive schooling.
- a *paradigmatic* sampling strategy which enables exemplar cases to be studied in order to ‘highlight more generalisable characteristics’ – reference points from which, inductively, conclusions about the qualities and characteristics of inclusive schooling can be formed.

The three case study schools to be explored in this way were :

Case Study 1: Blackdown Infants School

This case study was based in an infants’ school in a rural market town in a different Local Authority from the other two case schools. Its focus was to explore the sense of community within the school – the school had a ‘reputation’ for this work which was acknowledged through national awards. It also involved children in making decisions about their own learning, and had strong links with parents/carers.

This school was selected opportunistically – I met the headteacher at a social event and heard of the school’s reputation as one which worked hard to develop its links with its community. A visit to the school confirmed these qualities.

Case Study 2: Albert Street Primary School

This case study was based in a primary school in a disadvantaged (large Council estate) part of a large town. It was judged by Ofsted (2011 and 2015) to be outstanding in its standards attainment and its sense of community. The headteacher has a high reputation within its Local Authority which has led to her taking on the management of a Federated School, which is a rural village school some 12 miles distant.

This school was selected because I knew of its work to develop inclusion (and this was confirmed by the Local Authority Officer interviewed as part of the scoping study and by recent Ofsted reports).

Case Study 3: Muirhead Avenue Primary School

This case study was based in a primary school in a very mixed area of a large town. The school has a good reputation within the town and it is a much sought-after school by parents for their children. With reductions in the size of Local Authorities and the consequent impact this has had on their capacity to support school development, schools within this area have formed a ‘cluster’ through which they support each other in a variety of innovative

ways. The headteacher of this case study school is the chairperson of this cluster, and the school is seen as a 'leading light' within it. Again the reputation of this school as an inclusive school was known to me and confirmed by the Local Authority Officer and by Ofsted reports (2009 and 2014).

Together the three case study schools present a range of perceived quality in the ways in which they each balance and work with the standards and diversity discourses about inclusion.

3.4.ii Selecting data collection strategies

The emphasis of research should be on overcoming the barriers that impede the involvement of [learning disabled/young participants] instead of highlighting the difficulties they present. Conventional research methods can create obstacles for [learning disabled/young participants, for example] in terms of the demands they make on their inclusion ... researchers should attend more to their own deficiencies than to the limitations of their informants.

(Booth, 1996, p.181)

This research demands the engagement and participation of staff and children, and seeks innovative methods to achieve this. Its task is to find ways of privileging the children's voice – giving it status alongside that of its adult,

professional counterpart. In many ways, this is the central ethical concern of this research.

The research uses methods expressed in figure 11 below. The research takes *The Mosaic Approach* (Clark and Moss, 2011), aimed at finding innovative ways to enable young children to be listened to within a research context. It is founded on the premise that research is about creating new knowledge rather than a focus on extracting a 'truth', and in doing so, the research should seek ways to create meanings. This necessitates a research environment which is participatory :

Participatory methods are those that facilitate the process of knowledge production as opposed to those of knowledge 'gathering', as is the case with methods such as individual interviews, surveys and checklists.

(Veale, 2005, p.254)

The Mosaic Approach adapts more informal modes of communication which children might choose to communicate with friends and family in order to enable the active participation of children within research. It is based upon an epistemological framework aimed at making children's views more explicit, and in doing so, acknowledges the hegemony which determines how 'implicit views of childhood influence the way adults interact with young children whether as researchers, practitioners or parents' (Clark and Moss, 2011, p.6). It is founded on four 'principles' :

- *Young children as ‘experts in their own lives’*
- *Young children as skilful communicators*
- *Young children as rights holders*
- *Young children as meaning makers*

(Clark and Moss, 2005, p.5)

The Mosaic Approach also demands a multi-method strategy in order to find appropriate and sensitive means of engaging young children in a participatory mode. It further demands a reflexivity through which children’s voices are listened to ‘with all our senses’ (Rinaldi, 2006), and to reflectively interpret the data gathered. The methods used in this research are :

- *Conversations with children* individually and in small groups about the meaning of inclusion and its practice
- *Photography* – individual children take a photograph to symbolise inclusive practice which was then discussed individually with the child and with small groups of children which included the photographer (Clark et al., 2005).

The same approach was also used with staff :

- *Conversations* with staff individually and in small groups about the meaning of inclusion and its practice.
- *A card exercise* to explore what is meant by inclusion and to define it.

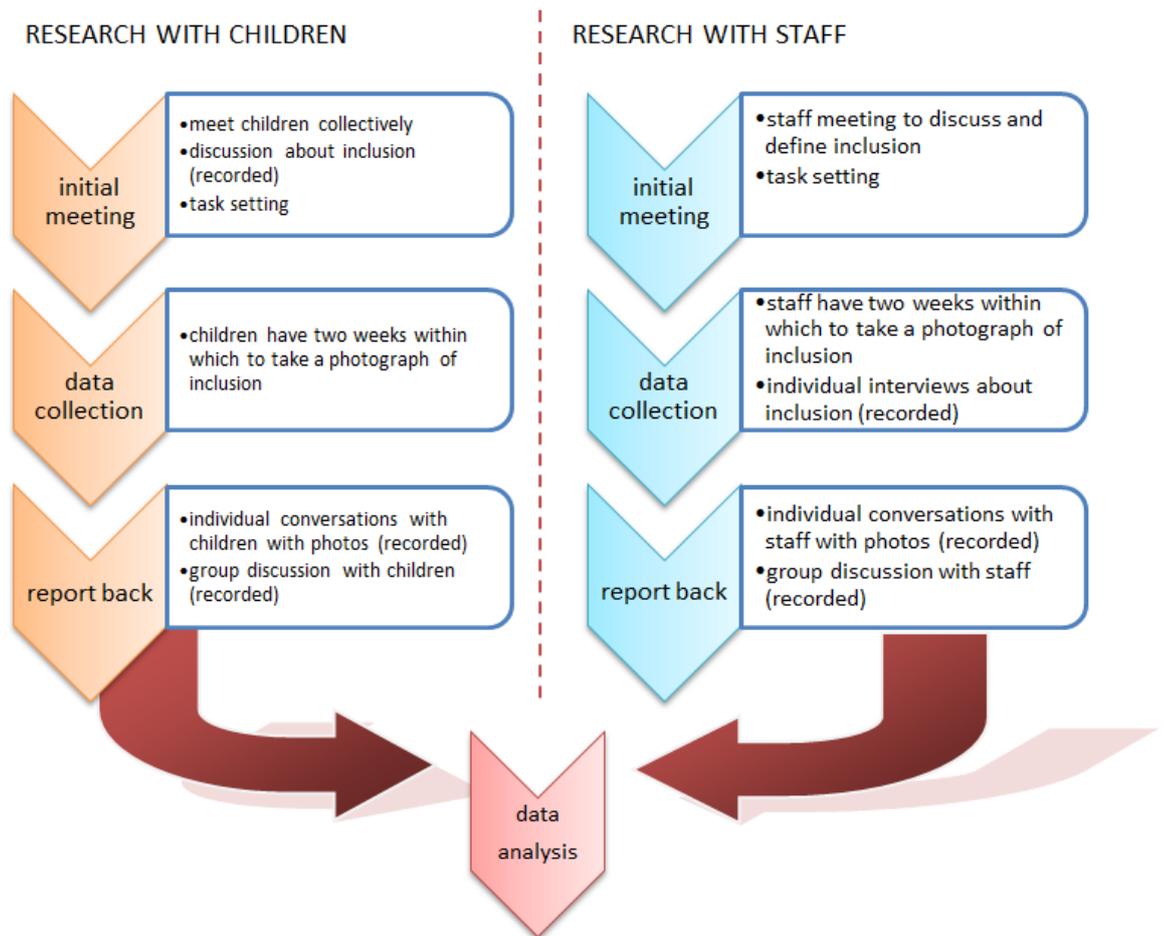


Figure 11 : Structure of methods used to collect data

- *Photography* – individual members of staff take a photograph to symbolise inclusive practice which was then discussed individually with the staff member and collectively with all staff involved.

From within the three case settings, a sampling frame was produced to determine the numbers of participants involved in each data-collecting strategy ((Bryman, 2012) Bogdan and Biklen, 2010, Hartas, 2010) :

Methods/strategies	Staff			Children		
Initial meeting	Staff meeting to explain the study and undertake exercise to elicit understanding of inclusion			Meeting with children to explain the study and undertake exercise to elicit understanding of inclusion		
Numbers of participants	Blackdown	Albert	Muirhead	Blackdown	Albert	Muirhead
	24	15	17	7	12	17
Interviews (1)	Interviews to take place with Headteachers, and with Teachers and Teaching Assistants nominated by each school's Headteacher.			Discussion with children about inclusion was recorded at the initial meeting.		
Numbers of participants	Blackdown	Albert	Muirhead	Blackdown	Albert	Muirhead
	5	3	2	7	7	17
Photography	Staff and children (identified above from numbers at initial meeting) are each asked to take one photograph which captures their understanding of inclusion.					
Interviews (2)	Interviews to take place with those who took photographs using the photograph they had taken as a focus. The numbers are the same as per initial meeting.					
Documentation	Ofsted report (current) School policy on inclusion Other related policies					

Figure 12 : *Sampling frame showing methods used to collect data and numbers of participants involved*

The sampling frame (figure 12) demonstrated the manageability of the sample size, and the efficacy of the data collected in informing the study's discourse.

These methods are now explained further as they relate to this study's research questions.

3.4.iii Research methods

This section places the methods used in the research against the study's research questions and justifies their selection. The overall research question developed from the review of the literature is :

How do staff and children in schools known to be inclusive conceptualise and realise inclusion at a time when a post-welfare culture of individualism dominates?

This is here broken down into more focused research questions :

RQ1 : How is inclusion understood in three particular case study schools?

In attempting to find answers to this question in the case study schools, the research explores the ways in which participants construct inclusion. Its objective here is to encourage staff and children to look beyond the practice of inclusion in order to articulate its purposes and intentions. In a Bourdieusian sense the research purpose here is to recognise the 'sphere of the legitimisable' (see figure 3, p.84) which defines the field of power in which interpretations of inclusion (and the values that underpin them) exist. Here a number of 'competing authorities of legitimation' claim the power to grant legitimation. It is here that this study will gather data to understand the ways in which inclusion has been legitimated by staff and children.

Strategies used with staff

At an initial meeting to explain the research, I asked headteachers for time at a staff meeting to work with staff on activities to help to define inclusion, and to set up the research task. The range of staff attending the meeting and committing to the task enabled contact across a range of staff and also deeper insights into the understandings of selected staff involved in inclusion.

The content of the initial staff meeting was :

- Staff discussion in small groups to produce examples of 'good practice' of inclusion within the school.
- In the same small groups to present a definition of inclusion.
- In the same small groups complete the '12 card exercise' (see figure 13 below) by agreeing the placing of each of 12 statements on a large piece of paper and annotating it in order to illustrate the group's understanding of inclusion.
- In light of the '12 card exercise' groups review and revise the definition of inclusion
- Each group to present their 'case for inclusion' to the others.

<p>1.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about getting as many children as possible to age related norms. It is a means to higher standards.</i></p>	<p>2.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about social mobility, enabling those who have potential to move up the social/employment ladder.</i></p>	<p>3.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about educating all children together in their local school.</i></p>
<p>4.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about ensuring that all necessary arrangements are in place to enable ease of access.</i></p>	<p>5.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about 'sheltering' children with needs while we focus on 'mainstream' children</i></p>	<p>6.</p> <p><i>Inclusion inevitably means that we focus attention on differences between children and in this way it is, paradoxically, divisive.</i></p>
<p>7.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is more about 'growing' children than it is about standards.</i></p>	<p>8.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is something that should pervade the ethos of the whole school, reaching out to the way we consider parents, and other members of staff.</i></p>	<p>9.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about creating a sense of a community in which all are respected, and all contribute, and in which children understand the needs of others.</i></p>
<p>10.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about providing support for each child who has needs.</i></p>	<p>11.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about enabling all children to access learning – which is their human right.</i></p>	<p>12.</p> <p><i>Inclusion is about recognising the disabilities of those with needs.</i></p>

Figure 13 : *Statements about inclusion used in the '12 card exercise'*

The statements were designed to present a wide range of interpretations of inclusion. They were chosen to be provocative in raising

questions which would challenge staff groups and open up debate. They resulted from the interviews which took place during the scoping study (see above 3.3.i). They became the basis of this exercise, and were added to following a trial with undergraduate (second and third year) Childhood, Education and Society students as part of a lecture-seminar on inclusion. This trial led to the revising of statements in order to make their meaning clearer and to expand the range of interpretations.

Also at the introductory meeting, headteachers were asked to select staff members who were involved in the management and practice of inclusion who would then be interviewed. Each headteacher then negotiated with staff to organise a schedule for interviews.

From these nominated staff members data was collected from semi-structured interviews which focused on the conceptualising of inclusion and how this had determined practice (the interview schedule is at Appendix I). Access to staff for interviews varied in each school and was discussed and arranged through each case-school headteacher. Blackdown Infants School provided a timetable for staff to be interviewed and the headteacher had arranged cover to release staff; Albert Street School had made similar arrangements; Muirhead Avenue Primary School could only provide opportunity to interview the headteacher and the inclusion manager, though there were other less formal opportunities to talk to staff during the course of

the research in this school. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed as soon as possible afterwards. Field notes were also written. Names were replaced by pseudonyms to protect anonymity. Figure 12 above shows the composition of staff groups.

Strategies used with children

The children who participated were members of each school's School Council, and this was agreed with the headteachers at the introductory meeting. This was a convenient way of organising a cross-section of children from each age-group.

Children from each case setting were asked to articulate an understanding of inclusion. This took place within an initial meeting which aimed to introduce them to the research and to ascertain their understanding of inclusion. Permissions from parents/carers were obtained beforehand, and I was CRB/DBS vetted by the school (see section on Ethics below). The meeting with the children took the form of a semi-structured interview with the intention of enabling the children to give an 'account' of inclusion (Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori, 2011). Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori state that 'by using interviews, the researcher can reach areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible such as people's subjective experiences and attitudes (ibid., p. 529)'.

In essence these interviews were with focus groups – ‘collective conversations or group interviews’ (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2011, p.545). Focus groups act in a metaphorical prism-like way to reflect and refract the substance of their considerations, assisting researchers in gaining understanding reflexively :

Focus group work is ... inevitably prismatic, with all three faces of the prism visible to some extent no matter which face we fix on or how we direct our gaze.

(Ibid., p.547)

The ‘three faces’ that Kamberelis and Dimitriadis describe represent the ‘multifunctionality’ (ibid.) they discern in focus group work :

- *a pedagogic function* : through collective engagement they promote a dialogue which enables a higher understanding of the focus being considered.
- *a political function* : through this understanding members of the focus group become prompted into actions aimed at transforming current conditions.
- *an inquiry function* : through this dialogue ‘rich, complex, nuanced and even contradictory accounts of how people ascribe meaning to and interpret their lived experience’ (ibid., p.546) are generated. In a qualitative research context this enables entry into the ways in

which members construct their meanings, providing me with a 'richer, thicker and more complex' (ibid.) understanding.

The pedagogic and inquiry functions were emphasised in this research. A consequence of this was that the focus group became a site of not only the sharing and development of understanding about inclusion which built upon the children's articulation of their own interpretations and meanings, but also, from the research perspective, the emergence of data which was both personal and reflective.

In practice this meant working with a group of children from each case school to undertake an audio recorded discussion about inclusion as they perceive and understand it in that setting. The format of this meeting was :

- *Introduction* : the purpose of the meeting (to explore how inclusion is understood in the school, and how this shows itself in day to day practice); who would be involved in the project (staff and children); time frames and other details that might emerge
- *1* : to discover what the children think the school is good at – the children were asked to state one word which they think describes the school.
- *2* : to relate this to practice – the children are asked to give examples of these qualities in practice.

- 3 : to relate this to inclusion – the children are asked what their ideas mean in terms of applying to all children and to the ways in which this creates a community, and of working/being together (one child in the scoping study school called this ‘being connected’).
- 4 : to capture inclusion – to explain the details of the main task of the project, the taking of one photograph that symbolises inclusion for them. This was to be:
 - *Personal to each child, based on what their thoughts are about inclusion*
 - *Based on reflection*
 - *Annotated (‘This is a photograph of ...’, and ‘I took this photograph because’)*
- In addition details were discussed about :
 - *Arrangements for obtaining cameras and downloading photographs (cameras were made available through the schools)*
 - *Deadlines and support from within the school*

The result of these methods was a collection of annotations which articulated, in a Bourdieusian sense, ‘competing authorities of legitimation claiming legitimacy’ (see figure 3, p.84). The definitions arrived at expressed the understandings of inclusion of staff and children, and presented a landscape of fields of power in which they exist.

In practice the focus group interviews with children and staff entailed :

	Blackdown Infants School	Albert St Primary School	Muirhead Avenue Primary School
<i>Number of staff involved in initial staff meeting</i>	24	15	17
<i>Number and duration of meetings</i>	one after-school staff meeting : 1 hr 25 mins (24 attended)	one after-school staff meeting : 1 hr (15 attended)	one after-school staff meeting : 1 hr 10mins (17 attended)
<i>Staff interviewed (pseudonyms and job titles)</i>	Emily (TA working with children on Special Needs Register) Gloria (TA in KSI – also carries out 1:1 support) Harriet (Class Teacher KSI) Norma (Class Teacher KSI) George (Headteacher)	Tracy (TA working with children on Special Needs Register) Natasha (Inclusion Manager) Jane (Headteacher)	Janine (Inclusion Manager) Barry (Headteacher)

Figure 14 : Description of staff focus groups in each case study school (names have been replaced by pseudonyms)

	Blackdown Infants School	Albert St Primary School	Muirhead Avenue Primary School
<i>Number of children involved</i>	7	18	12
<i>Number and duration of meetings</i>	one in-school session : 25 mins	one in-school session : 1 hr	one in-school session : 1 hr.

Figure 15 : Description of children's focus groups in each case study school

RQ2 : How is this understanding realised through the conceptual lens of Bourdieu in the practices of the case study schools?

In this question the focus is Bourdieu's sphere of the arbitrary - the articulation of the understanding of the legitimacy of inclusion through its practice. Here the 'arbitrariness of individual taste' (Bourdieu, 1990c, p.96), the individual interpretation of inclusion in practice, is expressed. It is at this level that the focus of the study begins to merge away from field to habitus, and the consideration of the dispositions and understandings participants (agents) have of inclusion within case settings.

To answer this research question two distinct methods were adopted :

- The taking of a photograph which captured the photographers understanding of inclusion
- Interviews about the photograph with the photographer

Both staff and children were involved in this activity.

Rationale for photography as a data-gathering method

Bourdieu considered photography to be an appropriate research tool for analysing the inextricable links between the issues of subjectivity and objectivity, and the role of the participant researcher. He saw photography as an 'instant incision into the visible world', capturing unique moments, tearing them out of 'the temporal flow', and appearing to create a 'reproduction of reality', but which are, paradoxically, structured images that are captured

‘according to the categories that organise the ordinary vision of the world’ (Bourdieu, 1990c, p.76-77).

Photography thus becomes a research metaphor for exploring both how these worlds are perceived and how those making the perceptions construct themselves in relation to others within the field (Luttrell, 2010). Prosser and Loxley (2010) present this as a model (figure 6 below) in which :

- the *sign* is the basic unit of meaning (this might be a word, an image, a sound). The sign has two related and integrated elements within it :
- the *signified* is the concept attached to the sign, the meaning it represents
- the *signifier* is the specific word or image through which the signified is expressed

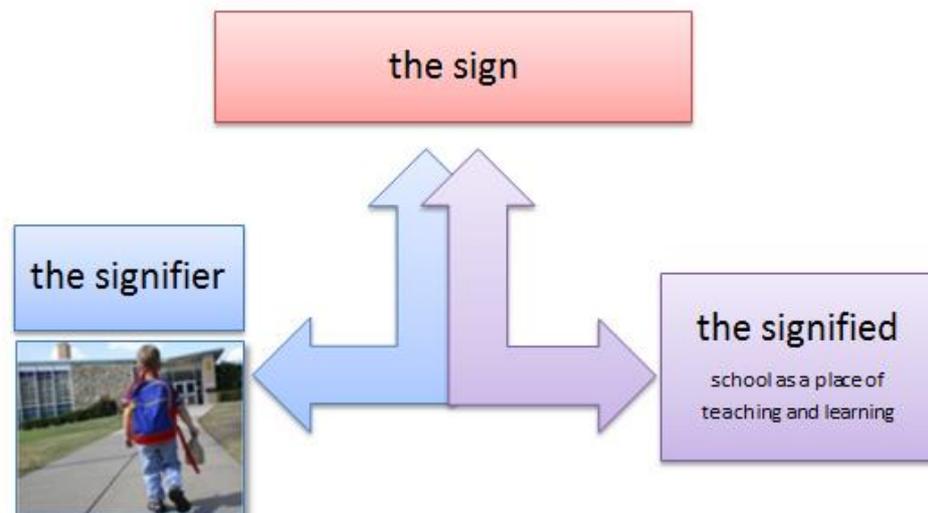


Figure 16 : Signifier and signified (after Prosser and Loxley, in Hartas, 2010)

Together the signifier and the signified are encapsulated within the sign. Thus the image of a school above is the vehicle for communicating the meaning of school, 'the concept we carry around in our heads' (ibid. ; p.211).

This research uses photography as part of a process which enables children and staff of case study schools to express their perceptions and understandings of inclusion by dissecting the *sign* of inclusion through :

- articulating the *signified* – defining what inclusion means
- presenting a *signifier* – taking a photograph which exemplifies the signified in practice

Luttrell (2010) sees photography as an effective research tool, especially with children, for two reasons which are highly relevant to this research :

... first, because it is an especially useful metaphor for thinking about how we read our social worlds, construct ourselves in relation to others, and express matters of the heart; and second, because it is a means to both rouse and reframe conversations.

(p. 225)

Photography allows for the perspective of the photographer to emerge and for the habitus and field that underpin it to be revealed through interpretation. Indeed, Luttrell's work with children and photography is centred on the medium assisting the child to find a voice. She seeks ways of

empowering children to a 'concept of 'voice' that is dialogic, cultural, social and psychological', and is aware of the need 'to understand which voices children would exercise when speaking about their photographs in specific contexts and with multiple audiences in mind' (ibid.). Her concern is that children's voice will be suppressed or subtly directed towards a researcher's own research ends, either consciously or unconsciously. She sees photography as a means to 'redirect, contest and unlock the gaze', promoting social awareness of the research context and suggesting alternative narratives. For Luttrell, photography provides a metaphor for how social worlds are 'read' and how individuals construct themselves in relation to others. It thus can become a tool for helping to understand the dynamics of a field of forces and the habitus that emerges from it.

The use of photography provides a means of 'systematis[ing] and honour[ing]' (ibid.) children's narratives, considering children as knowing subjects. This enabling of narrative can equally be applied to staff.

Application of photography as a research method

It is important to emphasise here that the use of photography raises particular ethical issues, particularly when young children are involved. Measures were taken to ensure the safeguarding of all children – and to make sure that their anonymity was protected. This is described in more detail at 3.4.iv (p.144).

In practical terms, the task for children and staff was the same – to take one photograph which captured the meaning of inclusion as the photographer understands it and to annotate the photograph to define what the photograph shows and why the photographer chose this image. In each case study school arrangements were made for the children in particular to have access to cameras and to have time to complete this task. Arrangements were also made for the downloading and printing of photographs. Deadlines were also given for the task.

The second strand to answering this research question was in the form of semi-structured interviews which took place with each child-photographer, either individually or in small groups (pairs), depending upon the outcomes of negotiations with the school. The intention was to provide the opportunity for the children to develop their annotations in order to provide a deeper understanding. Schedules were written for interviews which concentrated on allowing the child to explain the content and context of the photograph, and the reasons why he/she had chosen this as an image of inclusion.

Staff were asked to bring their photographs to a second staff meeting and share them with colleagues with the intention that the group would operate as a focus group and that a pedagogic function (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2011) would bring about deeper insights into inclusion. In practice groups went beyond this function to embrace an inquiry function in

terms of exploring how inclusion was constructed across the school. In one school the Inclusion Manager later took on an active political function and compiled a booklet about inclusion in the school using photographs and annotations from children and staff. This was an example of the potential for this research to move into a participatory paradigm, and in particular to embark upon the 'initiation' of co-researchers defined by Lincoln et al. (2011) (see figures 9 and 10, p.109-110).

RQ3 : How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices in the case study schools?

We can only begin to understand why people behave as they do, and the stories they tell, if we see these actions and words as entangled with many other 'worlds' and words that we likely cannot see or hear, but that we need to gain insight to. The past and the future are seen as connected to the present as people re/present themselves to others (and to themselves) and, as conscious actors these stories will change according to context.

(Frankham and MacRae, 2011, p.35)

The network of fields that exist within a case setting symbolise and map what has been defined as legitimate. The Bourdieusian hierarchy of legitimacies (figure 3) works from the external, macro, political level to the micro level of everyday inclusive practice within a school. It is the linkages that exist through which a school translates macro statements about inclusive

policy into its own specific version of everyday inclusive practice that is the interest of this research. The mapping of this translation demands not only gaining insight into the ways in which staff and children understand inclusion as a concept and in practice at a micro case level, but also the positioning of these understandings in the wider context of linkages with school policies and beyond them, with more macro policies about inclusion extending to those of central government. It is at this sphere of legitimacy level that a 'universal' legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1990c, p.96) is bestowed upon inclusion. Here high status and powerful statements about the nature of inclusion are present. They stem, for example, from government agencies (e.g. the Department for Education) and academic research. It is through these legitimate authorities that a generalised understanding of the function and forms of inclusion is constructed. It is this which sets the scene in which inclusive practice takes place.

It is from such spheres that dominant discourses about inclusion flow as each claims its right to be the legitimising agent. It is this wider landscape of additional fields that this study needs to recognise in order to position the perceptions of children and staff of the case study schools.

To achieve this, the following strategies were adopted :

- the collection of current thinking about inclusion from political and academic sources (this is shown in the review of the literature,

chapter 2) which led to the identifying of key questions and themes which formed the basis of both interview schedules and codes used in the thematic analysis of interviews and documents.

- the examination of school documents, particularly inclusion policies and Ofsted reports. The intention here was to bring out the meanings of a text from the perspective of those who wrote it, paying particular emphasis to the context (social and historical) in which it is placed. Bryman (2012) posits that this is essentially a hermeneutic approach, creating an epistemological *Verstehen* (Weber, 1904/1949), rooting documents firmly within the social/cultural context of the time of their writing. In Bryman's terms, the approach adopted here is critical hermeneutic in its collection and analysis of data in order to forge this understanding.
- interviews with senior managers and staff who have some responsibility for inclusion within each school to ascertain how policy has been translated into inclusive practices, and the tensions that might exist around these practices match against the competing perspectives of dominant discourses of inclusion. The schedule for these interviews is at Appendix I.

RQ4 : How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant, post-welfarist discourses?

Evidence about the ways in which tensions between discourses were managed was taken from the interviews with children and staff. The intention was to discover the extent to which narratives present a coherent picture of inclusion as a concept and as a practice, and as a set of principles which take cognisance of the competing perspectives of inclusion. This requires an unearthing of the values that frame understanding and practice.

The flow of discourses about inclusion within a school setting may not always be calm. Their differences cause collisions and disruptions which muddy their waters. The standards discourse's epistemological emphasis (on the children's acquisition of prescribed knowledge) contrasts with the ontological emphasis of the diversity discourse (on the inclusion of all children into a coherent social community). Trying to steer a course through these apparently dichotomised forms of inclusion challenges principles and understandings held by staff and children alike.

Lincoln et al. (2011) echo Ainscow et al.'s (2006) principled approach to inclusion, in stating that there is an 'embeddedness of ethics' (p.116) within 'basic issues', such as how inclusion is interpreted. In which sense axiology (the branch of philosophy dealing with the nature of value and the types of value) provides a means of refocusing on the underlying values that

determine an interpretation of inclusion. It is here that the making sense of conflicting discourses occurs, and it is this that the interviews focused upon.

In summary figures 17 and 18 below show :

- an overview of strategies used to collect data and numbers of respondents involved
- how the research methods used relate to research questions

3.4.iv Ethical framework

The aim of this study's methodology is to bring to light the meanings of inclusion that exist children and staff of three case-study schools, and how they are reflected in inclusive practices in the schools. This raises a number of ethical considerations around the ways in which the research engages with informants, and how data gathered is treated, within a Bourdieusian research context.

	Staff			Children		
Initial meeting	Staff meeting to explain the study and undertake exercise to elicit understanding of inclusion			Meeting with children to explain the study and undertake exercise to elicit understanding of inclusion		
<i>Numbers of respondents involved</i>	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
	24	15	17	7	12	17
Interviews	Interviews to take place with Headteachers, and with Teachers and Teaching Assistants nominated by each school's Headteacher			Interviews to take place with members of School Council		
<i>Numbers of respondents involved</i>	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
	5	3	2	7	7	17
Photography	Staff and children (identified above at initial meeting) are each asked to take one photograph which captures their understanding of inclusion.					
Documentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ofsted report (current) • School policy on inclusion • Other related policies 					

Figure 17 : Overview of strategies used to collect data and numbers of respondents

	Initial activity		Photography & annotation		Interviews		Documents
	Staff	Children	Staff	Children	Staff	Children	
RQ1 : How is inclusion understood in three particular case study schools?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
RQ2 : How is this understanding realised in the practices of the case study schools?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
RQ3 : How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices in the case study schools?			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
RQ4 : How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant discourses?					✓	✓	✓

Figure 18 : Research data collection activities related to research questions

Handling the data : The subjective/objective researcher

This was a qualitative research study and, as such it, demands a subjective positioning of the researcher (see 3.2.ii). Within his canon of work Bourdieu describes the notion of the *reflexive* researcher, emphasising that there is ‘no “value free”, neutral, free standing objectivity in Bourdieu’s method; only individuals (with particular social, scholastic and academic habitus) positioned in fields which structure the representations of their products’ (Grenfell and James, 1998, p.176). Material reality is contested, and this, Bourdieu demands, must be accepted by researchers. It demands of them that they interpret the social world, seeing it as ‘**a *spectacle***, as a set of significations to be interpreted rather than as concrete problems to be solved practically’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.39, emphasis in original).

This stance raises questions about the positioning of the researcher, and his/her ability to create a research identity which allows entry into the case setting being researched into whilst at the same time meets the objective requirements of university-based academic research. The researcher has to be both ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ within the case setting; working to be accepted by the school host-community in order to gain trust and thus be in a position to make interpretations closer to the meaning expressed by participants from the setting, while at the same time having to meet the rigorous research requirements and criteria of academia.

This 'dual complexity' (McGinity, 2012) places academic concepts and language alongside the language and conceptualisations of staff and children in the case study schools. It was of particular concern in the scoping study which attempted to elicit responses from young children with profound speech and language difficulties which demanded their familiarity with and trust of the researcher, whilst on the other hand negotiating the formulation of academic research with university staff. McGinity refers to issues of the identity of the researcher as research practice is developed, seeing it as 'fluid' (ibid., p. 763). This echoes Thomson and Gunter's (2011) concept of the 'liquid researcher' who 'traverses within and between two interconnected yet separate institutions' (McGinity, 2012, p.762). From a Bourdieusian perspective this reinforces the need for researchers, as they move with the research ebbs and flows from one institution to another, to be reflexive of their 'complex positionalities' (ibid., p.771), and how this impacts on 'knowledge construction and representation in the research process' (Merriam et al., 2001, p.416).

Determining who is the subject

The issue here is one of representation. It is argued that a school is a complex organisation whose individual members each have their own understandings of the concept of inclusion. The ethical issue here lies in how this complexity can be managed in order to construct insights into the ways in which inclusion is considered in the school. Here there has to be an

acknowledgement that the research cannot accurately and completely present the entire network of understandings of inclusion, but that it, more realistically, had to confine itself to a manageable sample of informants who articulated their own individual perceptions which were not representative of the whole school.

This raises questions about what claims this research can make. The work with children and staff, though as broad and as deep as time would allow, cannot be said to be representative of the whole school. It can only be considered as part of the 'spectacle' of inclusion that unfolded in each case school. Its purpose was to prompt further discussion from its analysis, not provide a total view.

Working with young children

At a practical level this necessitated following the particular safeguarding procedures of each case school. This involved my undertaking CRB/DBS checks and ensuring that all research tasks had the approval of the headteacher and universities. It further involved the explaining of the research and its purposes to parents/carers of children, and the seeking of their permission for their child to become involved. It was made clear, to both parents/carers and their children, that children could withdraw at any time if they felt uncomfortable. This raises the issue of informed consent, for this necessitated that any involvement was based upon knowledge of its

voluntary nature and that all parties were doing so without any coercion of any kind. It also necessitated giving full information about the study. This was completed through a letter to parents/carers and their children which was signed returned to acknowledge this condition (Appendix III).

A further safeguarding issue arose with the photographs which were taken and their publication in this thesis. All photographs were shown to headteachers who checked them against appropriate school documents (At Risk Registers, Safeguarding Policies etc., including schools' arrangements for obtaining parental consent for the use of photographic images of their child(ren)) to ensure that all images of children in the photographs could be used. All names of children, staff and schools have been changed to avoid identification. As a further safeguarding measure to ensure the anonymity of all photographic images of children, the faces of each child in the photographs have been pixelated.

At a more abstract level, Kellett (2010) makes the distinction between research *on* children, *about* children, *with* children and *by* children. In doing so she defines the challenges that face the researcher and his/her relationship with the children who are the focus of the study. The Issue of the obvious difference between the power and status of an adult researcher and that of a participating child was summed up by Devine (2003) whose research

explored how childhood is structured within primary school and the underpinning power relationships. An eight year old boy commented :

We're too young to be in charge ... we're smaller than the big people.

(ibid., p.20)

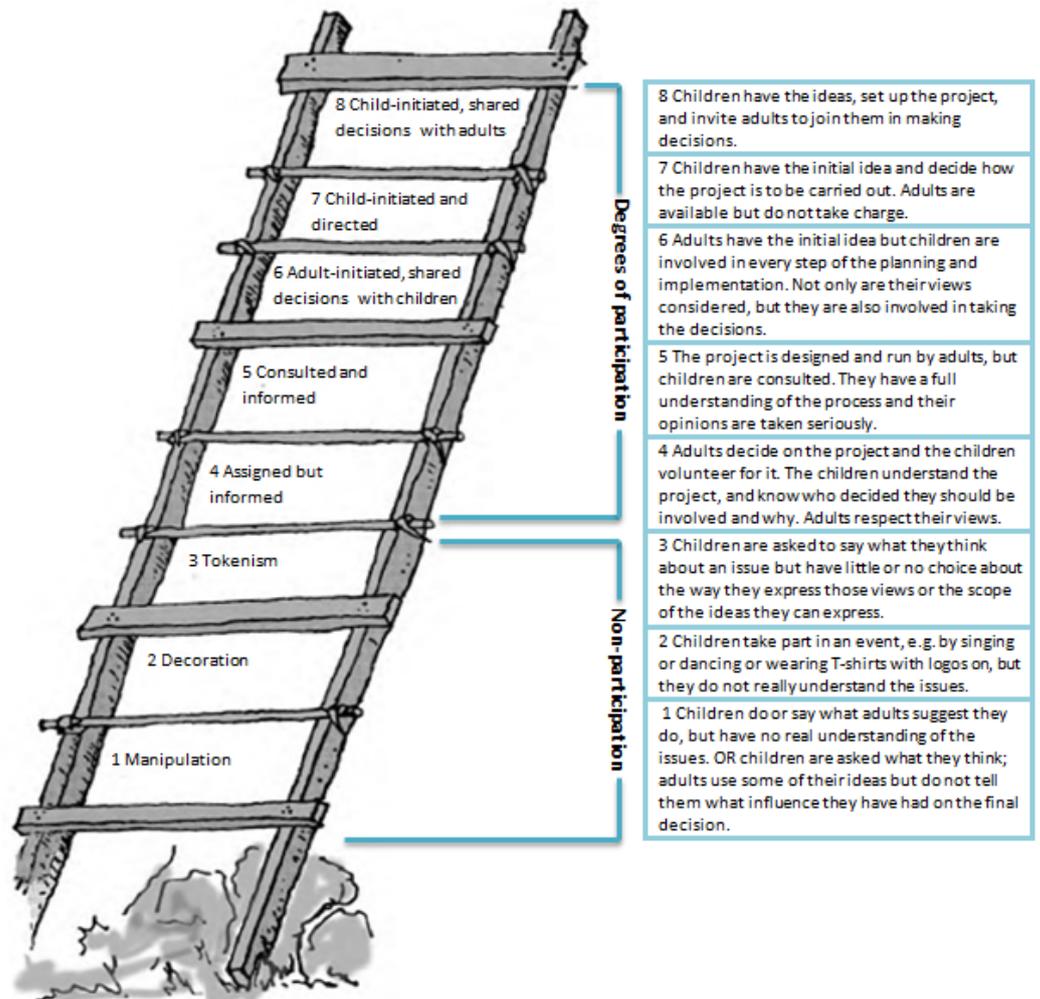


Figure 19 : *The Ladder of Children's Participation (Hart, 1995)*

It is this imbalance of power and status that is a concern of this research in trying to reach the views of children accurately, without their being

distorted (Christians, 2011). The scoping study recognised the ease with which young children working with a relatively unknown researcher can be steered towards particular understandings. Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2011) raise the issue of the 'performative turn' by which they refer to how a participant (particularly a child, in the case of this study) might respond in ways which are not representative of his/her understandings of inclusion. This might be for a number of reasons, including their felt need to follow other children's views, or even to present the researcher with what they feel he might want from them. Whatever the cause, the outcome presents a possible ambiguity within the actions of the children and the data they provide. The presence of a researcher from outside the school, someone not known to the children, compounded this issue further.

Bakhtin (1981) refers to this as 'ventriloquation', a process which manipulates children's voice in order to 'make our own meaning' (Luttrell, p.225). An important part of this study was the freedom children had to work independently to take an image of inclusion. They were given two weeks to reflect on the initial task about the meaning of inclusion and to complete the photographic task. The intention was to enable children to be actively and independently participative in the research, thus moving up Hart's (1995) Ladder of Participation (figure 19, above) into the zone of participation rather than be manipulated as non/passive-participants. In this, the study tried to overcome the possibility of deception :

The practice of using masks in social research compromises both the people who wear them and the people for whom they are worn, and in doing so violates the terms of a contract which the sociologist should be ready to honour in his [sic] dealings with others.

(Erikson, 1967, p.367-8)

For Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2011) the performative turn allows researchers ‘to see the world as always already in motion’ (p.547) and to realise the limitations of a research focus within this fluid and complex context. The research process can run the danger, in their terms, of being monologic – of simply reaffirming what already exists through constructing ‘limiting situations’ (Freire, 1972) which confirm a status quo. In contrast, a dialogic research process opposes the objectification of participants in this way and seeks to promote social change through its engagement with participants through adopting a participatory research paradigm. The extent to which this occurred within this research will be considered within each case study and in the discussion chapter (Chapter 5).

Creating a systematic and objective research structure

The scoping study provided an impetus to create a revised research focus and research structure which was then applied to each of the three case schools. By the uniqueness of their natures, each school raised ideas that prompted the opportunity to create new research pathways. This was an

issue for the researcher and the need for a consistency in research approach across the three schools.

Decisions had to be taken about the degree to which the unique pathways of the research in each school could be contained within a boundary of research consistency. The tension here lay in the iterative nature of the research into very different schools, each taking the research design and stretching it to construct an individual research journey within each setting whilst at the same time ensuring that the research stayed within the boundaries which defined a research design aimed at resolving specific research questions. Consistency in the use of research tools in varied contexts was an imperative.

The research paradigms were of assistance here in relating data to research questions and thus ascertaining their position against the boundary. For example, 'participatory' developments (see figure 8) resulted in two of the three schools reflecting on the research findings and acting upon them. This is mentioned in the study in passing for it was work which both lay outside research paradigms and which also would make the research inconsistent if included (as it was not carried out in the three schools).

Coping with practical challenges

The practical challenges which raised ethical issues were :

- ***relationships with children*** : I did not know the children prior to the research, and there were few occasions when we met together. For both parties it was necessary to create working relationships and trust as quickly as possible. This was hampered by my not knowing the children's abilities and characters – their ages and maturity varied. This raised the possibility of the children's responses not being entirely reflective of their thoughts, and expressed in ways which were inhibited by the context. Efforts were made to get to know the children quickly and to ensure that they felt comfortable within this research situation.
- ***multiple role of researcher*** : I had a number of identities in each case school – former headteacher colleague, university student, teacher,... . The specific role taken for each situation was explained to participants, and any questions around roles outside of that context answered openly.
- ***time*** : I was a guest within the school and the research an intrusion into the normality of school life. Time was negotiated with headteachers at initial meetings in each case school. This formed a contractual arrangement which had to be worked within.
- ***safeguarding issues*** : I ensured that all safeguarding procedures that needed to be followed in each setting were completed.

Realising benefits

It was hoped that there would be benefits from this study which extended beyond those which might arise on completion. In particular, the staff and children could be seen as beneficiaries in there being outcomes which could be developed further. As argued above, a conflict of interests could ensue from this situation. The need was for a primarily academic research focus, and if localised developments occurred, they would not form part of this focus but would be mentioned in passing. In this way the benefits to the schools were separated from those to the researcher.

Collecting and using data (summary of a Bourdieusian ethical approach)

Bourdieu used a range of techniques in order to collect data, recognising that the researcher was a 'participant observer' who needed more interpretive, ethnographic research approaches, rather than the more objectively passive approach of empirical research. Pertinent to this study, *The Weight of the World* (1999) was a collection of case studies which catalogued the daily lives of a wide range of people through one-to-one interviews. In it Bourdieu also explored the social relationship that inevitably exists between researcher and person from whom data is being collected and which exerts symbolic violence which affects responses. He argues that :

... all kind of distortions are embedded in the very structure of the research relationship. It is these distortions that have to be understood

and mastered as part of a practice which can be reflective and methodical without being the application of a method or the implementation of a theory.

(Bourdieu, 1999, p.608)

The quest is for 'non-violent' communication through which such distortions are tackled and reduced in order to arrive at a respondent's representation of, in this case, inclusion. Bourdieu saw this being achieved through 'active and methodical listening':

- 'submission to the singularity of a particular life history' – which can lead to adopting the interviewee's language, views, feelings and thoughts .
- 'methodical construction' - founded on the knowledge of the objective conditions/ characteristics which are common to a social group (ibid. : p.609).

It is the ambition of this study to pursue such a relationship with participants in order that a truly ethical research approach is adopted.

Christians (2011) posited four key area to be included in a considered ethical approach to a research study :

- Informed Consent
- Deception

- Privacy and confidentiality
- Accuracy

When seen in a context of an unbalanced power/status relationship between researcher and child participant, the issues of deception and accuracy, in particular, become highly significant. They demand of researchers that they become reflexive (in a Bourdieusian sense), acknowledging that they are taking part in a construction of knowledge founded on a 'a reflection of a researcher's location in time and social space' (Bryman, 2012, p.393). It is a subjective process within which sensitivity is also demanded from the researcher to his/her cultural, political and social context, for although no claims can be made that such knowledge is objectively 'pure' (as might be claimed from scientific experiments) every effort has been made to ensure its reliability and validity.

3.4.v Reliability and validity

The previous section explained the need for ethical relationships between researcher and participants in order to unearth accuracy – i.e. to represent their meaning as completely as possible through methods of data gathering that meet ethical standards demanded. This next section moves beyond the individual participant responses to the overall outcomes of the study to ensure their accuracy and authenticity.

The degree to which the research methods produce consistent data is a measure of their reliability. Within more *quantitative-based* research, reliability is determined by the extent that methods adopted measure the same variables using the same techniques consistently. More *qualitatively-focused* research raises issues raised around the accuracy with which the data collected represents the observation being made (Cohen et al., 2007, p.148-9) and how it achieves this in a consistent manner. These two contrasting approaches are explored by Guba (1981) who sought ways in which a research's trustworthiness could be assessed. He outlines four 'concerns' that form the basis of this assessment :

- *Truth value* - the extent to which a research inquiry establishes confidence in the 'truth' of its findings.
- *Applicability* - the degree to which a research inquiry may have applicability in other contexts.
- *Consistency* – the extent to which the findings of a research inquiry would be repeated if the research were to be replicated.
- *Neutrality* – the extent to which the research is not a product of bias or of other motivations, but is a product of the 'conditions of the inquiry' (p.80).

<i>Criterion</i>	<i>Quantitative approach (scientific term)</i>	<i>Qualitative approach (naturalistic term)</i>
<i>Truth value</i>	Internal validity	Credibility
<i>Applicability</i>	External validity	Transferability
<i>Consistency</i>	Reliability	Dependability
<i>Neutrality</i>	Objectivity	Confirmability

Figure 20 : Comparison of criteria by research approach
(Krefting, 1991, p.217, Guba, 1981, p.80)

Guba explores how these concerns relate to quantitative and qualitative research paradigms, arguing that they stem from an empirical scientific approach and need ‘translating’ to relate to a more qualitative/naturalistic approach (figure 20 above).

In adopting a qualitative/’naturalistic’ research stance, this study considered Guba’s concerns :

Credibility : this was achieved through what Guba calls ‘member checks’. This involved :

- ensuring that transcriptions of interviews, for example were accurate by allowing participants sight of them
- ensuring that participants were familiar with the areas to be explored in interviews and could ask for clarifications etc
- ensuring that data-collection methods related to research questions

- keeping field notes in order to provide additional supportive and reflexive evidence
- triangulating findings

Transferability : this study was focused on providing insights into the cultures of case study schools from which understandings and practices of inclusion are generated. In this the study is specifically contextual and therefore more difficult to transfer to other contexts. It was not the purpose of this research to provide ‘an index of transferability’ (Lincoln and Guba, 1985); it was rather to provide data which is ‘sufficiently rich’ for others to determine its transferability. However, a more internal validity was sought through exploring the ‘degree of “fit”’ (ibid..) between the three case study contexts – the extent to which certain features/characteristics/themes were common.

Dependability : Bryman (2012) relates this quality to the objective auditing of the research by peers. In this study this took the form of presentations made to an Active Learning Set of peer doctoral students from across other university departments/faculties. Their questioning and comments was helpful in ensuring a rigour of practice, enabling consistency and reliability in research data collection methods.

More internally, this was also evidenced in the refining/internal auditing of the coding system used for thematic analysis. Initial codes quickly became

reformed and restructured as they were applied to data, in order to present a more accurate analysis. Triangulation of sets of data also enabled a form of internal auditing which added to this refining process.

Confirmability : this 'translation' demands of researchers that they acknowledge not only the impossibility of complete objectivity in research processes, but also that their personal values have not 'sway[ed] the conduct of the research and findings deriving from it' (Bryman, 2012, p.379). In a Bourdieusian sense confirmability is a product of being a reflexive researcher.

Beyond the internal examination of the trustworthiness of a research, Lincoln et al. (2011) raise issues that concern its wider political impact. They list these as criteria for authenticity:

Fairness : this implies that all participants' 'view, perspectives, values, claims, concerns and voices' (p.122) are expressed within the text of the study. This necessitates an unbiased inclusion of all parties in attempting to :

... prevent marginalisation, to act affirmatively with respect to inclusion, and to act with energy to ensure that all voices in the inquiry effort had a chance to be represented in any texts and have their stories treated fairly and with balance.

(ibid., p.122)

This study is built around research questions and design which centre on the voices of staff and children, and the reporting on them as accurately and as completely as possible. Each uses the same data collecting techniques which facilitate this reporting.

Ontological and educative authenticity : Lincoln et al. (2011) define this as a 'raised awareness' (ibid., p.122) which allows participants to engage in a critique about the research topic. This was a feature built into the research design which enabled participants to understand more about the concept and practice of inclusion, and to discuss this with me.

Catalytic and tactical authenticities : this refers to the ability of a study to prompt further action, which shifts the research towards action research. It implies that the findings of the study have sufficient resonance with participants that they seek further development. Though this occurred in two of the three case schools, it lay outside the research brief of this study.

To think of research, such as the case of this study, as producing objective truth is a chimera. The knowing and the knower are irrevocably intertwined. Indeed, the use of attempting to understand the meaning embodied in a photograph can be seen to compound this further; Rose (2012) points out that 'there is no necessary relationship between a particular signifier and its signified' (p.113). It is the purpose of this research to explore the inter-weaving of processes that form a 'disturbing, fluid, partial, and

problematic presence' (Lincoln et al., 2011, p.123). The 'stories' and experienced collected as data revealed this 'messiness' (Reay, 2004, p.438), and made the construction of a singular and reliable account a futile quest.

This 'messiness' was made clearer through :

- i.* The consistent use of Bourdieu's conceptual framework (discussed below)
- ii.* The use of triangulation which involved a number of methods :
 - a.* The different responses from staff and children were compared and contrasted
 - b.* The discussions with informants around the photographs they had taken provided a means of gaining deeper insights into the significance of these images and the reasons they had been selected
 - c.* Data were also compared and contrasted with interviews with senior managers and staff responsible for inclusion
 - d.* Data were also used to make slight amendments to interview schedules in order that issues raised in previous case schools could be better pursued
 - e.* Data from interviews and from the focus group activities were compared and contrasted both between groups (as in a above) and with school documents about inclusion. This allowed for

documents to be interrogated further in terms of the real-world perceived practices of inclusion in each setting.

3.5 Data analysis

The data was analysed in two connected stages. Firstly the case-study data from each of the three schools was analysed individually using thematic analysis strategies. This was carried out against the four research questions of this study. Secondly a Bourdieusian analytical framework was applied to the themes that had emerged from the thematic analysis in order to produce a combined-case analysis from which more generalised issues could be identified.

3.5.i Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is defined by Braun and Clarke (2006) as ‘a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data’ (p.79). The data collected in this study contain elements that resonate throughout the variety of forms of data collection methods and the sites in which data were collected. In this way, thematic analysis is an effective means of organising and describing data ‘in rich detail’ (ibid.). Beyond this, it is equally effective in facilitating a deeper interpretation of various aspects of the research topic.

Braun and Clarke assist in this shift from description to interpretation by defining the dimensions (paradigms) that underpin the process of analysis (shown in figure 21 below). It is the intention of this thesis to interpret how

inclusion has been constructed in case settings and to employ the Bourdieusian lens to assist in the shift towards this. Braun and Clarke also define a process for undertaking thematic analysis and for engaging in this shift.

	<i>'DESCRIPTION'</i>	<i>'INTERPRETATION'</i>
<i>Type of analysis; claims to be made in relation to data</i>	Rich description of data set	Detailed account of a particular aspect
<i>Primary ways of identifying themes/patterns from data</i>	Inductive	Deductive (theoretical)
<i>Level at which themes are identified</i>	Semantic themes	Latent themes
<i>Research epistemology – guide to what can be said about the data</i>	Essentialist/realist	Constructivist

Figure 21 : *Dimensions of thematic analysis (after Braun and Clarke, 2006)*

This study employs this process in order to organise data into themes that reflect the study’s research questions and then to deduce meanings that lie within them. In practice this process (defined below at figure 22) resulted in two stages of analysis, aimed at revealing significant themes from the data gathered for each individual school. These themes, which were located in individual case-study schools, were later examined through the lens of Bourdieu’s analytic framework which brought them together as part of a combined-case analysis.

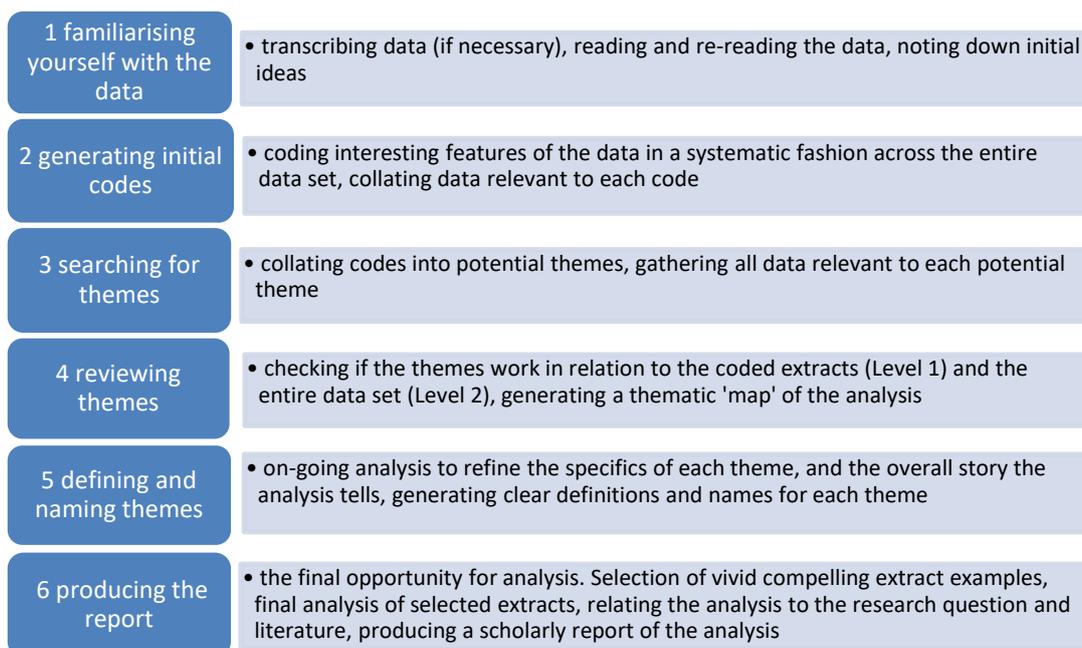


Figure 22 : *Phases of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.87)*

The two stages of thematic analysis involved :

Organising and storing the data that has been collected

All data was stored in NVivo. Each school’s data was kept together in a separate file. Nvivo allows for the storage of data collected through a variety of media. In the case of this research this included interview transcriptions, photographs and documents related to the school and inclusion (e.g. Ofsted Reports, policies on inclusion). Each was stored as a separate data source. An example NVivo page is shown below (figure 23).

The four research questions were used as a means of sorting the data. They became the headings for NVivo nodes – sub-files into which data from the data sources (interview transcriptions etc.) could be cut and pasted, using

the questions as sorting codes. This allowed data from across a school's data sources to be identified as relating to a specific research question. This was carried out separately for each of the schools.

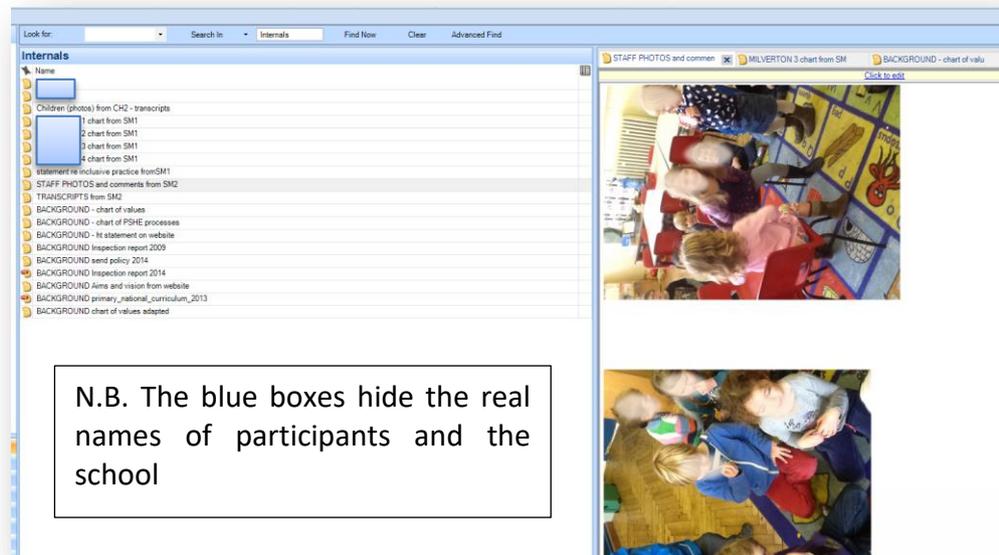


Figure 23 : Example of data organisation and storage using NVivo

Stage 2 : Sorting the data that has been collected - producing a thematic map

The data gathered in this way for each school was printed off separately for each NVivo node (i.e. research question). It was then cut into individual items and reflected upon. From this a number of themes emerged from the statements. These were then written onto a large piece of paper and individual statements and images placed under these theme headings. As this was taking place additional themes and meanings emerged and connections and relationships became established between the themes. These were represented on the paper. This led to the production of a theme map for each

school which illustrated the major themes that had emerged and how they were inter-related. Through this the case story began to appear, and this became the basis for the presentation of the findings from each school (Chapter 4).

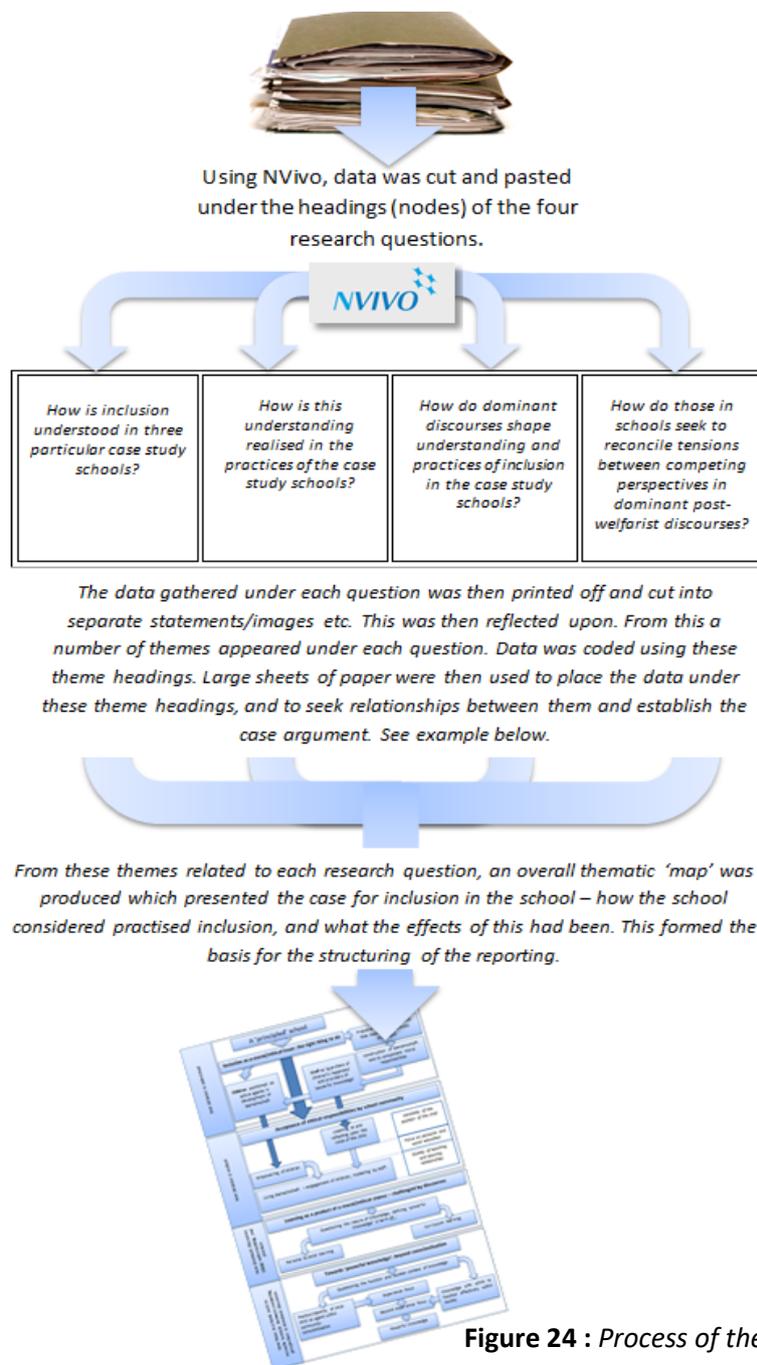


Figure 24 : Process of thematic analysis

The reporting and analysis of data from each school was then brought together in order to discover common themes and issues. To assist with this combined-case process Bourdieu's analytical framework was employed.

3.5.ii Applying a Bourdieusian lens to create a combined-case analysis

The thematic maps provided a description of individual schools' interpretation of inclusion and a thematic analysis of it. To analyse this further, and to gain a combined-case perspective, Bourdieu's analytic framework was used. The intention was to understand how his concepts (particularly field, habitus, capital and misrecognition and symbolic violence) provide a means of looking beyond the thematic analyses to consider the power relationships which have brought about understandings and practices of inclusion. In this sense his analytic framework helps to unearth common issues and themes.

Each school was considered as a field to be analysed in order to ascertain how meaning emanates from the structuring of fields of power and the dispositions of agents. In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* Bourdieu describes how to analyse field through thinking of it in terms of three levels :

- 1. Analyse the positions of the field vis-à-vis the field of power.*
- 2. Map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the social agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which this field is a site.*

3. *Analyse the habitus of social agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalising a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find in a definite trajectory within a field ... a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualised.*

(ibid : p.104-5)

For the purposes of this study these three levels provide a clear basis for the positioning and analysis of data. Each will now be briefly considered in the context of this research.

Level one engages with the macro territory of the political and economic systems of current society. Here the purposes and expectations of an education system are constructed, and in so doing what is to be valued and seen to be legitimate determined. This implies consideration of generalised policy statements about inclusion (in the context of both standards and diversity discourses) in order to clarify current expectations of schools. In particular this level refers to this study's focus on post-welfarist interpretations of inclusion, particularly at a time of austerity. This provides the legitimised heteronomous policy context in which schools seek their own interpretation of inclusion.

Level two's focus is on the meso level of the school, which exists within this political and economic power context, but also has some autonomous

power in organising children's learning. Its focus is thus on the forms of legitimated knowledge (the standards discourse) and how its narratives have produced 'an obviousness, a common sense' (Ball, 2007, p.1) to which schools are held accountable. But schools also seek other forms of more localised legitimation – through their relationships with parents/carers and the wider community (to whom they are more locally accountable), and through the capacity of staff (particularly school leaders) to construct their own principles upon which inclusion is based. This positions the school between heteronomous and localised forces, and implies that the analysis of data here should focus on how schools manage this power context. This further implies considering how schools locally respond to heteronomous policies, and the impact this has on their capacity to become autonomous.

Level three considers the habitus of agents and the dispositions that it embodies. Analysis here questions how habituses have come to be constructed, and the power structures that exist within a field which have enabled this. The relationship between the habitus and field is central to this thesis and its methodology for it is a fundamental of inclusion. Mapping the fields and their hegemony, and the dispositions necessary in order to gain access to them and accrue capital, is an essential part of this analysis.

Bourdieu exhorts researchers to consider all three levels overlapping together in order to better understand the relationship between habitus and

field within the setting being researched. He sees them as integrated, both in the form of a research tool in conducting the research, and as a means of interpreting its findings. They demand of researchers that they deconstruct the research object and that they think 'relationally' (Grenfell and James, 1998) about the connections of habitus and field, and the positioning of informants within a field of power.

Kvale (1996, p.205) stated that 'analysis is not an isolated stage', that it provides a conceptual platform from which further argument can be constructed. In the case of this research the thematic analysis leads to a Bourdieusian analysis from which deeper insights can be formed from combining together the themes that emerge from the three case-study schools. This allows for an over-layering of the themes with a depth of analysis of power relationships which assists in creating greater understandings of how schools have come to understand and practise inclusion in the ways that they do.

This Bourdieusian analysis became a central part of the combined-case analysis, resulting in the 'mapping' of schools against his framework. These inclusive conceptual landscapes showed how each school had positioned itself in terms of its relating to the two discourses of inclusion, building on the thematic analysis of Stages 1 and 2. From these 'maps' and the themes that

lay behind them, generalised themes could be explored which were common to all three case-study schools, and which could have a wider significance.

3.6 Overview

This chapter outlines the design of a research approach to investigating the conceptualisation and realisation of inclusion in some case school settings. This demands an approach which treats each individual interpretation of inclusion as distinctive phenomena. The study has adopted a case study approach and used mixed methods through which data has been gathered. From this position, a Bourdieusian methodological framework has provided a means of exploring the complexity of the case settings and effectively analysing data, enabling an interpretation of meanings of inclusion and their construction. Thus the research shifts from descriptions of data collected to their significance and meaning within the case settings. It is from this that a more generalised argument about the underpinning discourses about inclusion can be drawn.

The following chapter describes the findings that emerge from the data collected in each case setting. The data has been ordered around the study's research questions as outlined above, and themes identified. The chapter then concludes with an analysis of this data based upon the themes that emerge from it before discussing conclusions about the relationships between the dominant discourses about inclusion in Chapter Five.

Chapter 4 : Findings from the data

4.1 Introduction

Chapter three discussed the methods used in the three case school settings. From them data was collected data – visual (photographs), oral (interviews) and written (school documents). The chapter also outlined the processes involved in the analysis of this data, particularly thematic analysis which is the focus of the first part of this chapter where the themes that arise from the data for each school are analysed. Towards the end of this chapter a Bourdieusian analytical framework is used as part of a combined-case analysis.

It is the function of the first part of this chapter to present the findings from each case school in turn as they relate to the study's research questions. This is carried out in a descriptive manner followed by an analysis of this data - to consider how language (oral and visual) is constitutive of meaning, and show how that meaning (about inclusion) is socially determined within social contexts and is founded upon experience. This chapter thus moves from describing data to its interpretation.

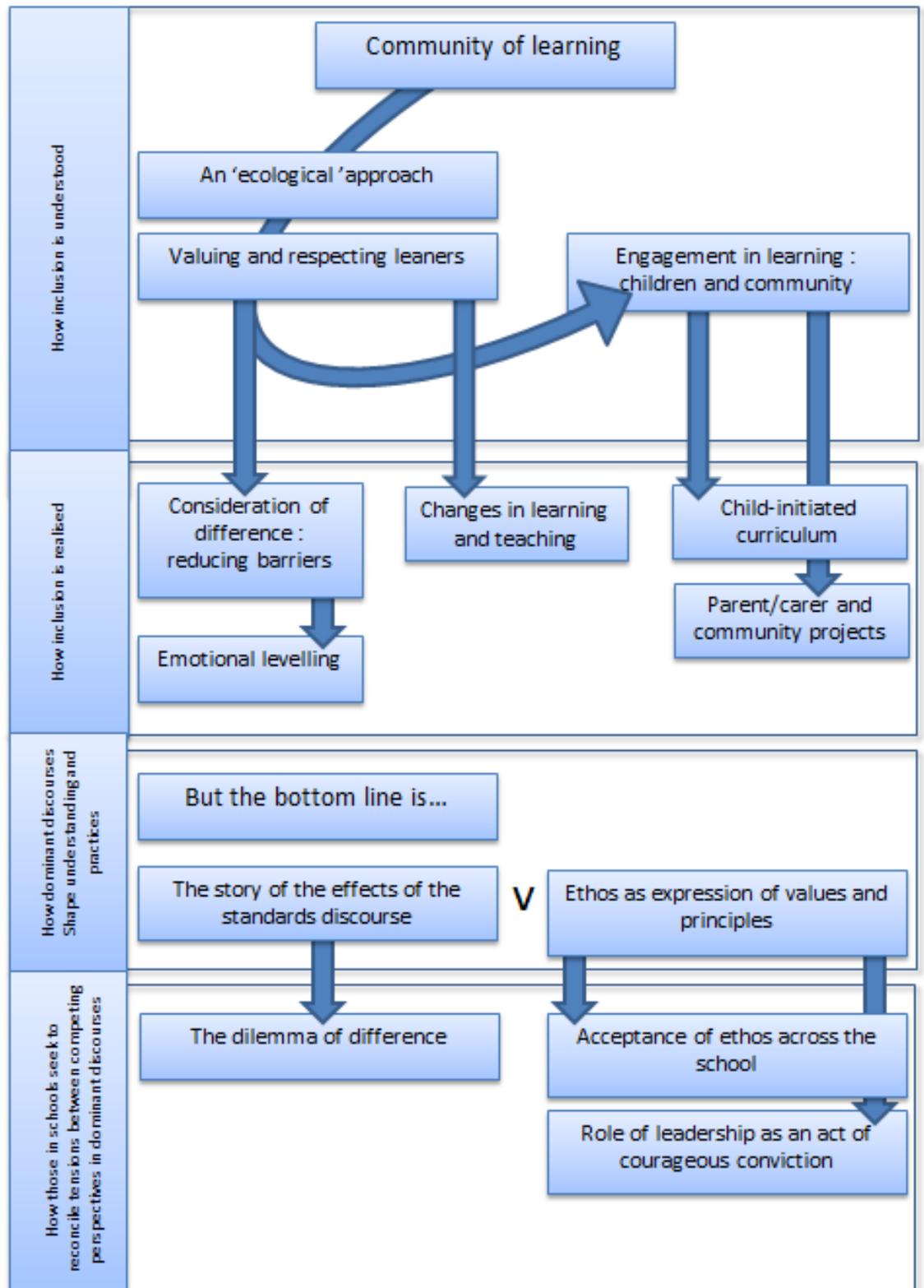


Figure 26 : Outline of the main themes from findings of Blackdown Infants School

4.2 Case Study 1 : Blackdown Infants School

4.2.i Introduction

In the collation of data to find answers to the research questions as they relate to Blackdown Infants School, a thematic map (see 3.5.i) was drawn up which positions themes that emerged from the thematic analysis (figure 26 above). These were based on three key concepts :

- that children should be seen as the central figures within a community of learning that extends to and engages parents/carers and families and beyond to the wider community. This raises the profile of learning, gifting it respect and status,
- that the categorisations that articulate difference need to be rethought in order to prevent the positioning of children and the emotive states that accompany this.
- that the role of school leaders is critical in determining approaches to inclusion.

These will now be explored in more detail under the headings of the research questions.

4.2.ii How inclusion is understood

Engagement in learning : children and community

The school had been criticised by Ofsted and the Local Authority for its poor attainment some five years ago. In seeking reasons for this George

(headteacher) recognised that the cause was not only a disconnect between the children and the curriculum, but also one which had led to parents/carers and the wider community neither engaging with nor being supportive of the school and their children's learning. This served to separate educative roles of community, family and school, and also led to an 'alienation' of school and a sense of families 'handing over' their children to the school for 'proper learning'. George argued that the extent of 'social deprivation' within the town created a culture which distanced itself from schooling and learning. In seeking ways of enabling children to become engaged with and included into the processes of learning he developed 'the vision' which he defined as 'develop[ing] a community of learning in the broadest sense'. The ambition behind it was to engage families and the community in learning, revitalising it in order that it might rise in value (capital) within the community, resulting in a reduction in the disconnection that children had shown towards school learning, and a by-product of this would be an increase in attainment. He defined this as a 'community of learning'.

The development of a community of learning caused the school to reassess the values that underpinned its relationship with a wider learning community. One of the starting points for this reassessment was each child's right to education : 'It's everybody's right to have access to the curriculum – everyone, despite needs' (Emily, TA). This was also echoed by Harriet (teacher) :

They come through those doors and they have every right to the best education that we can provide. Regardless of the barriers that they have, ... they still have every right, the basic human right to the best education we can provide for them.

This placed upon the school the task of self-examination in order to explore how the disconnect between it and the children (and the wider community) worked against the fulfilment of this right by excluding children. A key event here was a training day with the theme of *'Why do we do what we do, like we do? : Learning and how we and children learn'* aimed at placing the child 'at the centre' (George, headteacher) rather than the curriculum. The day enabled staff to consider learning from a child's perspective and did much to reconstruct their approach (conceptually and in practice) to learning and teaching. At a time when the school was under pressure to improve standards this would seem a courageous venture, implying a break with the more conventional and formal approaches described in the National Curriculum guidance and Ofsted Framework.

At its heart lay a reappraisal of the value given to children as learners, which led to a shift away from children's largely passive acceptance of curriculum knowledge and skills 'delivered' by teaching staff to one which actively engaged them with learning. This was revealed in the initial meeting with staff who (in small groups) were tasked with writing a definition of

inclusion (the means by which children became engaged with learning). Several prioritised the valuing of children in order to create dispositions which would promote their access to learning; for example ‘...to value everyone equally and to enable all children to access learning’. Such statements considered the valuing of children and their real world to be the means to learning ends, and, as such, replaced the disconnect that had been evident before. The staff extended this notion further in constructing a notion of a wider community of learning. The training day also considered the disconnect between the school and the wider local community of parents/carers and beyond and how this had established mutual distrust and misunderstandings (Bourdieuian misrecognitions). It embarked upon strategies (considered below) which would engage this community and re-establish trust, working to create common understandings about the importance of education and learning as life-long activities. This reaffirmation established a community of learning – an ecology in which learning was valued as a right for all, and the school was given ‘friendly’ status as a key provider, sympathetic to this community.

This was no easy task, for it demanded of staff that their work move away from the formal and planned delivery of prescribed curriculum teaching to a vaguer, more child-initiated approach within an educationally enlivened wider community. This shift was clearly shown in the 12 card exercise carried out with staff at the initial meeting. Staff produced seven posters which were

the products of the groups' discussions about the meaning of inclusion. From these posters it was apparent that particular statements were thought significant as either essential or of least importance in defining inclusion (figure 27; an exemplar poster shown in figure 28).

Least important	Most important
<p>1. <i>Inclusion is about getting as many children as possible to age related norms. It is a means to higher standards.</i></p>	<p>4. <i>Inclusion is about ensuring that all necessary arrangements are in place to enable ease of access.</i></p>
<p>5. <i>Inclusion is about 'sheltering' children with needs while we focus on 'mainstream' children.</i></p>	<p>8. <i>Inclusion is something that should pervade the ethos of the whole school, reaching out to the way we consider parents, and other members of staff.</i></p>
<p>6. <i>Inclusion inevitably means that we focus attention on differences between children and in this way it is, paradoxically, divisive.</i></p>	<p>9. <i>Inclusion is about creating a sense of a community in which all are respected, and all contribute, and in which children understand the needs of others.</i></p>
	<p>11. <i>Inclusion is about enabling all children to access learning – which is their human right.</i></p>

Figure 27 : Table showing least important and most important statements from the '12 card exercise'

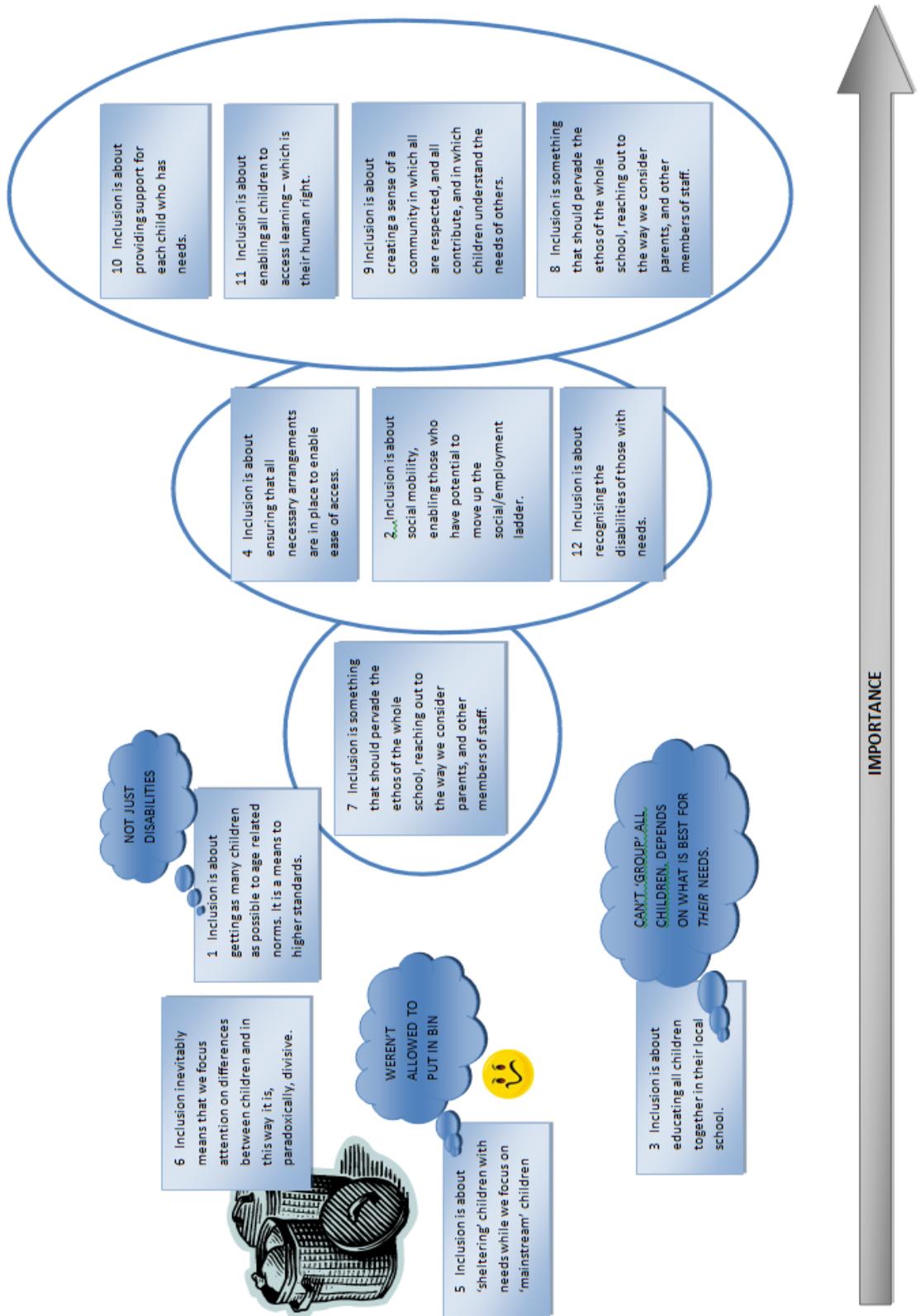


Figure 28 : One of the posters from the '12 card exercise'

Staff expressed their dislike of the divisiveness of inclusion – that the inclusion of some signifies the exclusion of others – and reconfirmed their emphasis on the sense in which inclusion embraced all children in learning, as their right. Harriet (teacher) stated that this emerged from a strong, fundamental ethos :

If you look around I think, as a school, the environment is very positive for all children. ... I think the whole school has developed around that ethos of no matter what, all children can take part in all activities. And they do.

This further demonstrates the strength with which staff considered the standards and diversity discourses of inclusion to be positioned as polarised arguments. Staff saw that a key responsibility was ensuring the access of all children to learning, and the construction of a community of learning into which all were included.

Their concern was more with creating positive dispositions to learning than with the learning of curriculum content. Here there was a sense in which such positioning could be interpreted as being doxic – based upon a common sense which was un-rigorous. An example was a photograph taken by Liz (TA) of a child with a physical impairment. She stated that this child's acceptance by other children 'allows Bobby to get on with being a child'. Such statements could be seen as confining inclusion to doxic slogans which hide more

complex issues and understandings around how children are positioned within the school. This will be explored below in the context of how inclusion, based upon these understandings, is seen in practice.

4.2.iii How inclusion is realised

'Emotional levelling'

To come back to the root of why we started it all is that it's poor standards, and we come back to the point of if the children are not emotionally level, then actually, they're not going to learn. So until we get them to that point – that's the reason for involving parents, that's the reason for involving community, that's the reason for all that.

(George, headteacher)

To engage with the community of learning, not only did the school have to construct an environment that was welcoming of and accessible to children, but the children themselves needed to have the dispositions (learning and emotional) which would enable them to do so. In their defining of inclusion staff emphasised that it was about enabling children to access learning through the creation of a 'happy', 'safe', 'caring' 'respectful' environment/ethos. They stated that inclusion is :

- *...about developing, creating and maintaining an ethos which enables all children and adults to access learning in a safe, caring and respectful environment.*

- ...making sure everyone gets the same chances/choices in a safe, friendly environment.

George's (headteacher) connection between emotional well-being and engagement with learning was echoed by a staff group who stated that 'All children being happy in the school which enables them to do their best' was a strength of the school. Another spoke of the need to make children 'feel important' and to ensure that they 'have a sense of belonging within the school'.



Figure 29 : *Freddy's photograph of inclusion*

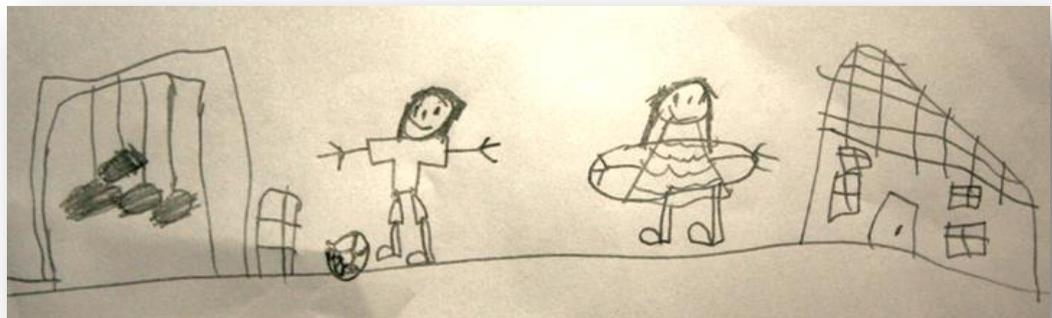
This was similarly recognised by the children who not only spoke of the school as a place where 'everybody is always happy', but also placed such comments

alongside a sense of belonging and inclusion. For example, Freddy saw 'being connected' as part of 'being happy' in school. He explained that in his photograph 'No one's left out. They're all holding hands – they're all being friends...'. Indeed, at the initial meeting with the children Megan and Florence drew pictures of smiling children in school because they showed

that 'It's a happy place where you get to see all your friends every day ... it's always good to come to school' (see figure 30).



Figure 30 : Megan and Florence's drawings of what they like about the school



In order to maintain an 'emotionally level' engagement with the community of learning the school actively constructed a community view of learning as a non-threatening activity with which its members could connect, causing it to reappraise its relationship with its community. Part of this process was to question how the

school was considering its community and to seek ways of establishing a more empathetic understanding in order to remove any apparent threat or confusion. An example was given by George about the ways in which parent/carers whose children were in the nursery were introduced to the school :

So what Brenda (head of foundation) would ... just wander in and just chat to the parents about registering their kids for nursery – “Come and have a look and see what we do...”. “I’ve never been to school since I was 15, I don’t want to go in there!”, “Just come and have a look – it’s OK”. We’d just leave the doors open and they’d have a little wander in, and their child would come in with them and start playing with some of the staff and the other children. And of course, surprise, surprise, it breaks down [the barriers and says]...this is an OK place to come. ...“ this feels safe here”. So then, of course, you can introduce the family learning and say, “Yes it’s school, but it’s OK”.

For children, emotional levelling implied a tension between maintaining their well-being within the school (as an ‘OK place to come’) and challenging their learning in order that it develops. Emily (TA) stated :

It’s just basing everything on each individual child to see what they need – to give them extra. Because some children will be quite happy to follow along the curriculum and do set things, but it’s just giving other people different tasks, making things more exciting, making more interesting,

so they can take on board all the things they need to learn in an interesting way. It's knowing the child... . That's the main thing – we have to know our children, if we don't we can't help them.

Indeed, Ofsted commented that '[The children] thoroughly enjoy learning and are very proud of their school' and that 'Relationships between pupils and staff are excellent. Learning takes place in a supportive, positive and caring atmosphere that successfully encourages pupils to share ideas and "have a go". Teachers have high expectations of pupils' behaviour and manage it exceptionally well' (Blackdown Infants, Ofsted Report, 2013). The report judges 'Pupils' behaviour is outstanding. Attitudes to learning are exemplary in lessons and this excellent behaviour contributes to their learning because it ensures that lessons can proceed with no interruptions... . The strong nurturing approach helps pupils to develop self-confidence and self-esteem and develop positive attitudes to learning'.

The community of learning in practice

Emerging from the development of teacher and learner relationships and the value given to children as learners was the setting up of a child-initiated curriculum, though with a caveat. George explained :

Basically we looked at what we were offering, and decided that, although it wasn't possible to offer a complete child-initiated curriculum, we would do as much as we possibly could towards it.



Figure 31 : *Maureen's picture of inclusion*

It led to children having time-tabled opportunities to both choose from a prescribed set of activities and to initiate their own learning. The prescribed

activities include cooking, French, music, multi-sports, supporting children in the nursery, DT, ITC and construction (small-world) activities. Maureen's (teacher) photograph shows an example of the child-initiated curriculum in action. She explained:

An aspect of this [learning] is that it's child initiated, and that they are valued equally. It's not, "Oh no, I planned this, and we're going to do this". The child will find something that they're interested in and the teacher will go ahead and pursue that, or the adult will go ahead and pursue that equally... We have structured time-tables, and you plan for child-initiated learning within your classroom. You allow a certain amount of time each afternoon for it - that's how it happens. When we start off a topic, rather than say, 'This is what you're going to learn' we say, 'What do we want to learn?' Then we all go off and find out about pirates, or whatever.

Ownership of learning was considered as a means of engaging and including children, improving their disposition to access curriculum learning. Norma (teacher) explained this further:

They do lead their own learning a lot of the time, yes. Sometimes they just take themselves off in a new direction, and you think, "Yes, they can do that!", or "Go and research that; go and find out"... . You don't say, 'I don't want you doing that!' It's good that he felt confident enough to show off what he knew – but he was leading his own learning, going off on a completely new way of doing it.

Staff felt that the child-initiated curriculum also contributed to children's 'emotional levelling'; Jane (teacher) commented that children often show 'joy and delight in their chosen activity'. The child- initiated curriculum has become a means of exciting children about and engaging them with learning, considering it as a relevant and important part of their lives :

... it's about the child's interests.. . We learn from each other and see what inspires the children, what they want to learn about – their perspective on things. Because if they can't link what we're teaching to real life they find it more difficult to take in. (Emily, TA)

This was reinforced by Ofsted who noted that :

- *The exciting curriculum ... extends pupils' interests and draws them into learning.*

(Blackdown Infants School, Ofsted Report, 2013)

Beyond a child-initiated curriculum, as part of the ecology of the community of learning, the school also developed closer engagement with the parents/carers and wider community. The initial impetus for this came from attempts to make the curriculum more exciting and interesting for children through the introduction of several initiatives, including the teaching of conversational French.

What was happening was that parents were stood [sic] out on the playground saying, "It's great these kids doing French, but ... they're coming home and they're talking to us in French. We don't know what's going on. Is there any chance you can do something about it?" So we did. We offered Family French, and we had 36 parents turn up. It was straight after school, and it was children and parents. So there were 70-odd people in the hall learning French, conversational French.

(George, headteacher)

Following the introduction of French lessons there were several such initiatives each focused on drawing families into the field of learning together, developing the concept that '[school] as an OK place to come'. This was extended into the wider 'town-community' through a mosaic project :

We did a mosaic project ...“My Town, My Place” which we did with the children during school time. [We also had] four Saturday workshops for adults on how to build a mosaic. We managed to persuade the artist that actually, because our ethos was always children and parent working together, it wouldn’t be adult only; it would be adult and child, and did she really mind if it happened to be 12, could we add a few more. And she said, “No, just go with the flow”. We had over 70 people turn up for the first session!

...The mosaic project then moved into the next level... . But actually there are now 17 mosaics across the whole town, all done by different groups. So Age Concern have done one, the Walking Group have done one, E2E Learning at the College has done one, the Homeless Project have got one, the local Scouts did one...So there’s now a trail of mosaics across the whole town. And it all started here, and it just evolved.

This project raised the profile of the school as ‘an OK place’ across the town encouraging a community engagement in learning and developing an ecology in which learning was valued.

Consideration of difference : reducing barriers

An essential ingredient of valuing learners was the willingness of the school to be accepting of the individuality of each child and to use this as a ‘starting point’ (George, headteacher) for their learning at school – that the

community of learning was inclusive of all children and the wider community. It thus saw the individuality of children as a positive, a perspective that staff tried not to diminish by considering how they might be different from others.

Emily (TA) stated :

The good thing about this school is we actually show children that just because someone is slightly different it doesn't mean that they stand out or that there's anything wrong with them. Because they're actually with people who are different every day – I can explain that some people are different (eye colour, hair colour, mobility issues) – everyone is different and that is just the way we are. And there's nothing wrong with that.



Figure 32 : *Claire's photograph of inclusion*

There were many examples of ways in which the community of learning sought to accommodate differences within children. These were articulated through staff's photographs

of inclusion, many of which showed groups of children playing/working together happily irrespective of differences in culture, gender, disability, etc. Claire's (teacher) photograph was typical; she commented 'All playing together. Which one is EAL?'

Children too were conscious of accepting difference. Zack said :

It doesn't matter that we're different because we've all got different names, but we're not all the same – haven't got the same faces or anything. We've got different names.

Although there were positive statements made about the recognition of difference, there remained tensions in how differences were managed. During interviews with staff it became apparent that some differences in children led to specific interventions/approaches by staff – speech and language disorders, for example – thus raising the dilemma of difference: the 'intention to treat all learners the same and an equal and opposite intention to treat them as different [based upon their distinct learning needs]' (Dyson, 2001). These became conflated in the desire to ensure 'it's everyone's right to have access to the curriculum – everyone, despite needs' (Emily, TA). Emily recognised that in not being able to access learning easily, some children might need additional support :

It's just basing everything on each individual child to see what they need – to give them extra. Because some children will be quite happy to follow along the curriculum and do set things, but it's just giving other people different tasks, making things more exciting, making more interesting, so they can take on board all the things they need to learn in an interesting way.

Harriet (teacher) recognised the dilemma :

... this is the dilemma isn't it. You either provide that so that the child has access to all or, if you don't provide that so that you don't highlight it then the child [will not access learning]... I think if it's for the good of the child then it has to happen... . Because if you don't, if we decide not to send children with speech and development problems to the speech therapist – which means they would be withdrawn from class to go and have speech (support) – but if we were to say, “No, our version of inclusion means that you don't leave this classroom for anything, or that they don't have TAs to support them if they have a disability”, then they're not getting what they are entitled too. I think it weighs it up too much to be quite honest.

Emily (TA) was insistent that her work in supporting a particular child was not to highlight the child's differences as 'special', but rather help to position him in an accepting community in order to access learning :

[Take them to] a separate little room... No, it's very inclusive here. ... as long as it's age appropriate and relevant to what they can do and their abilities then they join in. If they do have problems then, yes, they do have that extra one-to-one support, or if there is some behavioural issue they can go off to one side to have five minutes, or whatever they need, depending on their need to get them focused again. But they don't just

then go off to a different room and 'play' – they still carry on with the curriculum.

But when staff were asked if this implied a normalcy from which a child had somehow deviated, they became agitated. For example, Norma, teacher stated :

Normal' – that's not nice, 'normal'! no, because they've all got different qualities, haven't they. No I'm not trying to make them all 'normal'. I'm trying to promote his self-esteem, initially – he's now actually started speaking, which is brilliant... . So there was no IEP for him, or anything like that. There was just what I needed to do within my classroom now.

This was seen as a means to curriculum learning; that 'appropriate and relevant' separation was paradoxically a means to inclusion.

4.2.iv How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices in the case study schools?

The section above explored understandings and practices of inclusion in Blackdown Infants School. This next section will consider more specifically the interweaving of dominant discourses about inclusion and their reconciliation. In particular, the ways in which the diversity discourses as a means to standards discourse ends will be explored.

'But the bottom line is...': The standards story

Despite the 'strong nurturing approach' that Ofsted had noted, the school was also focused on the standards discourse. Harriet (teacher) stated '... but the bottom line is we have to ensure that we are in line with national measures. We've got to. Much as I love all this stuff – that is the bottom line'. Consequently, staff were conscious of the need to 'make sure the children are achieving their targets. Every night they go home with spelling, and every day they come in and tick whether they have practised it the previous night.' (Norma, teacher).

The back-story to the standards discourse began some seven years ago with substantial pressure being put on the school and a relatively newly appointed headteacher (George) to improve standards:

I was under a lot of pressure to do that, to be fair. If I was to tell you that the LA issued me with competency notice. I went through a very hard time with our LA. Because we'd been put into category, and they were concerned that we weren't addressing standards.

George placed the inclusion work of the school in the context of the difficulties the school was facing when he became headteacher :

My theory is – we were an Ofsted category school, we were taking 64% of our catchment – so quite a number of the parents were choosing to take their children out of [town] to the village schools round about.

Standards were poor, which was why we were in an underachieving category. We got put in almost as soon as I arrived, we had an Ofsted and we went in, probably about eight months after I'd been here. It was an absolute classic of an underachieving category school – because our results were poor, the curriculum we were offering was boring, children weren't engaged.

His intention was to radically change the teaching in the school in order that it shifted from being one in which 'literacy and numeracy hours were being done exactly how it said they needed to be done on the tin' and, indeed extra time was being given to these areas in order to remediate the children's poor attainments. He saw that this approach was not succeeding and that children were misbehaving because of their disengagement with this curriculum, with the consequential maintaining of low standards. As a new head he felt 'under pressure on the standards front but I was adamant that what was going to make a difference to the standards in the school was the quality of teaching – which meant that teachers needed to understand how children learnt'. The school embarked upon a set on initiatives and training which 'upped the skills base and the understanding and the reflective opportunities for staff to reflect on their practice and be professional about what they were doing' (George, headteacher). This resulted in the adopting of the community of learning approach, which, in terms of the standards discourse, has led to raised attainments :

When children start school in Nursery their skills are typically well below those expected for their age. By the time they leave at the end of Year 2, their attainment in reading, writing and mathematics is at the national average. This represents good progress from their starting points.

(Blackdown Infants, Ofsted Report, 2013)

Thus the relationship between the construction of a community of learning (in which children learn both acceptance of the individual differences of their peers and the importance of learning) – the diversity discourse – and the standards discourse can be seen to one of means and ends. The children were developing a two-fold disposition to learning; one which ensured their ‘emotional levelling’ and personal well-being as learners, and a second which advanced their specific skills and knowledge – the capacity for self-organisation and the ability to take personal responsibility for learning, as well as more specific elements of curriculum learning. The role of inclusion was to ensure that such dispositions are developed by all children in an environment that engages them all in personalised ways, and in which they feel happy and content as both learners and as members of that community. This was also supported by the ecological engagement of parents/carers and the wider community with the school, affirming the value of learning. But inclusion was also to employ these dispositions as a means to more formalised learning ends and to go on to support children (reduce barriers) in the attainment of this learning. This community of learning landscape is

expressed in figure 33 which shows the two pathways of personal well-being ('emotional levelling') and curriculum learning.

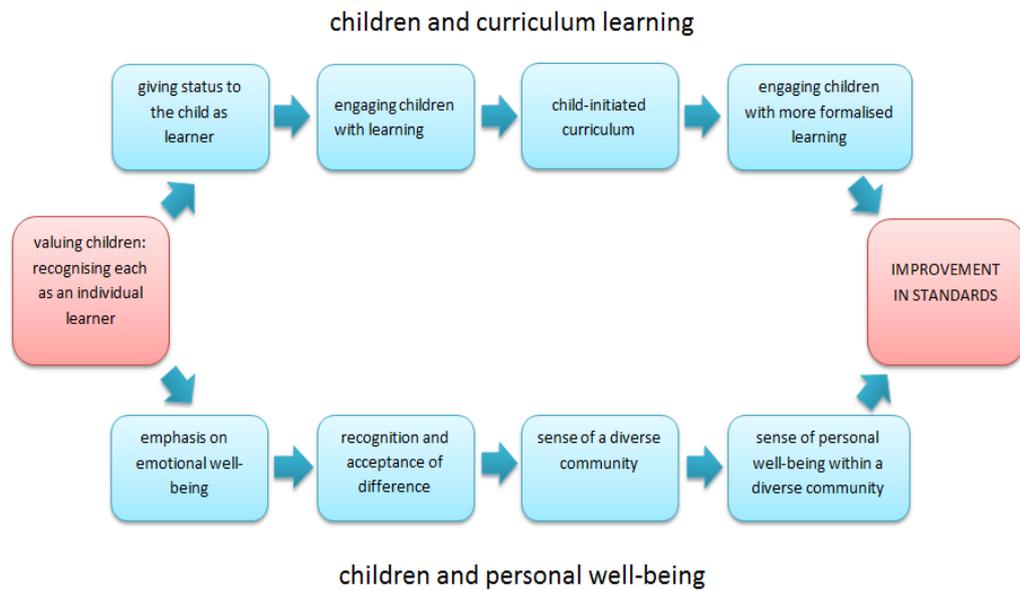


Figure 33 : *Model of community of learning in Blackdown Infants*

The extent to which the entirety of this map is perceived, however, is dependent upon the field in which the individual observer is positioned and how this might restrict or expand the view across this landscape. It was evident that some staff (and children) had a narrower perspective and saw inclusion into the community of learning as an end in itself, and that applying this process to all children was an essential part of their responsibilities.

However, George (headteacher) considered this in a wider, accountability context as the means to achieving standards-driven ends. Whilst, along with staff and children, he was content with the emphasis upon

the immediate community of learning, he also had the responsibility of ensuring that the external measures, by which the school was held accountable, were met. There was a sense in which such sentiments were (for those with a less than complete understanding of the territory) a doxic common-sense about the way the school's approaches to learning functioned; an unquestioned acceptance of discretely understood values which determined practice. As such, ethos, including qualities such as happiness, caring and safety, became an end in itself rather than the means to further learning. A consequence of this was the differences in the capital that was perceived to be of worth from each stand-point. The relative narrowness of the children's perspective allowed them to consider 'happiness' as capital (and as an end in itself), while from a headteacher's point of view (which permitted the whole landscape to be brought into focus) this emotional levelling was seen as a means to learning ends which included curriculum learning (and its associated standards capital) for which he is held accountable. Between these two was a variety of other perspectives, the extent of each determined by the field in which the viewer was positioned. In turn, each individual perspective determined the observer's understanding of the school's practices and the ends to which they were aimed.

Position within fields of power also showed in the notion that 'Children and adults are valued equally', revealing that, behind it, there existed a

hegemony which retained the status and power of staff. For example, in discussing the basis of the child-initiated curriculum, Norma (teacher) stated :

I think they obviously know who's in charge. They do know who's in charge. But both are valuedI think you set those boundaries with the children. We always start off the term by setting our class rules together, anyway. The children lead that, obviously with my guidance. To make the classroom and the whole school a happy, learning place, they've got to know what the rules are.

The notion of an equally balanced relationship between teacher and child was further put into question by Harriet (teacher) who stated 'we've got them to mould'. This suggests that any sense of power sharing has a clear end in mind and that the responsibility for its completion rests with the teacher.

Variations in understanding also posed some issues for the methodology of this research, the most significant of which was the positioning of children as sources of data. This was compounded by the young age of the children (between four and seven) and the practical difficulties within the school of spending time with the children (and building up their relationship with and trust of the researcher).

The effect of this has been to distort the balance within the triangulation of data. Data from children was out-weighted by that of staff and

the headteacher both in quantity and quality (limitations of time caused the data collection process with children to be concentrated into one afternoon). This had a significant effect upon the arrangements made with the other case study schools in which more time was spent with children, giving more opportunities to both clarify meaning and eradicate the distortions in the triangulation of data.

This chapter will now proceed to examine how the dominant discourses of standards and diversity have worked to shape understandings of inclusion.

4.2.v How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant post-welfarist discourses?

Having explored how position within a field of power affects the perspective and understanding of individuals, this section will now examine ways in which more generalised influences establish possibilities of reconciliation between discourses.

Acceptance of ethos across the school

The construction of a community of learning created a commonly understood (though doxic) sphere of the legitimisable within the school in which those who could lay claim to what was deemed to be legitimate for children to learn (school staff, parents/carers, for example) were largely harmonious. This was tempered, however, by the position and status (and the field of power in which he/she was situated) of the individual making this

claim for these determined the extent of his/her understanding. Those working in the school had also attempted to engage children within this sphere as legitimated organisers of (some of) their own learning. From this, Bourdieu's additional concept of the sphere of the arbitrary (the day-to-day practice of school) became legitimated, and a matter of significance with which all within the community of learning could engage.

The issue here, to follow Bourdieu's hierarchy of legitimacies, is the positioning of the Sphere of the Legitimate (centralised policies) and its relationship with the more localised spheres of the legitimisable and the arbitrary. The ecological approach of the community of learning focused on a supportive and sustaining environment/culture. It formed a principled framework which helped to position the school and could be seen to be an end in itself – a *Gemeinschaft*. On the other hand, in a wider context in which the school is placed alongside centralised frameworks and policies (the sphere of the legitimate) a more instrumental *Gesellschaft* operates in which the community of learning becomes a means to raising the attainments of children. Both these approaches use inclusion as a means to their achievement.

Between the two conceptual spheres (localised and centralised) George positioned himself as a 'gatekeeper', dealing with the standards discourse in relation to external, centralised policies and their requirements while at the

same time protecting the internal culture of the school. In managing the tensions between these spheres of legitimation George (headteacher) has shown his determination as a school leader to remain faithful to the notion of a 'principled' approach to inclusion (Ainscow et al., 2006).

Role of leadership as 'an act of courage'

George's determination was exemplified in his 'Policy about Being Sensible', actively encouraging staff to have a 'different perception' about their teaching which moved away from one that had been defined within a national curriculum context. He described a conversation with a teacher who was not happy with the effectiveness of teaching literacy in what was, then, a prescribed manner :

"Do you really enjoy teaching literacy for an hour and a half?" and "Is it really working?" "No – so why are you doing it?", "Well, we've been told we have to!"; "OK, well I'm telling you don't". ... So, I've never written it, but I would have a Policy of Being Sensible, we're doing this because it makes sense to do it, and actually it's going to make a difference to this community and these kids.

George expressed a determination to resolve issues around poor attainment through this approach despite it appearing to be unorthodox to governors :

I did have a couple of run-ins when I first arrived with governors who were saying, "This is very dramatic, we've not operated like this before with the literacy hour and all that sort of stuff". And I said, "Look, when I sat in interview I told you what I was doing and how it was going. And who did you appoint? You appointed me. ... So I believe that that's what you wanted me to do. So that's what I'm doing".

This was seen by Norma (teacher) as an 'act of courage' which provided the adoption of the community of learning approach and which also led to the raising of standards. George himself was very clear about his commitment to principles in the face of this pressure to improve standards :

We have to ... [focus on standards] otherwise I'm going to get my butt kicked, therefore I'll do it. But I'll do it up to where I have to, and that's been my policy all the way through.

In the school's facing up to the challenge of the standards discourse it sought an ethical answer in the notion of the community of learning. The principles of inclusion at work within the school were accepting and tolerant of difference whilst, at the same time, were working to promote curriculum learning for all children. This tension has positioned the school as a localised sphere of legitimacy – the dominant influence in defining the processes of learning. From this position it is still accountable to a centralised sphere of legitimacy that is the standards discourse. The school thus straddles the space

between the community of learning and this discourse. But it is the gatekeeping role of George (headteacher) in particular that protects the school's community of learning from the effects of a standards discourse, enabling it to focus on engagement of children in learning as a means to enhancing their capability to access learning, including curriculum learning. The generic nature of this learning was seen as 'life-long' (George, headteacher), a disposition to learning that would provide the long-term means to access many types of learning, including (in the shorter-term) curriculum learning.

4.3 Case Study 2 : Albert Street Primary School

4.3.i Introduction

From an examination of the data gathered about Albert Street Primary School a thematic map (figure 34) was compiled using the four research questions as a means of sorting and positioning data. The key themes that it articulates are :

- that the tolerance of difference in children has to be placed against the school responsibility to develop curriculum learning.
- That leadership has to be a 'shaper' of inclusion.

It is these and the landscape represented by this map that this chapter will now explore.

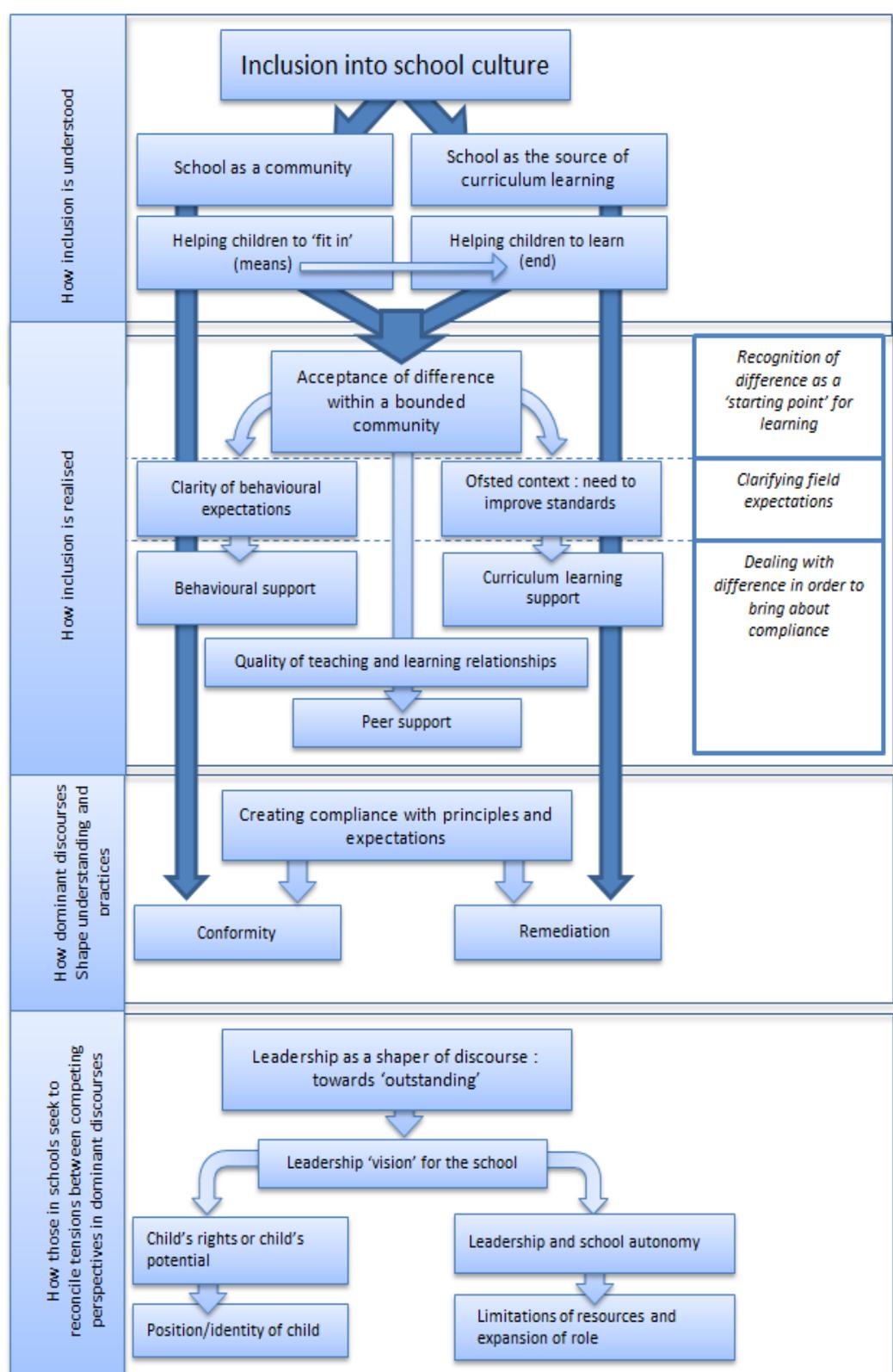


Figure 34 : Outline of the main themes from findings of Albert Street Primary School

4. 3.ii How inclusion is understood

School as a community – v – school as a source of curriculum learning

The '12 card exercise' carried out with staff at the staff meeting revealed a two dimensional view of inclusion – the sense of a community, of which children needed to feel a part, and accessing learning. Figure 35 shows the statements considered to be most and least important by the seven groups of staff that took part.

Least important	Most important
<p><i>1. Inclusion is about getting as many children as possible to age related norms. It is a means to higher standards.</i></p>	<p><i>1. Inclusion is something that should pervade the ethos of the whole school, reaching out to the way we consider parents, and other members of staff.</i></p>
<p><i>5. Inclusion is about 'sheltering' children with needs while we focus on 'mainstream' children</i></p>	<p><i>2. Inclusion is about creating a sense of a community in which all are respected, and all contribute, and in which children understand the needs of others.</i></p>
<p><i>6. Inclusion inevitably means that we focus attention on differences between children and in this way it is, paradoxically, divisive.</i></p>	<p><i>11. Inclusion is about enabling all children to access learning – which is their human right.</i></p>

Figure 35 : Table showing least important and most important statements from the '12 card exercise

There was a strong emphasis on creating a sense of community in which diversity was respected as a means of providing opportunities for all children to access learning. One group of staff defined inclusion as 'providing/developing an environment in which individual learners are valued and supported to achieve and contribute as an integral part of the learning community and beyond'; a second group elaborated on this stance :

Inclusion is :

- *Respect for diversity*
- *Access of opportunity, regardless of gender, age, race, sexuality, socio-economic background, ability, religion*
- *Giving people the best opportunity to develop educationally, spiritually, socially, emotionally, morally*

Community was thus considered as a means of providing opportunities to enable all children to 'feel accepted as themselves within their community', to be 'valued', and from this position to grow in confidence and self-esteem within it. This was seen as a set of essential dispositions (habitus) from which learning could be accessed. For example, one staff group stated :

Inclusion is about all individuals feeling part of a community where they are valued, able to reach their potential and shine and be respected as an individual. It is about being given the opportunity to learn in their own unique way.

In essence the community being referred to was a 'learning community' and inclusion was seen as a quest to find ways to engage as many children as possible with it. Entry into this community equipped children with qualities that enabled them to access the opportunities for learning that it provided and for then gaining capital perceived as being of value.

This was seen as a process so significant in creating a 'bed-rock' upon which learning could be 'built' that it, at times, seemed to be an end in itself.

The tension here is between the recognition and tolerance of the individuality of each child, and the need for children to conform to the demands (and values) of that community and its expectations of learning. This tension will now be considered in the context of the school's inclusive practice.

4.3.iii How inclusion is realised

Accepting difference, but within boundaries

Staff recognised that the construction of a successful community demanded that its members be both aware and tolerant of difference – that intolerance of difference imposes boundaries of inclusion/exclusion and works against a wider community boundary horizon. Simone (Y4) summed this up : 'we're not different with each other because we all go to the same school and it don't matter what we look like, and we still, like, play and let people join in with our games'. Natasha (Inclusion Manager) referred to a

'commonality between us – no matter what our age, nationality, language, religion, etcetera'.



Figure 36 : *Sukhvinder's photograph of inclusion*

Children expressed empathetic understanding of others : 'We're from different countries. It just doesn't matter because how would we like it if we were "dumped" because

we came from different countries ... it's no difference'. Sukhvinder (Y2) took a photograph of Maria who had recently arrived from Greece. She was with Deni who was 'helping her to get used to things, showing her what we do at school and helping her to understand English'.

Acceptance and tolerance of difference stemmed from an understanding of others as individuals. This understanding was summed up by Jimmy (Y5) who spoke about a child whose behaviour sometimes caused disruptions in his class: 'I think she's the same as any other child but she's just got difficulties. If she hadn't got difficulties she'd be exactly the same. She'd be able to learn the same, do the same...'

There were two dimensions to the school's sense of community :

- that those children, whatever their differences might appear to be, were actively welcomed into the school community and felt a part of it. This was echoed by Ofsted who, in their 2011 report, referred to :
‘The unswerving commitment of all the staff to treat each pupil as an individual means that all are enabled to be included in all the school has to offer. This also results in pupils feeling very safe and free from discrimination’.
- that children were actively encouraged to ‘fit in’ (Tracy, TA) with the community, and to acquire a habitus that would position them in it and allow them to accumulate its capital.

The tolerance of individual differences between children was pivotal to the acceptance of all children into the learning community to the extent that more negative engagement would demand interventions in order to redirect children towards the positive – whether this was a child’s difficulty in complying with social/behavioural or learning expectations. The school attempted to discourage divergence from, and construct conformity/compliance with these expectations through a number of strategies :

- ***Clarity of rules***

In a Bourdieusian sense, this ‘learning community’ was a field of power within which there were expectations of behaviour which were clearly

articulated to children. For example, Jimmy (Y5) stated that ‘We have assemblies about friendship – about including people. We’ve got one now about bullying, ‘cos people have been bullied in the past. And we’re trying to stop it and we’re trying to make everyone be friends... They’re basically telling us not to be mean to each other, how to behave in school’. Sarah (Y4) stated that ‘when you go into Reception your first full day in this school is how people are different from us and how it don’t matter what they look like, or anything. So everyone learns this in Reception and it goes all the way up to Y6 – when you should know better’. Within the community there were strata of power with staff being seen as decision-makers (‘there are rules ..., they were made by the whole staff, teachers’ (Alex, Y5)). Jane (headteacher) explained that the code of behaviour was taught ‘explicitly and implicitly’ – by direct teaching and by modelling by staff.

- ***Creating compliance (community)***

It was evident that not only was there a clarity about expectations of behaviour, but also a further expectation that all members of the community (staff and children) together would be supportive of others who might have difficulty in becoming included in the school community. Sarah (Y4) gave an example of peer support :

Like, this girl in our school, in Reception, she don’t know how to speak one bit of English, she can’t understand you. We don’t understand her,

but she don't speak. People in her old school were very mean to her, and made fun of how she talked and what her voice was like. So instead of being mean, we be nice to Danielle and she speaks more in school now. Like Mia in Y3, she never spoke and she speaks now.



Figure 37 :Tracy's photograph of inclusion:
Sunshine Group

Elsewhere, staff were also committed to supporting individual children to gain entry to the school community. The Sunshine Group (figure 37) is for

children who have found making 'relationships with adults and each other' difficult. Tracy (TA), who took this photograph, described the group as a place where there is a 'safe, supportive environment where every child feels valued and included' and where children make 'significant progress' in 'social and emotional development, communication skills and self-esteem'.

Children practised skills that promote their inclusion into the school community in a safe haven which paradoxically excludes in order to include :

We are [separating children out] but I think it enables them to be more included in the classroom when they are in it, because of the skills they

learn when they are there, and the practice of them that they can do in a smaller group with two adults that they know and can trust. I think it's really important and it's stunning really watching some of the children change and develop in confidence.

This dilemma of difference (treating all children the same or differently) was reduced to a focus upon children's individual differences in order that interventions might be introduced to bring about 'progress and improvements' (Tracy). But 'Make them the same as everybody else! That's definitely not what I do!' Natasha (Inclusion Manager) did not like the idea that this type of intervention might lead to children's attaining expectations embodied in 'normalcy' : 'Kicking them up into normalcy? What is normal? It's kidding yourself that you're living in Cloud Cuckoo Land! No!'

It was evident, however, that children were being taught how to comply with behavioural expectations in order that they could gain access to the learning community and the opportunities that it provides. For example, Jane (headteacher) had been involved with Lilly (Y5) who had been very disruptive at the start of the morning and verbally abusive to a TA who was supporting her. Lilly was in an adjacent room during the research data collection interview and sounds of her continuing anger could be heard. Towards the end of the interview Jane called Lilly into her office and tried to calm her down. She reminded Lilly of the school's 'Golden Rules' at which point Lilly

became verbally abusive. Jane again calmed her down, asking Lilly 'So, what do you think would be a good thing to do before you go back to the classroom, so that we're really sure that you understand why you've had to have time out this morning? What do you think you need to do?' Lilly responded angrily and Jane calmed her down again: 'You were very angry with me then, weren't you? Look at me Lilly. I don't like people speaking to me that way, when you say, "Get off!" – That's not being gentle and not hurting. That's hurt my feelings. You need to think about how you speak to other people, Lilly, otherwise you won't be going back to the classroom'.

Lilly was a member of the school community but her differences from its habitus challenged her place within it. Jane, and other members of staff, were actively working to support her in maintaining membership in order that she became sufficiently compliant to enable her to become integrated in order to continue to engage with curriculum learning. Tracy (TA) had interpreted this as :

It is fitting in, it's not about changing people's individuality or trying to make them be something that they're not. It's just about giving the children the skills that they need to fit in and to communicate and be a part of a class and a school, because this is one of the skills you need for life, isn't it. If they can start practising it now, then the better really.

There was optimism that compliance could be achieved through behaviourist teaching, a process which involved children understanding the requirements of the habitus needed to be included in a field of school learning. Optimism too, lay in the belief that during this process, children's individuality would be retained and that the school's inclusive boundary would be sufficiently wide to enable children to find identity within it.

- ***Creating compliance (curriculum learning)***



Figure 38 : *Jamie's photograph of inclusion*

Jamie's (Y6) photograph (figure 38) was typical of many of those taken by children (10 out of 13) in its focus on inclusion being a means of engaging children with curriculum learning.

Typically it shows children who find learning difficult being supported by staff during lessons or individually outside of the classroom. Jamie described this support : 'Well, if we've got our hand up they'll come and help us. We have lower tables and the lower tables in maths will always have someone next to them. We'll have a teacher, like, shared between two tables, so if we put our hand up they'll come and help us'. Children were aware of the importance given by the school to all children's engaging with curriculum learning.

The sense of community was built upon to develop a peer support system within the class; Emma (Y5) explained :

... most kids have been here quite a long time, So they learn it along the way that the teachers like say to them, 'If you need help ask the person next to you, and if they don't know then put your hand up and ask the teacher'.

Staff and children were thus both involved in supporting the learning development of all children, creating a combined means of curriculum inclusion. Behind this, however, was the underlying primary importance of this learning, and the central importance of children's engagement with it.

Individual differences were thus recognised as fundamental elements in the make-up of each child - '[The teachers] know us as individuals, yeah. Mr. Davies understands me; he understands every child in our class. He knows how we get upset, or really emotional about things, how we react to other people saying horrible things. He knows us extremely well' (Jamie, Y6). When such differences challenged the values and expectations that exist within the field of power of the school, actions were taken to bring about compliance, and hence inclusion. Intervention programmes and support for both curriculum learning and for children's behaviour and social competences were aimed at compliance with learning community expectations. The context in which this occurred, though tolerant of difference, had the

expectation of compliance and this was reinforced by a clarity of what those expectations were.

The tension here was between the two 'fronts' upon which compliance was focused, and the interaction and connections of one with the other. The social, community and the curriculum learning dimensions were evident features of inclusion, both at the conceptual and practical levels, and worked to create understandings of expectations of appropriate behaviours in order that learning could occur. It is this relationship that this chapter will now go on to explore for within it lies the interaction between the dominant discourses of inclusion which this thesis is considering.

4.3.iv How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices in the case study schools?

Creating compliance

Particular dispositions (habitus) were seen as an essential precursor to curriculum learning. The school actively engaged with children in helping them to acquire these dispositions, and to construct the habitus without which they would find curriculum learning difficult and might also disrupt the curriculum learning of others. Compliance at this level was therefore crucial for effective learning, enabling children to learn (and be taught) the qualities that are adumbrated in the expectations of the school culture and without which inclusion into curriculum learning is inhibited.

The relationship between acquiring dispositions and accessing curriculum learning was thus hierarchical (figure 39) in that only with the appropriate dispositions could a child move on to curriculum learning. It was evident that these dispositions included not only socialisation skills in order for children to gain acceptance within the school community, but also positive attitudes towards learning. They were the embodiment of the habitus demanded by a strong school field whose clarity of its expectations (centred on curriculum learning) created a power presence which demanded the compliance of children.



Figure 39 : *The relationship between acquiring dispositions and curriculum learning*

Those interviewed who held senior management positions confirmed the means and ends relationships of habitus and learning, and the imperative of ensuring that children's dispositions led to the school's meeting Ofsted (standards) requirements. Natasha (Inclusion Manager) stated :

There is nothing you can do about those figures. You can explain them – but it doesn't show up on a graph. You would be inhuman if you didn't think, 'Oh my goodness, what's that going to do to our figures?', because, again, [this] put us under additional pressure because it shows that we haven't made what we should have made, and so you kind of go round in a vicious circle – you haven't made it, now we have to do this to you; you haven't made it so we have to push you up a bit.

Ultimately compliance was governed by the children's attaining required standards of curriculum learning, by which the school would be judged. This had led Jane (headteacher) to consider the 'barriers' that inhibit this :

One of the difficulties or barriers that I need to overcome ... is that some of the children aren't able to articulate, as well as perhaps other children in other catchment areas, a vision for the school or for their learning.

One of the things we have to try to inspire in some of our children is some aspirations. Sadly, one of our children who'd been in Y2, last week said to his teacher that when he grows up he wants to become a criminal. Well, if that's the kind of aspiration that you're dealing with then it's quite difficult for those kind of children to think about how might they improve their learning and the school. So that's the job we

have to do. I take responsibility for that – it's something that perhaps we need to work on more with them so that they're given the vocabulary.



Figure 40 : Jane's photograph of inclusion 41

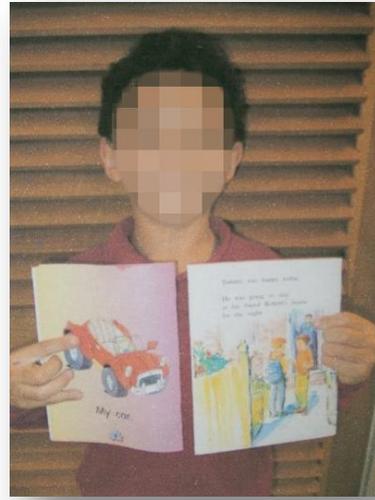


Figure 41 : Brenda's photograph of inclusion 40

To create this vocabulary, and the values that underpin it, Jane (who had taken 28 photographs to illustrate inclusion within the school) chose a photograph (figure 40) which shows how 'every child "graduates" [from Albert Street Primary School] with a lovely celebration of the time with us'. The intention was to affirm both the positiveness of each child's learning and also to position it as part of a continuum of learning. In doing so Jane felt that the school was tackling the low educational aspirations of its community through public demonstrations of compliance with the processes of education.

Brenda's (teacher) photograph (figure 41) shows the impact of "'before" and "after" of 22 weeks of daily personalised 1:1 reading support' illustrated

by the level of reading book the child can now read. Brenda went on to state that 'I chose this as an example of inclusion because children who cannot read are excluded from so much of the curriculum'. Staff often referred to 'intervention' as a means of enabling inclusion into curriculum learning and compliance with its expectations, for example :

There are ... interventions, which tend to be on the emotional, social interventions, which you can't measure. But I strongly suspect, and I wouldn't be alone in that suspicion, that, for some children, those interventions just keep them at that level of functioning. So, if they didn't have that intervention they might find themselves in an exclusion situation, for instance... Some interventions will give that child a boost - and it will give them information, knowledge and skills which they've not already been able to gain. And having that opportunity to do it again - slowly, in their own time, with the right kind of teaching - will 'kick them up into normalcy', in inverted commas. That's great - some of the one-to-one work, some of the ECAR [Every Child a Reader] work, some of the ECAW [Every Child a Writer] work, some of the ECAT [Every Child a Talker] work - all those interventions, for some children, will work.

(Natasha, Inclusion Manager)

The fields of power, determined in Albert Street Primary School by performativity, positioned staff as dominant figures, able to impose a culture

of learning upon children and create means for them to adopt its ways and become compliant.

4.3.v How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant discourses?

Leadership as a shaper of discourse

McGinity (2015) refers to a 'modernising agenda which positions [headteachers] as CEOs' within a neoliberal corporatisation of the identity of school leaders. Central to this has been the decentralisation of the control of schools to more localised levels and the rise in headteacher autonomy, allowing headteachers scope within which to shape discourses as they are judged to relate to the particular school setting.

In relating this turn to inclusion, Thomas et al. (1998) state that 'Successful inclusive schools have a culture of acceptance articulated through leadership which is seen to be supportive of inclusion' (p.192). Albert Street Primary School was rated as 'outstanding' in its last two Ofsted inspections (2011 and 2015). The report from the last inspection states :

The executive headteacher, associate headteacher and other senior leaders, ably supported by governors, provide exceptionally skilful leadership. They ensure that all staff share, and are fully accountable for, the school's high aspirations for pupils' academic success and personal development. They strive continually to unearth new ways to

enhance the curriculum and to raise standards. Leaders set pupils challenging targets and ensure that these are met or exceeded.

(Albert Street Primary School, Ofsted Report, 2015)

Jane's 'vision' for the school was commonly (and doxically) accepted and her 'logic of leadership practice' (which comprises 'the set of moves that heads take in order to ensure that actors *within* the school also conform to the logic of the field' (Thomson, 2010, p.14, emphasis in original)) ensured that it was a driving force which led the school ever nearer to its attainment. In this Jane was recognised locally and nationally as a strong leader. She was an executive headteacher overseeing the work of Albert Street Primary and another primary school with which it is federated. She was a National Leader of Education. In this capacity she worked for the local authority as an associate learning improvement officer, giving support to schools that were judged 'Requiring improvement' or 'Satisfactory' at their most recent Ofsted inspection. The school was a designated National College Development School, in recognition of its work in training staff to undertake leadership positions.

Leadership and the rise of school autonomy

Thomson (2010) maps the active lobbying by headteachers for more autonomy, considering the ability to bring about its increase as an important quality in the current policy context. She portrays the sub-field of a school

operating within the larger field of schooling but being given direction through an increasingly autonomous logic of leadership practice.

Jane's logic of practice was aimed at uniting staff in a commonality of a shared vision for the school. Tracy (TA) stated : 'It's odd, isn't it. It's strange I think ... and very unique. I really do feel that we all sing from the same hymn sheet ... It starts at the office window'. Jane had worked to develop a common understanding through 'walking the walk as well as talking the talk' to the extent that Natasha stated : 'I think Jane has grown that [school culture], and I absolutely admire her for her vision and everything that she's done for the school'. Tracy (TA) said, 'I don't know how we have managed it. I guess it's just a combination of the right members of staff all believing in the same thing, or behaving in the same way – nothing kind of obvious. It's just there, underlying everything we do. It's valuing'.

Another of Jane's photographs was of a staff 'night out' which she financed from her work with visiting Chinese teachers. It was attended by the entire school staff and governors and showed 'How everyone is highly valued as part of our team'. This engages staff more in the underlying corporate principles of the school vision through 'a bit of a trade-off: yes, they work incredibly hard, but they are valued for the job they do' (Jane, headteacher). Jane also commented that 'You've got to have everybody buying into it: everybody has to buy into it, haven't they?'

The corporate autonomy of Albert Street Primary School has led it to reduce the competitive authorities that might inhabit the sphere of the legitimisable (see figure 3, p.84) – those that can lay claim to what it is legitimate for the school to hold as principles and practices. Little or no competition existed to challenge Jane’s authority. She dominated all other authorities, defining a clearly articulated and successful (in terms of standards/national discourse) set of values which also connected with the wider sphere of legitimacy – centralised government policies :

The government and economic fields require ... the school system to demonstrate on a global scale the national ‘capacity’ and legitimacy of government. External agents in other structurally dominant fields (government, economy) have acted in order to harness the schooling field to their needs ... via new forms of intervention, codification and steerage.

(Thomson, 2010, p.15)

That this national ‘steerage’ matches into the wider context of the field of schooling was recognised by both the positive comments by Ofsted and the local and national recognition given to Jane as school leader. She had accrued sufficient symbolic capital within the school to cause her to be able to play an increasing role in the field of schooling.

Imposition and adoption

The shaping of a discourse for Albert Street Primary School was built upon the external demands of the field of schooling and the sphere of the legitimate, and the corporatising of agents within the school, ensuring their compliance with the sphere of the legitimisable which was established by school leaders. The meeting of these two dimensions pin-points the intersection of the structure of the field of schooling and the agency of an autonomous headteacher, and reveals a Bourdieusian leadership 'game' in which the dominant rules are corporate, and through which professional identities become corporatised. It is at this point that habitus is constructed – the required habitus that facilitates inclusion into the micro-field of the school set in the influential macro-field of schooling.

It was evident that there was a clarity about what appropriate dispositions were necessary for children to possess, both in their behaviour and their approach to learning, and what interventions might be applied to generate their compliance. These were to be encouraged as opposed to the rejection of behaviours that continued children's veering away from dispositions that would facilitate attainment of learning expectations.

Jane (headteacher) stated that : 'My core values are about every child deserves an opportunity'. She had shown a determination to raise children's aspirations, and to enable them to see the potency of learning. The symbolic

capital of education was, therefore, essential for all children to accrue, and this would follow from compliance with the principles and values of the school. To achieve this, there was a need for a clear corporate understanding of what was to be taught by staff and learned by children. McGinity (2015) refers to the mechanisms of 'imposition' and 'adoption' as effective means of 'translating practices and dispositions from one field [the sphere of the legitimate] to another [the spheres of the legitimisable and the arbitrary]' (p.12). There is a sense here of manipulation as children become commodified through the processes of corporatisation which Jane saw as part of the 'buying into' successful corporate values.

There were implications here for the positioning of the child within the school system. Tracy (TA) stated that the school places the child 'Right at the top of the list, definitely. Any decision, anything that happens, is about putting the children first. They're in the forefront of everyone's mind, I think'. She went, however, to develop this : 'I also think there's got to be a balance : we have a job to do and we do listen, but equally I think at some times we know best. And that's life, isn't it?' The school acted within the interests of the child, a stance which permits it to use its authority to impose principles and values and expect their adoption by children. In doing so, the school also enables children to engage with education and to fulfil their right to do so.

Children's rights v children's potential

Sellar (2015) posits that 'raising aspiration' has become a 'site of governmental intervention' (p.210) marking a shift from raising expectations.

This has caused a new social contract (Raco, 2009) in which :

*The Keynesian social contract in which citizens could **expect** to be supported in times of adversity has given way to an individual politics of **aspiration-building** in which individuals are to be liberated to pursue their innate and natural aspirations.*

(p.202, emphasis in original)

Raco places this new social contract within a macro-political culture which understands aspiration as 'the motor of entrepreneurialism' (ibid.). Jane's (headteacher) focus on raising children's aspirations exemplified this movement. Aspiration was seen as 'a source of economic value in its own right and not simply as a condition for participation in education' (ibid.). This future-orienting provided a context and a cause for the development of dispositions in children in Albert Street Primary School, towards a time when their 'potential' could be transformed into economic value.

Jane's concern was that all children should have the opportunity to move in this direction, and that this would generate greater social mobility. Her concern was for the right of children to access learning, and she saw the potential for this to happen present in all children at the school. Raising

aspiration was envisaged as a means of releasing the potential Jane saw in all children. Talent, aspiration and opportunity (Sellar, 2015) were key elements in the logic of her leadership practice, leading her to affirm that talent is constructed as an essential ingredient to potential (and needs to be positively recognised in all children) and that aspiration and opportunity are sites in which the school can also intervene to enable its realisation. The inclusive nature of this logic enabled all children to be seen to have talent in that they all possess at least a recognised minimum set of skills, abilities and knowledge which allows their entry into the field of formalised school learning. Jane had established in the school a series of interventions aimed at remediating deficiencies either in required learning or in required disposition in order to support children whose entry into this territory was inhibited. Raising aspiration and the provision of opportunities to learn then followed as further interventions helping each child move towards the fulfilment of his/her potential (as the school judged this to be).

Sellar (2015) distinguishes between weak and strong potential :

- Weak potential is ‘the set of actual capacities of a body that may be realised’. For example, a child who attained level 2 at the end of KS1 can be said to have the potential to attain level 4+ at KS2 because of the perceived actuality of the measures used. The child can

therefore be judged (from the KS1 level) to have the capacity to attain the projected level at KS2.

- Strong potential is ‘the capacity of a body to become other through processes of actualisation’ (p.206). This enters the realm of virtuality, as opposed to that of actuality, in which a child has within him/her a deeper range of possibilities only some of which will attain further actuality. New actualities constantly develop based upon their predecessors, but all are rooted in ‘the pressing crowd of incipencies and tendencies’ (ibid., p.205) that construct dispositions.

It was evident that Jane was developing both senses of potential :

- Intervention programmes had been established in order to increase children’s attainment as measured by national curriculum measures.
- Interventions had also taken place to increase aspirations and to affect changes to children’s dispositions towards education and learning in order that they might become more included into the school’s learning community.

Interventions thus went beyond the more immediate standards-derived focus upon weak potential to embrace children’s fundamental attitudes to learning, and, in so doing, sought to affect their self-perception and identity. They gave children a clear future-oriented pathway, engaging them in an

economically-driven social contract through which they would not only fulfil their educational right, but also construct a position for themselves in this future. In doing so, more children would then be seen as accessing their right to schooling and education, and greater social mobility generated. These rights, however, are judged narrowly to lay within the attainment of curriculum learning.

Fairness - a misrecognition

Thomson (2010) posits that '[h]eadteachers are literally disposed to act in the interests of their schools', interests which are set to bring about maintaining or advancing the school's position in the macro-field of schooling through 'multiplying the quantum of capitals that is at stake in the field possessed by each position' (p.13). Jane's commitment to 'every child deserves an opportunity' was placed in this context and led to her view of the 'system' not being 'fair' in that it fails to recognise the challenges facing schools which, like Albert Street Primary School, adopt inclusion as a central tenet of their practices. She argued that :

It does worry me – I'm judged, or the school is judged, by Ofsted ... So for schools who are very inclusive and include the children who are particularly challenging in terms of their behaviours that need to be managed – very difficult for those schools. In fact, there was a real debate when we had Ofsted [in 2012] as to whether or not the school

could be judged to be 'outstanding' overall because the behaviour was only 'good', and not 'outstanding', and that was down to a few individual children with special needs and their behaviour.

The opening words of this statement conflate headteacher and school, personalising and anthropomorphising Jane's autonomy as school leader. Her argument was founded on her belief that the school/she was judged only on factors of performativity – so that judgements were made on the measurements of the extent to which children had acquired national curriculum learning. She thought this unfair because this focus ignored the work the school was undertaking in supporting children to acquire dispositions, without which, she argued, children were excluded from curriculum learning. This was an argument which sought justice for the endeavours made to impose a logic of learning upon children, which included dispositions to learn as well as the learning itself, in order that they adopt it and become successful learners in an effective school and in so doing tackle issues of inequality of attainment. However, Thomson (2010) sees this as a misrecognition in that schools become more immersed in the 'game', creating 'a drive in agents that makes them operate according to the rules of the game as they stand' :

It works to make agents not only manage the field, but also compete over what is at stake – not to change the rules of the game or the

knowledge, dispositions and strategies that constitute its winning formulae and its contribution to the wider mission of the state and the field of power.

(p.16)

Limitations of resources and expansion of role

The school's focus on weak potential had caused it to expand its role from one which solely focused upon advancing children's measurable learning attainments (weak potential). Its concern with dispositions (strong potential) brought with it additional responsibilities which Natasha (inclusion manager) considered to be affecting the role of parent. She explained this in terms of the school's extending its technical work on the teaching of reading to embracing the development of dispositions towards reading which are considered to be the responsibility of the parent :

[For example] we might provide extra support for a child who doesn't get read to at home, because parents say they haven't got the time, or I've got this, or I can't do it, or whatever. Not because the parent can't read, because that's another completely different issue. But because it's not a priority in that child's home life, so you must provide it – find a mum, or ... the child can be in the focus group, reading group, and they would get that extra reading, because the parent [sic] don't see it as a priority at home. And so in that respect I've taken over the role of the

parent, and their responsibilities, because you know that it will get done and the child will, hopefully, get some kind of support, whereas if you leave it to the parents they might put it off or not do it.

This was compounded by the additional strain put on the school by the demise of the Local Authority with the consequence that many of the support services it had provided now had to be sourced internally. Natasha (Inclusion Manager) described how the school had 'risen and risen and risen and risen in the provision which we can provide'. For Jane this challenged the school's ability and capacity to include all children and the defining of an (oxymoronic) inclusive boundary. She reflected on Lilly :

We are managing those children in such a way so that it doesn't impact. And the conversations I had after the little girl had left the room were actually – if she doesn't manage to calm down fairly soon ... then perhaps we can't continue to include her today, and she might have to go home.

There had been an occasion when a child had been permanently excluded. Natasha (Inclusion Manager) stated :

Jane [headteacher] and I cried over that child. He was in Y1, and we knew that the parents were reluctant to accept that there was a problem – we knew from Nursery that there was a problem. Throughout

Y1 we tried to do something. In Reception we tried to move the child's support forward, and he was excluded permanently in Y1. What sort of a 'record' is that for that child? But it's when you hit the bottom line.

Generating doxa – a conclusion

Natasha was here acknowledging the emotional investment that staff had made in their 'buying into' the values and principles of the school (Jane's vision). This generated attachments especially with children struggling with their dispositions, aimed at supporting them through the 'initiation rights' (Bourdieu, 2004, p.8) into the community of learning.

Bourdieu refers to one the functions of these rights to be to create a 'community of unconsciousnesses that makes possible ... the hidden borrowing of themes or ideas that everyone feels entitled to attribute to himself [sic] because they are the product of schemes of invention very close to his [sic] own' (ibid.). There was a sense that the strength of the logic of leadership expounded by Jane had led to an acceptance of its values and principles as an unquestioned doxic common sense by staff. The recognition by Ofsted reinforced this as a positive position, defining a territory into which it was their professional, and indeed personal, duty to include children. Their buying in was an emotional investment as well as a professional one, giving them a sense of acting correctly in the best interests of children. The greater

the recognition, the more this stance was affirmed, and the more scope and power Jane had to develop this path further.

Similarly with children, there was a Bourdieusian sense of their inclusion being an immersion into a community of unconsciousnesses in which they yielded some of their agentic consciousness (strong potential) in order to conform to the habitus of the school field. By doing so children submit themselves to a way of being, which becomes a doxic unconscious acceptance and which shifts their identity in particular directions. Their submission to the demands of the authority of the school was a consequence of the hegemonic structure that they were entering, a structure legitimised by the sphere of legitimacy. This field of power enabled them, through conformity with its habitus, to accrue its capital and to develop status within it. The dominance of this field led children towards particular actualities, and in so doing led them away from others which were within their virtual/strong potential. Success within the field they became included into was based upon their weak potential – by the purposeful directing of their aspirations and the designing of learning opportunities that would bring about their deeper engagement with this field.

4.4 Case Study 3 : Muirhead Avenue Primary School

4.4.i Introduction – defining key terms

The thematic map for Muirhead Avenue Primary School (figure 42) defines an outline of this case study. It also introduces three key concepts which lie at its heart :

- *The ‘principled school’* : based upon Ainscow et al. (2006), this term is used to describe a type of inclusion which is based upon a shared understanding within a school of the values which underlie its actions. Ainscow et al. define the values central to inclusion as ‘equity, participation, community, compassion, respect for diversity, sustainability and entitlement’ (p.23)
- *Gemeinschaft* : based upon Tönnies (1955), this term refers to a type of inclusive community which is organic (rather than instrument/functional) and founded upon reciprocity, interaction and co-operation.
- *‘Powerful knowledge’*: based upon Young et al. (2014) which introduces the concept of ‘powerful knowledge’ which is defined as ‘the concepts associated with different subjects and how they are related It is the systematic interrelatedness of subject-based concepts and how they take their meaning from how they relate to each other that distinguishes them from the everyday concepts of

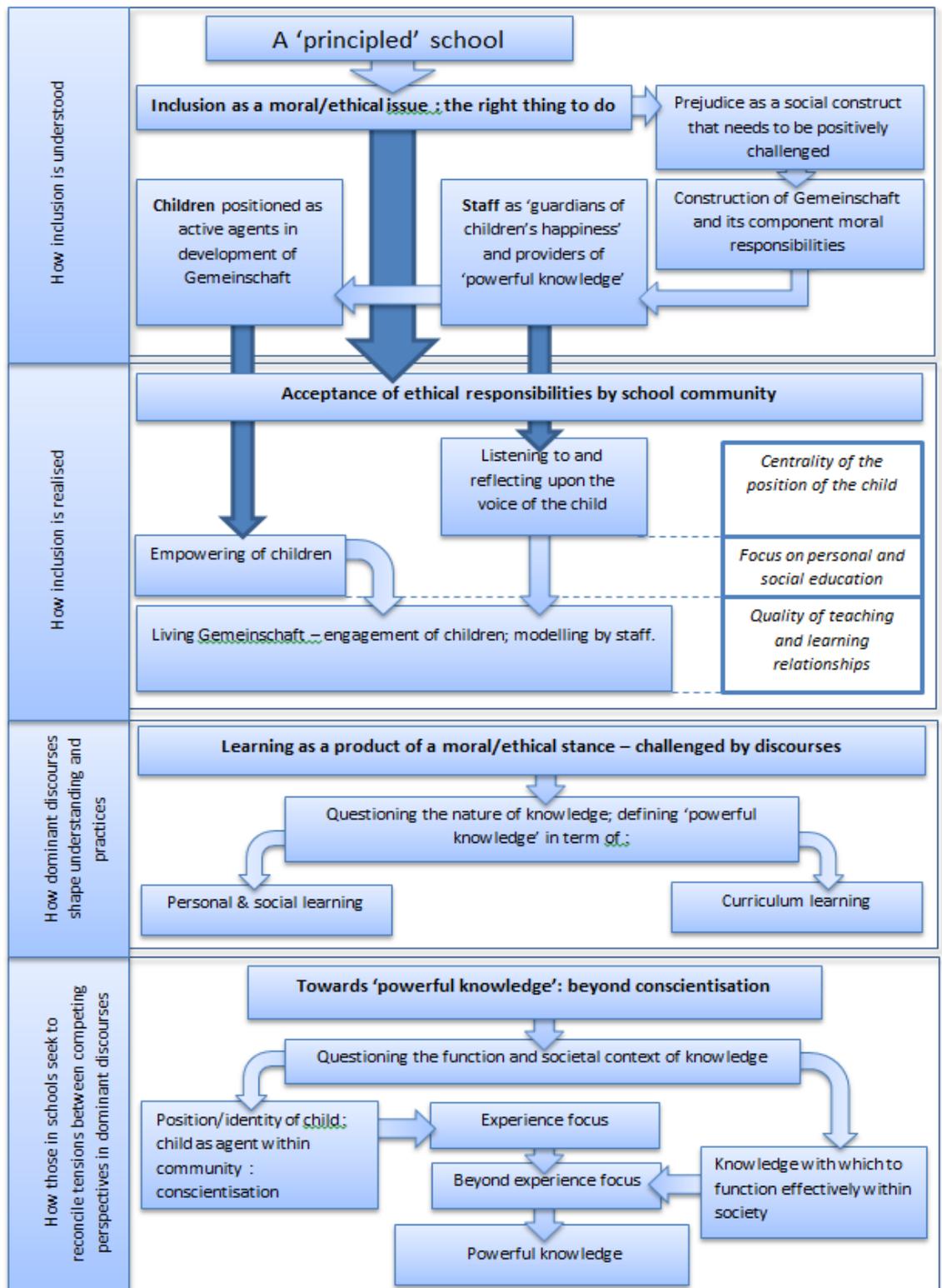


Figure 44 : Outline of the main themes from findings of Muirhead Avenue Primary School

experience that pupils bring to school, which always relate to specific contexts and experiences' (p.67-68).

These will now be explored in relation to the four research questions of this thesis.

4.4.ii How inclusion is understood

A principled school

The school web-site declared Muirhead Avenue Primary School to be 'committed to a policy of inclusion, where every child matters'. Barry (headteacher) expanded this idea into one of an inclusive community which embraced all stakeholders : 'we open our doors to the community, to everybody, and make ourselves accessible, approachable, inviting, welcoming... It's about everybody, everybody in the school community'. This declared that 'inclusion happens everywhere in the world ... in space probably, too!'

The results of the '12 card exercise' (figure 43) showed a staff rejection of interpretations of inclusion that were based upon its more functional role in enabling access to curriculum learning and to its contribution to the raising of standards. Staff also rejected the longer term economic function of inclusion to increase social mobility and improve national economic well-being.

Least important	Most important
1. Inclusion is about getting as many children as possible to age related norms. It is a means to higher standards.	7. Inclusion is more about 'growing' children than it is about standards.
2. Inclusion is about social mobility, enabling those who have potential to move up the social/employment ladder.	8. Inclusion is something that should pervade the ethos of the whole school, reaching out to the way we consider parents, and other members of staff.
5. Inclusion is about 'sheltering' children with needs while we focus on 'mainstream' children.	9. Inclusion is about creating a sense of a community in which all are respected, and all contribute, and in which children understand the needs of others.
6. Inclusion inevitably means that we focus attention on differences between children and in this way it is, paradoxically, divisive.	

Figure 45 : Table showing least important and most important statements from the '12 card exercise'

Their focus was upon community which was held as a pivotal notion, central to a school-held understanding of inclusion, placing it within a moral frame as the 'right thing to do', as Glynne (teacher) explained :

We do inclusion because we know how it's going to affect the children when it's not done well. We talked about personal experiences of what we'd seen in other schools where we've seen how it does affect children – when it's not done well it's not a motivator. We mentioned how it was morally wrong not to – we all have a strong sense of right and wrong, and [not including] falls into the 'wrong' category. We had a discussion about how children don't automatically come into the world with

prejudice – you're not born with it. It develops through your experiences, and we are their experiences for a lot of their life.

Non-inclusion (exclusion) was seen as a construct which arbitrarily restricted opportunities for those judged to be in certain categories. Staff definitions of inclusion, produced during the '12 card exercise' echoed this and pointed to ways of actively working to eradicate such restrictions, for example :

- *Inclusion is ensuring that all children access learning and extra-curricular activities regardless of any existing barriers, so that they make good progress, and feel safe secure and happy.*
- *Inclusion is enabling an environment in which every individual is able to readily access all opportunities available to help them grow and feel part of the local, national and global community.*
- *Inclusion is the removal of any barriers that may cause any individual to feel marginalised, or to fall short of achieving their full potential.*
- *Inclusion is ensuring that every member of the school community is heard.*
- *Inclusion is mutual respect.*

Staff understanding of inclusion reached beyond its being a conceptual idea to embrace its fundamentality in providing an educational function.

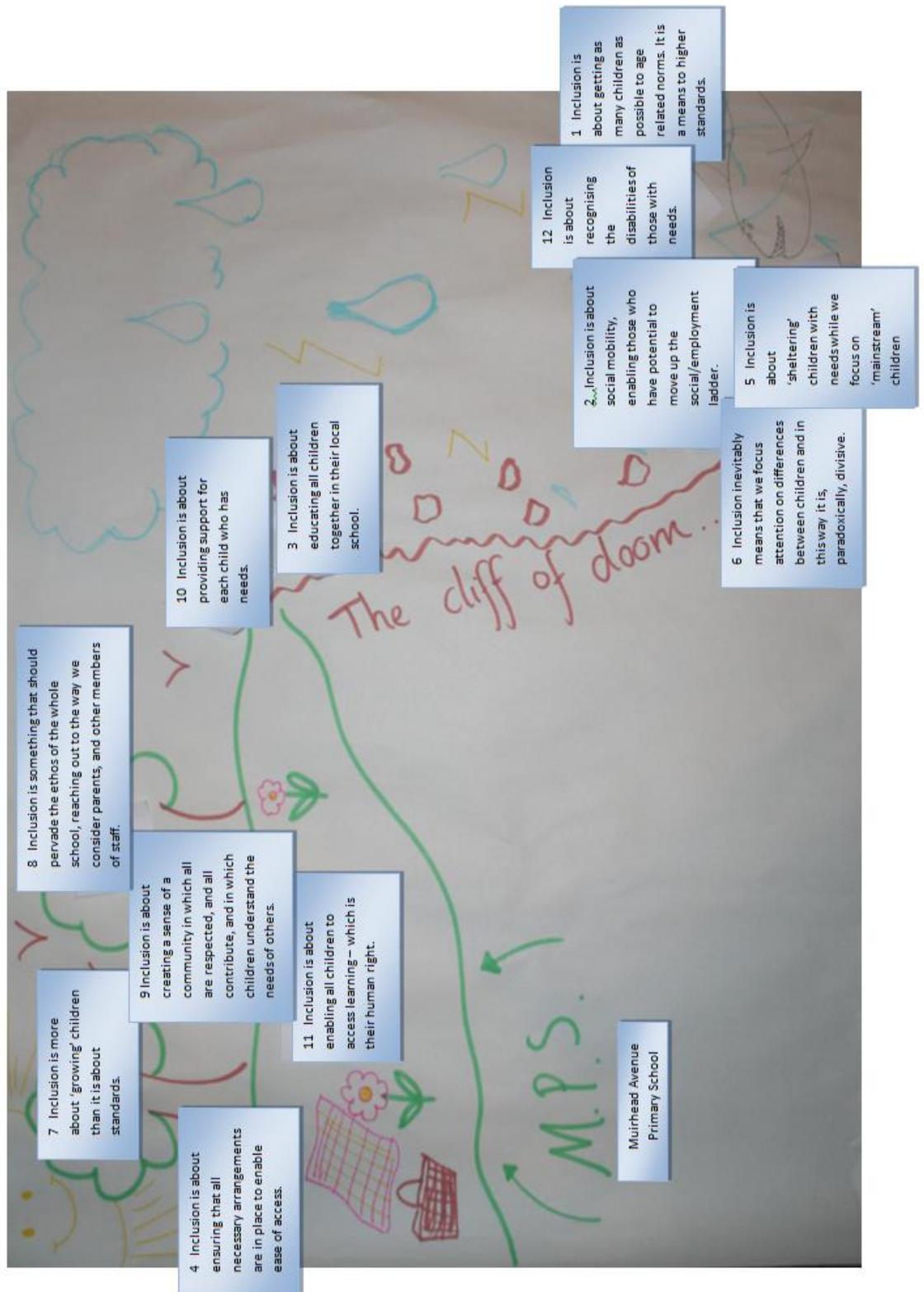


Figure 46 : Group 1's poster from the '12 card exercise'

This was also evidenced in the posters produced during the '12 card exercise' (figure 44) which show inclusion as an end to which the school was striding - an ambition. The intention of staff was to provide opportunities for each child to become an active member of that community, respected for what he/she brought to it. This principle had led Barry (headteacher) to consider 'personal and social education – but not PSHE and C' as the basis for the engagement of children in this community. The school web-site refers to the school being a 'community within a community', a place in which community behaviours can be learned by children and practised in a microcosm of the larger community which lay outside of the school and of which they are also members. The root of an understanding of the meaning of community emerges from a principled sense of Gemeinschaft through which children become oriented to the school community, and regulated by an understanding of shared mores. Through this appropriate behaviours and responsibilities were determined which shift this orientation more to interests of the larger school community than their own self-interests. Martha (teacher) stated :

We've summed it up with smiley faces really, because the 'why' we do it, the 'why' we think about inclusion is for the end result when children and adults in the school are happy. It's for happiness, it's for self-belief, well-being. That process is limitless, and so everybody achieves their potential.

The focus was thus upon the development of a habitus to which the learning of each child was directed and through which children would gain personal fulfilment as they found a position within a community within which they were socially connected and included.



Figure 47 : Groups 1, 2 and 3's poster from Staff Meeting 1 showing what qualities the school is trying to develop in children

This was expressed by children who, at the initial meeting, spoke of the school being 'safe, happy, friendly, individual (i.e. allowing for individuality to emerge), secure, fun, cool' and by staff who expressed their feelings about what the school was trying to achieve through posters which show the qualities that they were trying to develop in children (figure 45).

They saw their role as the developing of qualities and skills in individual children that would equip them for positioning themselves within the school community, and thus becoming included members of it. Beyond this, as Barry (headteacher) explained, there was a need to empower children as active members of a Gemeinschaft, and this brought with it challenges :

...it's about children who have spent five, six or seven years in this school being individuals, having a voice that's being listened to, developing an understanding of themselves – what they're good at; what they need to get better at – how they can work together. So by the time they get towards the end of the school they are confident, they're outgoing, they're articulate, they know what they want, they know how they want it – and if they don't have it that way then they have something to say about it. That's 'sparky' kids; that's 'sparky' kids who are confident; that 'sparky' kids where inclusion is embedded within that.

The inclusive process involved the development of children's individual learning in terms of Gemeinschaft which would then provide them with the

specific skills and knowledge to take up positions within the social community. This was evidenced in the practice of inclusion.

4.4.iii How inclusion is realised

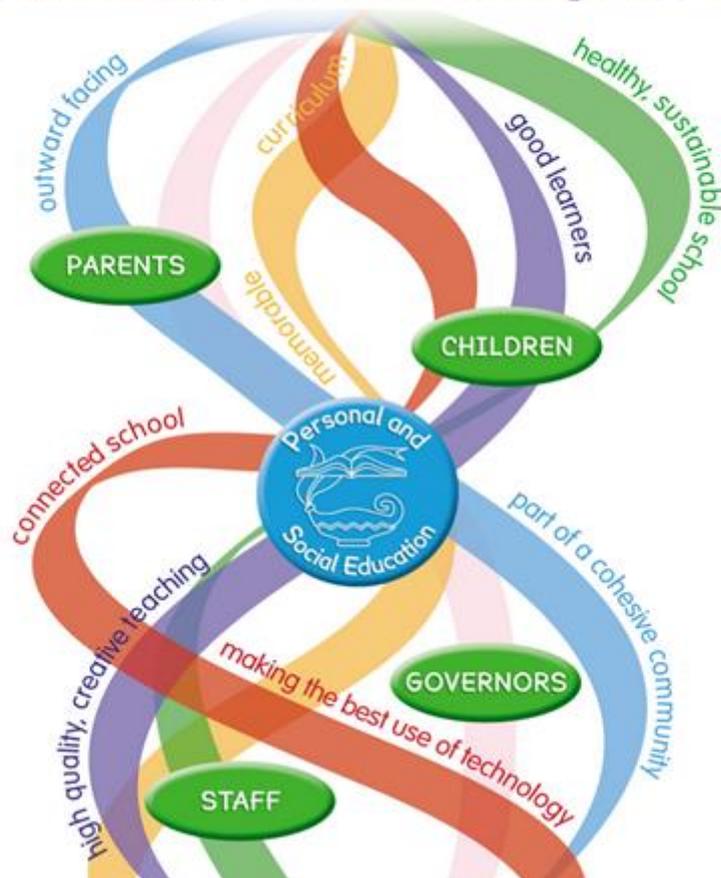
Acceptance of ethical responsibilities

Barry (headteacher) had put together a frequently used diagram which represents the main strands of school life, and how they are rooted in the school's approach to 'Personal and Social Education' (PSE) (figure 46). This is evidenced by comments made in the Ofsted School Inspection Report (2014) :

The school works extremely hard and very thoughtfully to ensure excellent equal opportunities for all its pupils. Pupils are emphatic that there is no discrimination in any of the school's work.

The emphasis was thus upon the development of a habitus to which the learning of each child was directed and through which children would gain personal fulfilment as they found a position within a community within which they were socially connected and included.

Muirhead Avenue Primary School



- A school in which children are equipped with the skills to be **good learners** and are inspired by **high quality, creative teaching**.
- A school that is **outward facing** and working as **part of a cohesive community**.
- A **healthy, sustainable school** which helps children to care about themselves, each other and the environment.
- A **memorable Muirhead curriculum** that is constantly developing and excites and inspires the children.
- A **connected school** which is **making the best use of technology** to engage and communicate with all of its stakeholders.

Figure 48 : Representation of the main strands of school life

Staff saw their role as the developing of qualities and skills in individual children that would equip them for positioning themselves within the school community, and thus becoming included members of it. For Barry (headteacher) this went beyond 'the PSHE curriculum - it's part of that, but it's deeper rooted than that. It's how we work together, how we instil those kinds of values amongst the school community... It's about behaviours; it's about how you relate to each other; it's about how you care and respond to each other; how decision-making takes place'. It was a move to empower children within Gemeinschaft. This was epitomised in the ways in which the role of the inclusion manager had changed within the previous three years. Previously it had been one of 'overseeing the needs of pupils who have special educational needs, overseeing the provision for pupils who have additional input in different subjects or emotional/social support in school, working with teachers, working with outside agencies, working with parents, working with the children themselves' (Janine, inclusion manager).

To some extent this has remained within the role, 'planning for children who have "gaps" in particular areas', in terms of either curriculum learning or social behaviours. But this has been over-layered by practices based upon inclusion as a means of 'giving children opportunities to be involved in the life of the school fully and totally'. This shift in role symbolises the changes undertaken across the school to become a 'principled' inclusive school in the

ways in which Ainscow et al. (2006) describe. It was a shift that positioned the school more towards Gemeinschaft.

Living Gemeinschaft

The school still engaged in ‘filling gaps’ in children’s learning, but these were seen as gaps which inhibited their community participation. There were several examples of the school working with specific children in order to bring about this engagement; for example, Janine (Inclusion Manager) described the work of the Life Experiences Group which involves children who were ‘finding life in school difficult’, and who, it was thought, needed ‘to go to the park and kick leaves around; and to go to a restaurant and sit at a table and eat a meal with a knife and fork; and to go to a museum and have fun with an adult – and here’s us trying to put them in a social group or put them in a learning group. And actually what their difficulty is is that ... [they don’t have] those life experiences’.

Janine was fervent in her belief that this was not aimed at ‘normalising’ the children :

I think we celebrate differences. I think we do a lot to – again the ethos of the school, but also through PSHE lessons - to celebrate differences.

We’re constantly pointing out children’s differences and praising them for it almost. So I think in this school, and I don’t know if the same is true of others, it’s a positive to be different ... in no way are we trying to

make them normal; we trying to make them 'them'; we're trying to make them happy.

For Barry (headteacher) children's inability to tolerate difference was based upon a lack of understanding and empathy. His approach was to support children in gaining that understanding, and in doing so bring about inclusion : 'sometimes when the child is ... excluded from a situation, for whatever reason, often it's down to lack of understanding, or sometimes even fear about what that person is like, or what their difficulties might be like, and by helping the other children ... to understand what that person wants, as well as everything else we take away the blame that is attached to difference'.



Figure 49 : *Katherine's photograph of inclusion*

Katherine (teacher) illustrated this in her photograph of 'Biscuit Week' during which children who had allergies spoke about them and demonstrated to

classmates how they coped in everyday life. They then made biscuits which they shared with the class.



Figure 50 : Amy's photograph of inclusion

The school was proactive in seeking ways to bring about understanding of difference and this was reflected in the children's photographs.

Amy (Y3) even suggested that this could be evidenced in the acceptance of different ways of working – which she demonstrated with a photograph of a child in her class who had found a different way of solving a mathematical problem. This also echoed a staff definition of inclusion as ‘a process of ensuring that, through the removal of all barriers and the building of bridges, all members of the school community are included and able to engage in all parts of school life specific and appropriate for them’.

‘Building bridges’ was illustrated by practices within curriculum learning and within social learning. Amit’s (Y2) photograph (figure 49) shows ‘Two boys working together as a team’ carrying out a mathematics activity; Louise and Barbara’s (teachers) photograph (figure 50) is of ‘friendship bracelets – children make bracelets for each other as part of Anti-bullying Week’.



Figure 52 : *Amit's photograph of inclusion*



Figure 51 : *Louise and Barbara's photograph of inclusion*

Glynne (teacher) referred to staff being ‘Guardians of children’s happiness’, which was echoed by a comment made at the first staff meeting that there exists ‘a whole school atmosphere of happiness and community’. ‘Happiness’ was a word often used as a justification of inclusive practices. It signified a state of children’s well-being in which they were part of a social group, respected for what they are and for what they could contribute to it. To help to achieve this state, the school sought to develop individual skills within a social context, and in doing so provided a community context in which skills could be learned and used. The personal and the social elements of learning became conflated.

Empowering children

Barry (headteacher) stated that ‘the school is underpinned by a liberal set of attitudes’ which have constructed an ethos in which children are empowered to be agentic within a safe and secure environment – ‘we want the children to succeed; we want them to be included; we want them to be

safe; we want them to be happy; we want them to be part of the school life. And therefore, we as a school, and all members of staff, bend over backwards to make sure that happens' (Janine, Inclusion Manager). Inclusion thus becomes a means of going beyond enabling specific children to access learning, to one of empowerment of children to become active, participatory members of a community.

Empowerment was seen to emerge from the child positioned within a community context, as figure 51 (presented by Barry (headteacher)) demonstrates. This model highlights the centrality of the PSE focus that is articulated in the school's practices. It begins with supporting children to gain self-respect and identity whilst maintaining a sense of their own unique differences, and then shifts towards the child feeling that he/she has an identity which is respected by the school community. This enables the child to feel that he/she 'belongs' to the community. With this comes the added layer of the need to reciprocate respect and caring to other members of that community, and to take on responsibility for its development. In this sense the 'commitment to learning' is one which considers a wider perspective than that of curriculum learning, and which is aimed at developing self in order that the child can contribute in a responsible way to the well-being of the community.

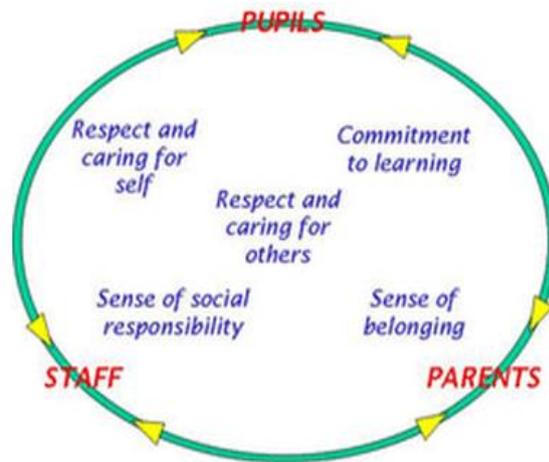


Figure 53 : *Qualities to be developed to 'allow us to be an effective learning community'*

To achieve this, Louise (teacher) stated :

... we value, communicate, encourage, we don't allow barriers, we challenge, we build relationships with everybody no matter how challenging that might be, we provide opportunities, we nurture, we share, we have partnerships within school and out of school, we model how to include, we create and we provide opportunities, we listen, we provide experiences, we respect and we celebrate.

This developing a social responsibility was epitomised by Toby (Y6) whose class had recently been for a week's residential 'experience' in Wales :

In [Wales] you do have to help each other. We had to walk across the rapids, and if someone was falling behind we had to get across and help

them rather than just keep on going and let them fall further behind. So if someone is stuck – support them.



Figure 54 : *Toby's photograph of inclusion*



Figure 55 : *Connor's photograph of inclusion*

Children also spoke of occasions within the school setting when they took a social responsibility. These not only included playtimes but also during curriculum learning.

Connor's (Y4) photograph (figure 53) was typical of several taken by children: 'Harry is showing Charlie which page to do his writing. They need to do their spellings and then Charlie doesn't know which page to go on and Harry is telling Charlie. It looks like including because they're working as a team to show which page to work on. Sometimes Charlie struggles'.

Staff spoke of children learning to be empathetic of others. Janine (Inclusion Manager) gave an example of a Y5 boy who had ‘complex learning difficulties’. It was decided that there was a need ‘to address his issues with his peers, to help them to understand what is different about him and how they can support him. And they took on that challenge, and by kind of empowering them to be able to do that – because he was different, and he is different and they need to understand that now – he is included, you know. It just got to the point where they’ve matured in a different way to him, and he was becoming excluded’. Ellie (Y5) gave a child’s perspective : ‘A boy in our class struggles with learning sometimes, and our teacher has talked to us about including him so that he doesn’t feel left out, and doesn’t feel bad that we’re feeling he’s interrupting the class. He was very independent but now he likes doing group work’. This was reinforced by Rashid (Y5) : ‘we’re all in this together. A family is together, and friends are together’, exemplifying the profundity of the children’s acceptance of difference and the maturity of their understanding of inclusion. Callum (Y3) stated : ‘I know what it would feel like myself to be left out. I wouldn’t like it myself, so why should other people’. Children were presented with opportunities to develop an understanding of inclusion and the qualities upon which inclusion in the school was founded.

Maurice (Y5) clearly articulated how the school went about ensuring that children understood the importance of inclusion in order that they could put it into practice :

Inclusion can be anywhere. Everywhere you go you can have inclusion – if you have the right people. Like, if people know what inclusion means they do it; if they're not quite sure or they don't know what it is, they won't do it.

Quality of teaching and learning relationships



Figure 56 : *Glynne's photograph of inclusion*

The school actively went about enabling children to become members of its community, providing them with both the opportunity to learn the skills and qualities necessary, but also

constructing an ethos which was tolerant of difference and mutually supportive and respectful. Glynne (teacher), whose photograph (figure 54) expressed the quality of communication that he saw as a strength of the school, considered this to be conceptually fundamental to the school ethos. He stated : 'No matter what the distance is between us, we try to communicate – to get on the right wavelength'.

Relationships across the school were based upon understanding and respect, symbolised by Barry's example of Damian :

We had sports' day yesterday at the field and all the children, every single child was taking part in one individual event and one relay event as a minimum. Damian set off doing the egg and spoon with three other children and he was way behind the other children. You had every single child in the junior school, and all the parents there, clapping him across [the line]. It was one of those tear-jerking moments. There's inclusion. He's comfortable with it; he's not 'I don't want to go there' or 'I feel threatened and upset about that. He's actually loving it because he's the centre of attention, he's grinning to people as he goes down, he's having a laugh about it and so he's accepting of it. And everybody else recognises that for him to stand up and do that and feel comfortable with that is great. It's those kind of moments that make it all worthwhile – forget the standards agenda!

4.4.iv How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices in the case study schools?

Learning as a product of a moral/ethical stance : challenging the discourses

Barry (headteacher) was adamant that :

...actually, yes, the standards they are achieving are important , but for me, our primary school – it's about flooding them with the opportunity to learn, to experience across the curriculum and beyond; to start to become life-long learners, and be at the point when they leave school

that they are motivated, engaged, ready to go to secondary school – not necessarily with all the skills in their ‘pencil case’ to do it and succeed, but in the right frame of mind, with the right set of attitudes, the right set of learning skills.

Janine (inclusion manager) confirmed this stance, reporting that at Senior Leadership Team meetings Debbie (deputy headteacher) affirmed that ‘I will not teach the SATs – I go to some schools and they have amazing SATs results, but their entire Y6 is just sitting there ... practising SATs’. She also felt that this was a position that was supported by the wider school community (parents and governors) as well as by children and staff.

Barry (headteacher) took this principle further :

Yes, we’ve moved on in terms of Ofsted regimes and everything else - that’s expectations around standards – and some of that, I don’t have issues with things like that. We need bloody good teachers in the classrooms; there are standards that need to happen – but it’s about how we do things, and how we go about that, and the experience that kids are getting.

One of the posters compiled by staff at the first staff meeting (figure 45, p.247) includes the Piagetian notion of constructivism - that understanding and knowledge of the world is constructed through an

individual learner's experiences and his/her reflecting on those experiences. This was a basic principle adopted by the school which was considered as 'a starting point' for learning. It was coupled with allowing children a voice in their learning :

So we have to learn about a famous author – who do you want to learn about? And we have a big discussion and they all want to learn about David Walliams, and we'll go with that; Enid Blyton – then we'll go with that. So it's coming from them And all of the children in the classes will be involved in the decision-making.

(Janine, inclusion manager)

Teachers also give choice over differentiated activities rather than prescribing them to particular groups of children which 'comes down to the expectation that you do your best work ... and you try your best, and actually to succeed is positive' (Janine, Inclusion Manager). Curriculum learning was a vehicle for children's personal and social development, and for their empowerment within a social community, as Barry described :

... there're different elements of work. The planned part, the more identifiable part, is the curriculum and what is taught as part of lessons, as part of schemes of work etc. through the school. And then a lot of it is about the culture, the ethos, the relationships, the values that are instilled from people – that kind of 'hidden' curriculum stuff that sits

within that as well. Fundamental to that is understanding the context in which you're working, and what are the groups that make up our school – where are our children coming from, what experiences are they having at home, what do they need at school to set alongside that? And that's the starting point.

This was also captured by Sam (Y5) :

They don't teach us about inclusion because they teach us about our learning. While they're teaching us about our learning, they're getting people to be included in the work they're doing.

and Faith (Y3) :

They're not teaching it, but you kind of learn off the lessons that you're being taught. You're not learning [about inclusion] but you're picking it up from the lesson.

Of the 14 photographs taken by children only two were of non-classroom settings, though in interviews the children talked more universally about inclusive contexts.

The relationship between the discourses raises questions about the type of capital that is legitimised within the school, and how this further relates to

the sphere of legitimacy that is embodied in curricular legislation and guidelines and monitored via Ofsted. This will be explored in the next section.

4.4.v How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant post-welfarist discourses?

Questioning the function of knowledge – ‘I’ll die on my sword’

Barry (headteacher) spoke emotionally about the principles of inclusion that underpinned the school. The fervency with which he upheld and defended them evidenced his belief in them as a wider end to the processes of education than that of the standards discourse.

I’ll die on my sword. If somebody wants to come here and tell me that, actually, what’s going on is not good enough etc. etc., then that’s fine – that’s your view on it. Whether I can then say I can carry on I’m not prepared to change the way that we work, the way I lead the school and the way we prioritise things at the moment. To me and to the people I speak to – to the parents, to the children in the school – it works. If somebody wants to come in and say that actually it’s not working then fine – I’ve done ten years of building what I think works for the school. If it’s time for change then somebody else needs to instil that change, because I ain’t going to do it!

He was aware that the school was ‘out of kilter’ with the expectations of more standards driven schools, and also that he would not compromise over

any tensions that existed between discourses. This was respected by staff. Janine (inclusion manager) applauded his stance on maintaining the school as a non-uniform school, seeing this as a symbol of the strength of belief in the uniqueness of each child. The weight of leading a principled school which was running the risk of being criticised was having an emotional toll :

That's a challenge – that really is a challenge. I've sat in my office here in previous years when the results have come at the end of KSII, with me and Debbie, my deputy head and Y5 and 6 lead, and basically she's been in tears because this is saying one thing about our school, and that's not actually what our school is. Trying to marry the two together is a really big challenge, particularly as more and more that data agenda becomes more and more what drives the inspection regime and accountability in schools. That is a real, real challenge. Massive.

(Barry, headteacher)

Barry (headteacher) was prepared to defend principles against outside criticism ('the buck stops here, you know') and, in doing so, also protect staff, placing himself on the front line. He sought ways of putting himself in the firing line of external accountability. In doing so he was concerned to protect staff caught in the warp and weft of the two discourses :

You have to protect. I know that I'm pushing my staff, and challenging my staff in a way, and they'll tell you that. Sometimes people are on the

edge of their comfort zones and feel challenged. I don't feel there's room to go any further on that without actually breaking people. ...[They are having to do] things I didn't have to do ten years ago, but more and more are coming to the forefront because of the agenda we're having to work to. And we're working to it, but, I would say, slightly a step back, holding on to our principles and doing what we need to do. But even that is challenging.

In defending principles Barry sought some compromises over what children should be learning :

There are things we do in detail, and go to town with, so to speak, because we think we've got the resources to do it well, or that suits our children, and there are other bits that we pay more lip-service to – tick a box and move on.

The most recent Ofsted report of the school (2014), however, gives praise to 'the upward trend in attainment' which has restored standards in reading writing and mathematics to above average, and to the ways in which 'Staff rise to the high expectations the school's leaders have of them to help pupils to achieve well'. Barry's commitment to principles of inclusion has not resulted in a polarisation of discourses, but rather to a working relationship between them. This was summed up by Glynne (teacher) :

Just to pick up on standards – standards is actually well-being and happiness, that's the standard by which we measure how successful children are.

The sense of Gemeinschaft and its shared mores meant, according to Janine (Inclusion Manager) that 'children aren't really given a choice – not from teachers, but from peers ... So if a child comes into school with an attitude where they didn't want to be part of it, and didn't want to join in, and didn't want to do their best, I think they would find themselves quickly shunned by the other children' who have clear understanding of expectations. This again demonstrates the empowerment of children within the school community.

Barry also gave credit to staff for finding ways to bring together the discourses without losing sight of principles :

That is fundamental, if you've got a staff who are prepared to put in the effort, to make that effort, to actually create a curriculum that is going to motivate, switch on and engage and energise the children in a creative, interesting way and is inclusive of all children, then that makes a big difference.

But Barry felt the enormity of external pressures being placed upon the school and upon him as a school leader. These were pressures to comply

more with the standards discourse and the 'powerful knowledge' (Young et al., 2014) that it embodies. They were pressures too of social justice – that in a time of individualism it is each child's attainment that is important in creating social mobility, and therefore social justice. They were pressures whose implicit meaning Barry struggled to comprehend. Since the interview, Barry reduced his time in his role of headteacher to three days per week for a year and has now left the teaching profession.

4.5 Combined Case Analysis

4.5.i Introduction

Having considered the data collected from each case study school separately, it is the intention of this section to build onto this thematic analysis in order to bring it together and explore it further in terms of more generalised themes and issues. To do so, a Bourdieusian analytic process will be adopted (see 3.5 ii) which will :

- examine each school (field) within a wider, national field of power
- map out the ways in which agents operating within the school are positioned
- analyse the implications that such positioning has on the habitus of agents.

Core values and the purposes of education

From the data collected and described above, each case school can be seen to have taken differing positions on inclusion :

- BLACKDOWN INFANTS – principled school able to ensure that inclusive principles dominate
- ALBERT STREET PRIMARY – standards driven school which uses inclusion as a means of raising standards
- MUIRHEAD AVENUE PRIMARY – principle driven school but finding the impact of the standards context difficult to manage.

Each school has come to its own unique understanding and practice of inclusion which implies that there has been at work individualised subtle processes of legitimation, distinct to each school, which have caused some understandings and practices to be acceptable and appropriate, and others to be rejected.

Key to an understanding of this analytic process is the concept of legitimation: by what processes, and by whom, is action judged to be legitimate? This is a fundamental idea within a Bourdieusian analysis and, in the context of inclusion, helps to discover what forces are at work in legitimising inclusive action, and how they compete within the micro field of power of a school which lies within a more expansive macro field of power in which the heteronomous legitimating power of centralised government

policies compete against the capacity of the school to construct its own, autonomous policies. There are thus, for the school, internal and external processes at work, constructing a pathway for the legitimising of inclusive practices.

In the context of this study, each of the case-study schools has arrived at a micro, school based interpretation of inclusion as a product of its own field acting as a field of power. At this level agents (headteachers, staff and children) create ever-changing pressure-points of interpretation of inclusion which impact upon their understanding and practice within that setting. The school, however, sits within a more expansive field of power, founded on external cultural/political definitions and understandings of inclusion. Thus each school simultaneously balances principles and values about inclusion which derive from heteronomous and autonomous sources. Bourdieu (1984a) considered this power of heteronomous to be not only structured (in terms of government agencies responsible for policy-making on issues around inclusion), but also actively effective as a means of structuring other structures (affecting understandings and practices of those involved in inclusion within schools because of its dominating status) (Grenfell and James, 1998, p.11). This dynamic has been magnified more recently by government granting to schools of more autonomy (though within a high degree of standards-driven constraints) to make decisions about how they operate.

The pathway that a school creates towards its position on inclusion illustrates the ways in which the school has found a point of balance between all the forces at work to shift it in a particular direction. It is explained by Bourdieu as a series of 'spheres' ranging from the Sphere of Legitimacy (authoritative sources of legitimacy) through the Sphere of the Legitimisable (where authorities compete for legitimacy) to the Sphere of the Arbitrary (in which every-day practice is determined by non-legitimate authorities) (see figure 3, p.84). The analysis of the case-study schools' data will link these spheres with the work of Suchman (1995) which defines a taxonomy of legitimacy which has been used as a means of relating particular classifications of legitimacy to Bourdieu's Hierarchy of Legitimacies. It is these Spheres and their related forms of legitimacy that form a central part of this cross-case-study analysis, helping to define the pathway to inclusion that each school has moved along and the forces that have influenced the direction taken. Indeed, they match into Bourdieu's process of analysis with each being the focal form of legitimacy linked to its related phase of analysis (figure 55 below).

It is this process of analysis and its links to the concept of legitimacy which will now be used to explore how each case-study school's positioning on inclusion has been constructed.

<i>Bourdieu's phases of analysis</i>	<i>Process of Analysis</i>	<i>Hierarchy of Legitimacies</i>	<i>Types of Legitimacy (Suchman)</i>
<i>Phase i</i>	Examine each school (field) within a wider, national field of power	Sphere of Legitimacy	Moral legitimacy (consequential) Cognitive legitimacy Pragmatic legitimacy
<i>Phase ii</i>	Map out ways in which agents operating in the school are positioned	Sphere of the Legitimisable	Moral legitimacy (structural) Moral legitimacy (personal)
<i>Phase iii</i>	Analyse the implications that such positioning has on the habitus of agents	Sphere of the Arbitrary	

Figure 57 : Relationship between the process of analysis, Bourdieu's hierarchy of legitimacies and Suchman's types of legitimacy

4.5.ii Bourdieu's process of analysis – phase i : the wider field of power

Bourdieu considered each field to be the site of a struggle in which agents tried to ensure that their understanding (of inclusion) was enacted. Each of the case-study schools can be seen as a micro-field of power in which agents, each with his/her own interpretation of inclusion, are engaged in this struggle. Equally there is a macro-field of power in which schools find themselves alongside the larger, heteronomous forces of centralised policy. In both of these sites the notion of legitimacy is significant for it symbolises the outcomes of the struggle wherever it is taking place. This section will examine how this wider field of power (the site in which government policies are formed about inclusion) impacts upon the particular positioning of each case-study school.

Such policies have considerable status and power, given that they form a legalised system of beliefs and values. Indeed, legitimacy has been defined as ‘a generalised principle or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions’ (Suchman, 1995, p.574).

This defining of legitimacy pinpoints the point of contact between the external legitimating spheres of socially constructed norms (in this case embodied in a set of government policies which link inclusion with the standards discourse) and the ways in which this has become uniquely internalised within a school system. It is the point where heteronomy meets autonomy.

The Sphere of Legitimacy helps to define the power of the legitimating strength of centralised policies many of which are enshrined in law. This legitimacy can be further analysed using Suchman’s (1995) classifications of legitimacy and related to the case-study schools.

Moral Legitimacy ‘reflects a positive, normative evaluation of the organisation and its activities’ (Suchman, 1995, p.579), which rests upon whether or not its actions are ‘the right thing to do’, whether such judgements ‘reflect beliefs about whether the activity effectively promotes societal welfare, as defined by the audience’s socially constructed value system’ (ibid.).

Suchman goes on to consider several sub-types of moral legitimacy one of which is *consequential legitimacy*. This is the extent to which the 'product of a school's function' - the ends upon which its values and practices are based – is congruent with judgements about what is the 'right thing' for a school to be aiming to achieve, and who determines what this is to be. In essence this hinges upon a school's capacity, in the context of this research, to construct its own understanding and practices of inclusion, or whether this is determined by centralised policy. It pinpoints where a school might be positioned on an autonomy-to-heteronomy continuum.

The case-study schools were drawn to different moral positions. Albert Street Primary as a high achieving, standards-driven school – a position legitimated through its acknowledged compliance with centralised policy on National Curriculum expectations and the need for schools to raise their standards related to them. By way of contrast, Blackdown Infants School more autonomously created its own 'function, constructing itself as a school which functioned to support children (and their parents/carers and the wider community) in their developments of dispositions to learn, to discover the importance and relevance of learning. Its 'ends' were different from the standards-driven ends of Albert Street Primary School in that they sought to develop the capacity to learn rather than curriculum content. Its ambitions were to raise stakeholder consciousness about the value and importance of education (as a life-long process) - a position legitimated through its broader

view that education is a means of enabling individuals to contribute to the social and democratic processes of the society in which they live. Muirhead Avenue Primary School positioned itself as a school trying to both meet the pressures of an impending Ofsted inspection, and retain a role of being 'guardians of children's happiness', supporting them in their finding a place within a community in which they could function and contribute.

Each school could be seen to be focused on a different form of capital considered to be of value. To Bourdieu all capital which was not economic was symbolic capital. While economic capital has a clear instrumentality and logic about the mechanisms of its exchange, symbolic capital has not. It is 'disinterested' in such exchanges, seeking to find its worth intrinsically rather than externally (Grenfell, 2008, p.103). The extent to which forms of symbolic capital become 'consecrated' (Bourdieu, 1990c, p.97) and accepted as legitimate, depends upon the degree to which the school (in this case) can be seen to be upholding a functional level of legitimation. In turn, this not only depends upon the autonomy of the school, but also on its status in applying this function. Schools closest to the heteronomy of centralised policy and its links with the economic market-place, can thus see their compliant practices as being consecrated by it. Those more distant schools might have their own legitimating systems but have generated a capital whose exchange powers are less clear within this system of legitimation; its meanings lie outside of the legitimate culture. For Bourdieu this was a 'misrecognition'

(‘méconnaissance’) for it failed to acknowledge the ‘underlying processes and generating structures of fields [which] are not consciously acknowledged in terms of the social differentiation they perpetuate, often in the name of democracy and equality’ (Grenfell and James, 1998, p.23). The extent of a school’s misrecognition thus helps to locate it on the map, for it determines the distance it is away from that which is licensed and legitimated by the dominant heteronomy.

For example, the cultural capital of Blackdown Infant School was evident through its diversity discourse aimed at engaging all children and stakeholders with education and how this capital could be ‘exchanged’ for the strengthening of societal cohesion and co-operation. Though laudable in its social outcomes it misrecognised the capital of value legitimated by centralised policy, replacing it (partly) with values that constructed another form of hierarchy – those who could engage and those who had more difficulty in engaging with these personal and socially determined values. On the other hand, Albert Street Primary School’s standards discourse focus complied with the dominant heteronomy and its focus on economic capital. It looked ahead to later in their lives, when children could use this knowledge to find a place within an economically-driven market-place. Muirhead Avenue Primary School saw the value of both types of capital and tried to make a stand on both. This produced a tension between the recognition (reconnaissance) of economic capital and the misrecognition of cultural

capital, each struggling to establish contradictory hierarchical positioning of agents within the school.

Each headteacher in the case-study schools could be seen to be entrepreneurial in leading his/her school to a moral position based upon the particular form of capital considered to be of value. This was most clearly apparent in Albert Street Primary School where Jane (headteacher) was a charismatic, professionally ambitious leader who dominated and was quite forceful in making it clear what the school stands for and how children, in particular, should behave. Her moral argument was one of perceived social justice based upon established (and accountable and measurable) systems of learning and teaching which had been legitimatised by central government policy (the Sphere of Legitimacy).

The other headteachers recognised the difficulty of not working entirely to this end. Barry (headteacher, Muirhead Avenue Primary School) was particularly concerned about the judgements that might be made of the school at the next (imminent) Ofsted inspection. His talk of 'falling on my sword' showed the depth of his commitment to diversity principles and the tension that he perceived in the field of power dominated by the standards discourse. It was this tension that caused Norma (Teacher, Blackdown Infants School) to refer to George's (headteacher) stance on the school's diversity/community discourse as 'an act of courage', for it went against the dominant field of power discourse.

Thus the three schools demonstrated a moral positioning in a field of power dominated by the standards discourse. This was symbolised by the capital which each school considered to be of value, and how this was the same as or differed from the economic capital that lay within the Sphere of Legitimacy. In taking their positions the schools further demonstrated the degree of their autonomy – their proximity to or distance away from the heteronomous power within this field (central government policies on inclusion). The struggle that faces a school positioned away from this source, particularly for school leaders, challenged its capacity to maintain a diversity discourse. This impacts upon the extent to which the school can adopt ethically different behaviours based upon a value base which has moved away from that which is woven into the dominant discourse.

Cognitive Legitimacy (Suchman, 1995) is defined as the extent to which ‘plausible explanations of the organisation and its endeavours’ mesh with ‘larger belief systems’ and with ‘the experienced reality of the audience’s daily life’ (p.582). In a Bourdieusian sense, this type of legitimacy measures the congruency between the established inclusive doxa of a school and what can be perceived as a dominant more universal expectation. In the case-study schools this was symbolised by their curricula.

Discussion took place in the review of the literature (see 2.2.iii) about the different ends to which inclusion might be a means, and the implications

for this for the types of learning children might undertake to achieve them. Arguments were made for inclusion into the knowledge embodied in the National Curriculum as a means of enacting children's rights to access a legitimated knowledge system. Social justice was seen to follow from this as an end which would permit further access to higher status positions within society for those who acquired this 'powerful knowledge' (Young et al., (2014). On the other hand, this is seen to be more divisive than inclusive in that it enables access for some rather than all, and that a more socially constructed curriculum based on knowledge and learning that is relevant to the learner, would engage him/her actively. The polarisation is between knowledge as something which is worthwhile in itself (embodied in a curriculum) and which will provide capital which can be exchanged for future life opportunities, and knowledge as of the here and now, and the corollary that its learning continues as a life-long process. This polarity could be seen within the case-study schools.

Albert Street Primary School actively sought congruency with a curriculum based upon a National Curriculum standards discourse, legitimated externally by central government and monitored by Ofsted. Its inclusiveness was predicated on this, resulting in intervention programmes aimed at enabling children to have greater access to National Curriculum learning either through additional teaching directed at specific areas of

learning or affecting those dispositional behaviours of individual children which interfered with his process.

The curriculum of this school was rooted in what Young et al. (2014) refer to as 'Future 1' in which knowledge is 'treated as largely a given' (as embodied in the National Curriculum) (p.59). They were opposed to the notion that curricula could be founded upon a "socially constructed" view of knowledge' (p.61) (a 'Future 2') because of its licensing a number of locally legitimated curricula based on the experience of its learners (as in Blackdown Infants School). Young et al. are critical of the narrowness of this form of curriculum vis-à-vis 'powerful knowledge' positing that :

- Powerful knowledge is distinct from the 'common sense knowledge acquired through our everyday experience'
- Powerful knowledge is systematic, comprising connected concepts
- Powerful knowledge is specialised; that is it has evolved (and will continue to evolve) through the accruing of knowledge developed from those with expertise in particular fields. (p.74-5)

'Powerful knowledge' can also be seen to be 'knowledge of the powerful' in the senses that it both derives from those groups of people who have power to define what should be classified as 'knowledge' and that it also

provides, through its access, entry into powerful positions within society (ibid., p.72). The curriculum thus becomes a means of stratifying society with those who have accessed it having further opportunities to accrue more knowledge capital which can be exchanged for higher status employment and economic wealth. In this way, cognitive legitimation can thus be seen as a means of social justice, legitimising the work of Albert Street Primary School in terms of its providing pathways to all children to accessing powerful knowledge. This will be discussed further as an issue in the final chapter.

In contrast, Blackdown Infants School's cognitive legitimacy lay with its community, actively seeking ways to support and develop learning which was relevant and for which its members could feel 'ownership' (George, headteacher). Its child-initiated curriculum epitomised this approach, as also did its engagement with its parents/carers and the wider community in ways that raised their awareness of the power of education and sought ways to rekindle it and make learning relevant to them. Rather than knowledge as an end to which inclusion was a means, this school focused on 'conscientisation' (Freire, 1972), considering a disposition to learning rather than a content; its focus was on the learner rather than the structure. This gives the learner a more actively agentic role in and responsibility for his/her learning. In turn, this shifts the source of legitimacy away from the Sphere of Legitimacy (government policy) towards the Sphere of the Legitimisable localising closer to the community of learning.

Again, Muirhead Avenue Primary School found itself positioned between a legitimacy which bases its approaches to learning on creating a diverse community of learning for its children which stretches out to the wider community whilst simultaneously striving for larger (National Curriculum based) belief system congruence. Barry's (headteacher) hope was there would be sufficient of this latter congruence to 'get Ofsted off my back!' in order to provide space for school to pursue diversity/community discourse. His greatest concern, however, was that by positioning the school in this way both discourses (diversity and standards) ran the risk of being compromised.

Behind this doxa lies a 'diluted and homogenised rendition of social justice' (Dantley and Green, 2015, p.820), based upon the dominant standards discourse. Dantley and Green state that social justice has 'seeped' into the discourse of educational leadership and its practice, reduced to a level of acceptance that has lost the significance of its meaning, causing headteachers who adopt a 'social justice leadership' to be seen to be 'radicalised' (p.820). They argue that 'Educational leadership no longer enjoys a frictionless, antiseptic space in which to practise'. They appeal to school leadership to re-energise the concept of social justice, 'to reimagine itself...'. (p.821).

This is to assume, however, in the context of this study, that it is only the more radical diversity discourse that relates to social justice - radical in

the sense that it contrasts with the compliancy of the standards discourse. Albert Street Primary School complied with the dominant doxa in its stance that through attaining national expectations of learning children would gain capital which would be of longer-term benefit in the current economically-driven values of society. This was seen as a form of social justice – a type of equality open to all children, especially through the school’s intervention programmes for those children struggling to meet expectations. This notion of radical and compliant forms of social justice will be considered further in the final chapter. Here, they point to the difficulties facing school leaders in justifying and legitimising any other approach to inclusion except that underpinned by the dominant standards discourse (this point is explored further below as ‘personal legitimacy’).

Pragmatic Legitimacy (Suchman, 1995) rests on the ‘self-interested calculations of an organisation’s most immediate audiences’ (p.578) – the exchange between organisation and audiences. Audiences become ‘constituencies’ who scrutinise organisational behaviours determining their practical consequences. This legitimacy is determined by the degree of influence an audience might have, and the sense in which audiences treat organisations in a personalised way, as individuals who have ‘goals, tastes, styles and personalities’ (p.578) – so they are seen as ‘sharing our values’ or ‘trustworthy’.

Blackdown Infants School's relative autonomy can be seen to have brought about the strongest sense of pragmatic legitimacy because of its overt community dimension resulting in strong educational links with parents/carers and the wider community. Albert Street Primary had forged a strong congruence with the meanings of inclusion embodied in the heteronomy of the Sphere of Legitimacy. This is not to imply that each of these schools solely focused on one 'constituency'. Blackdown Infants School also made reference to the standards discourse and to working to meet Ofsted expectations and Albert Street Primary School to its relationships with parents/carers and to diversity within the school.

It is Muirhead Avenue Primary School that presents a less clear pragmatic legitimacy. Here the attempt has been to reconcile the demands of the two constituencies referred to above - recognising the importance of the engagement with parents/carers and the wider community as a means of rooting its teaching and learning, but at the same time also recognising the demands of Ofsted in terms of standards of learning expected. The sense of the school being 'a community within a community' (Barry, headteacher) also had to be considered in the more general context of National Curriculum expectations and demands on schools. There was a tension between these two sites that was caused by the difficulties of bringing together such polarised positions. This was particularly focused on Barry (headteacher) who placed himself as 'gate-keeper', taking responsibility for external, standards-

driven discussions and their outcomes, whilst, at the same time, protecting staff and children from them, allowing them to focus more on a diversity discourse in teaching and learning. This internal-external tension challenged Barry enormously, both in a pragmatic sense (relating to specific audiences/constituencies) and in a moral/ethical sense.

The struggle to manage the demands of the two discourses is present in all the case-study schools and illustrates the tension between the autonomy of the school in the context of the heteronomy of the macro field of power. This is epitomised in Muirhead Avenue Primary School. As a Primary School its standards are more rigorously measured (using external, national tests) than the more informal, flexible and personalised measures used as part of the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) curriculum of Blackdown Infants School. This allows Blackdown Infants School the autonomy in which to develop its own stance on inclusion. Albert Street Primary School, on the other hand, sought congruence with the standards discourse through which compliance it has become recognised as an 'outstanding' school, confirming that its development has been externally legitimated. Both schools have gained a degree of autonomy through different routes. Muirhead Avenue Primary School does not have the flexibility and freedom allowed to EYFS schools, nor does it seek congruence with the standards discourse. It thus runs the risk of falling between the demands of its constituents - its community and Ofsted.

The struggle facing the case study schools was one about the type of 'product' which they should produce and how this has been decided. Here, Bourdieu's analytical framework is helpful in this study in mapping the position of the case-study schools in terms of their 'product's' relationship with the heteronomy of centralised policy and, in so doing, representing the extent to which the schools construct their own autonomous position.

Bourdieu's Hierarchy of Legitimacies

It can be seen that legitimacy in all its different forms not only helps in positioning the case study schools in terms of their stances on inclusion, but also assists in understanding the forces that impact upon them (both locally and nationally) which have caused this evolution. Each school can be seen to lie within a field of power, struggling to find its own principles, ways of working and, indeed, identity amidst a landscape of enormous forces with which it has to relate. Bourdieu's (1990) hierarchy of legitimacies (Figure 3, p.84) provides a further means of analysing these forces and their sources.

Throughout the above analysis, the field of power in which the case-study schools can each be seen to be a part maps out forces which are external to the school (National Curriculum expectations, Ofsted) and which are centred on the standards discourse, and more localised, even internal forces which promote diversity and community. Each with its own particular form of capital, these forces compete within the schools, finding unique

patterns of reconciliation and balance as the schools struggle to come to terms with them.

Matching this with Bourdieu's hierarchy of legitimacies, it can be seen that the standards discourse emerges from the Sphere of Legitimacy in which it has been granted high status through government policy. Bourdieu refers to the extent of such powerful status as 'consecration' – that from such 'consecrated works' as the National Curriculum and its expectations of learning emerge a system of rules which define a 'sacramental approach' through which its body of knowledge is communicated and distributed. In being responsible for this distribution and communication of such knowledge, schools become legitimised (Bourdieu, 1990c). Thus, the priority given to the legitimated standards discourse in Albert Street Primary School and the success the school has had in including children in it, has caused Jane (headteacher) to become an Executive Headteacher of an additional primary school in order to spread the word of this discourse. Her evangelism has also led to her working with and advising national, government organisations. By contrast, the stance taken by George (headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) was seen as 'incompetent', running the risk of causing the school to fail; an act of heresy, opposed to legitimated authority (more recently, it has come to be seen as 'an act of courage'). Barry (headteacher, Muirhead Avenue Primary School) saw a legitimated power enshrined in Ofsted of which he was fearful. The measured authority of the standards discourse can

be seen as omnipresent in schools, defining a 'truth' which, because of its power-base, is difficult to argue against – and to do so could bring about quite devastating consequences.

Bourdieu's central theories of the relationship between structure and agency brings into play The Sphere of the Legitimisable - those agents who have a closer relationship with the school – governors, school leaders, staff, children, parents/carers, community – and at the same time have status enough to lay a legitimate claim on what is/should be legitimate inclusive principles and practices. Such claims are placed within the context of the Sphere of Legitimacy and allow for its transposition into a particular school setting. The extent to which all of these constituent parties might be seen to be part of this sphere depends upon the particular status each is given within the particular field of the school. Albert Street Primary School's field gave higher status to those who are seen to have a management responsibility (governors, school leaders and senior staff) than to those who more rooted in the everyday life of the school (children, staff, parents/carers and community). Within the field of power this placed the school closer to the Sphere of the Legitimisable in establishing a controlled and clear trajectory towards a dominant standards discourse (Sphere of Legitimacy). Blackdown Infants School was more democratically open in its inclusion of constituent parties into its Sphere of the Legitimisable, embracing children, parents/carers and the wider community within it and causing changes to

curriculum which veered the school towards a diversity discourse. Though distancing itself from the Sphere of Legitimacy, Blackdown Infants School committed itself to the strength and status it had given to its Sphere of the Legitimisable – constructing its own sense of legitimacy. Muirhead Avenue Primary School tried to be equally inclusive at this level, exploring the possibilities of what might be legitimate through engagement with constituent parties. There remained, however, the difficulty of reconciling this with the dominant Sphere of Legitimacy. Whereas Albert Street Primary was drawn towards this compliance and Blackdown Infants School courageous enough to stand independently away from it, Muirhead Avenue Primary School struggled to position itself. Like Blackdown Infants School it had distanced itself away from a view of inclusion which was standards-driven, but there remained, however, a vulnerability about such a positioning.

The Sphere of Legitimacy and the Sphere of Legitimation thus offer a means of analysing how a specific field (a school) relates to a field of power (inclusion policy making) in terms of congruence or incongruence, opening up the way to further analysis about the causes of the field's positioning and the implications for those who have contributed to the decision-making processes within the Sphere of the Legitimisable. It is here that possibilities of inclusion are shaped but within the glare of the powerful interpretation that emerges from the Sphere of Legitimacy. It is here too that decisions are made not only about the meaning of inclusion, but also about who should be

included in making such decisions. The three schools exhibit marked differences at this juncture.

The gradations of Bourdieu's hierarchy conclude with the Sphere of the Arbitrary which moves legitimation into the hands of 'non-legitimate authorities'— 'the arbitrariness of individual taste' (Bourdieu, 1990c, p.96). Here agents adopt, on the one hand, 'a dedicated, ceremonial and ritualised attitude' (ibid., p.95) congruent with 'consecrated' legitimate principles and processes by which they are also measured; on the other hand, because they fall outside the Spheres of Legitimacy and the Legitimisable, they can 'judge freely' (ibid.) in defining their own meaning of inclusion. It is here that the individual practitioners of inclusion (teachers and teaching assistants) within each school and the children who experience its effects play a part in this analysis.

The position of 'gatekeeper' which each of the headteachers took up, protected a territory in which agents could adopt practices which related to the habituses demanded of these fields. The degree to which they interpreted them was dependant on the strength both of their own perceptions and understandings, and on the extent to which they conformed with that which, from the school-based Sphere of the Legitimisable, had become legitimate within that particular school setting.

Thus the territory of inclusion in which practice was aimed at ensuring children's developing of dispositions essential for entry was clearly defined in each particular case-study school. There was a commonality of this understanding of practitioners within each school, expressed as a loyalty to the school's headteacher and to the values that he/she had worked hard to put into practice. Staff felt a part of this on-going process.

For Albert Street Primary School this field and habitus were focused on higher attainment. There seemed little dissent from this approach. Tracy's (Teaching Assistant) work with the 'Sunshine Group' had in mind creating dispositions for standards-based learning and with 'fitting in'; Brenda (Teacher) saw the positive, 'children's rights' aspect of interventions aimed at enabling children to be included into a standards-driven curriculum.

A note on mapping

In his widespread researches Bourdieu's analysis of fields led to the calculation of how micro-fields were positioned within macro-fields of power, and of how agents were positioned within these micro-fields. In 'The Rules of Art' (1992) Bourdieu provides a template for mapping these fields. The basis of this map is the Bourdieusian notion of capital, which he described as two 'fractions' – economic and cultural. The former refers to accruing economic capital; it is the 'means of acquiring [money], including the skills needed to rise [sic] funding and to "market" one's intellectual wares effectively'

(Medvetz, 2014, p.228). In essence it is the capital of the market-place concerned with economic prosperity and competitiveness. This is the dominant fraction.

In the context of this study's focus on case-study schools, the cultural fraction refers to the ways in which these schools have constructed themselves and generated cultural capital. Grenfell and James (1998) state that cultural capital is 'the product' of education, but this product will vary from school to school (as can be seen in the case-study schools). The focus here is the extent to which the cultural capital a school has created chimes with the dominant economic fraction (see p.248-249) – the capacity for its cultural capital to be exchanged with/converted to economic capital. Here the two discourses (standards and diversity) can be seen as distinct ends to which these schools (and their inclusive processes) are aimed. For example, Albert Street Primary School's emphasis upon National Curriculum learning led to children's accessing a learning pathway that would ultimately lead to further qualifications and to the improving of their capacity to exchange this cultural capital for employment opportunities and economic capital. On the other hand, Blackdown Infant's School's 'product' was a cultural capital founded on the diversity discourse, enabling social cohesion and co-operation, an outcome which does not possess the strength of congruence with the dominant economic fraction as that of Albert Street Primary School.

In his construction of this relationship between (in this case) the cultural capital of schools and the dominant economic fraction, Bourdieu also points to the latter's heteronomous nature and the autonomy of the school. The economic fraction is state-driven in the sense that it is predicated upon laws and expectations created externally from the school. The autonomy of the school is founded upon either 'an act of courage' (George, headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) or by compliance with the heteronomy of the dominant economic fraction. The map represents the distance between the two, and the extent to which a school has become 'an autonomous domain' (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p.9).

If each case-study school is considered as a 'field of cultural production' whose products stem from Stenhouse's (1967) contention that curriculum is a 'selection from the culture', then they can be seen to operate within a field of cultural production (figure 56 below). Here they can each be seen to be rich producers of culture for they are positioned towards the top of the vertical 'capital volume' axis. They differ in their horizontal position.

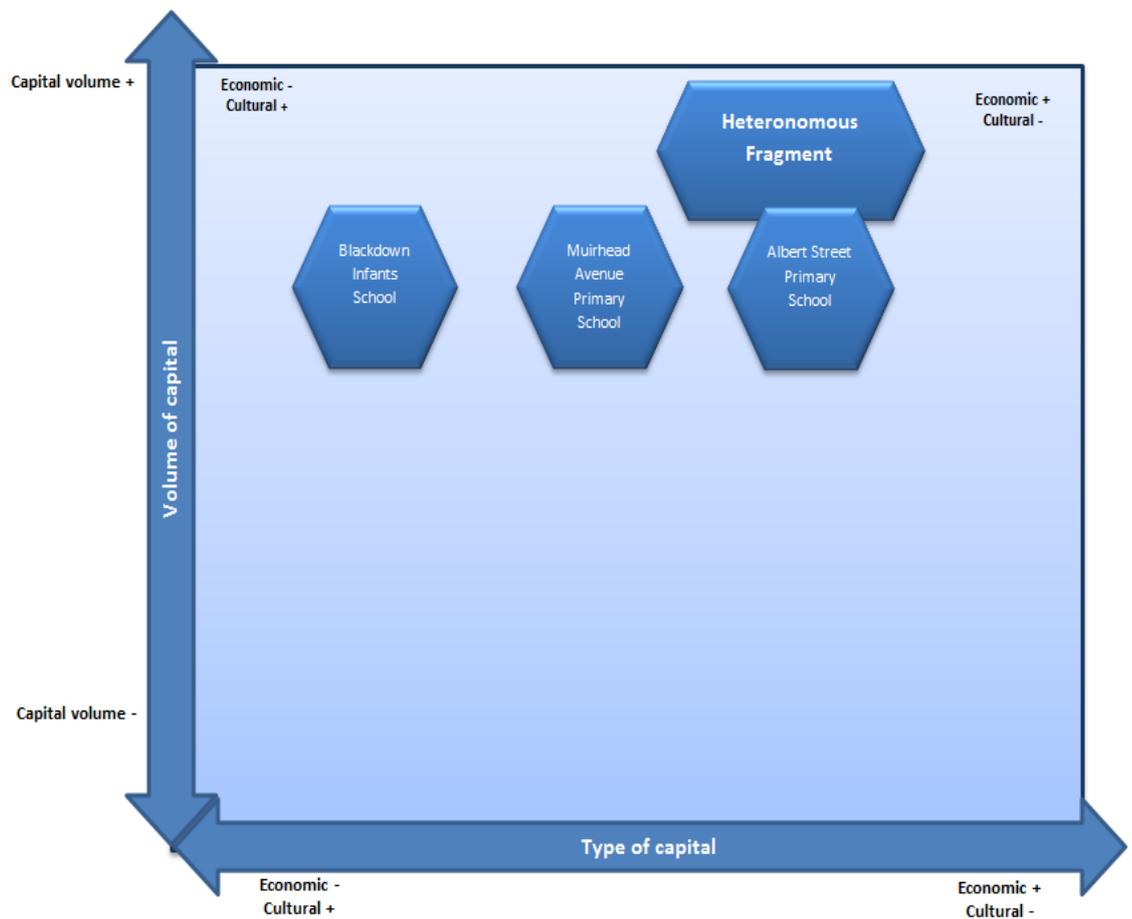


Figure 58 : *Position of case-study schools within a field of cultural production*

Each school takes up a different position along the horizontal axis because of the type of capital that it is seen to be producing. The cultural capital referred to by Bourdieu is the capital which, in terms of this research, is the capital that is generated from the culture of the school and is thus specific to the culture of that setting. The map defines the extent to which this specific school-generated cultural capital stands autonomously as one defined by the inherent values of the school, or is impacted upon by the heteronomy of the economically-driven standards discourse. A balance

between the school's autonomous cultural capital and that constructed by externalised economic forces is thus measured, from which the school can be positioned on the map.

Thus, Albert Street Primary School is positioned towards the right hand side of the 'map' to illustrate its strong commitment to the standards discourse of central government (heteronomous fraction) and to a cultural capital based upon a standards discourse that will lead to future economic contribution.

Blackdown Infants School's position towards the left hand side shows its more autonomous cultural capital based upon the development of the school's internal social cohesion, a product of the diversity discourse. Muirhead Avenue Primary School's central position demonstrates its allegiances to both discourses. In positioning schools according to the balance between autonomous and heteronomous cultural capital, the map also articulates the distance between the schools and centralised policies.

Having explored the macro field of power and the impact this has had on interpretations of inclusion in the case-study schools, this section will now move to focus on the micro (school) field of power to examine the relationships between agents within the field of power of each case-study school.

4.5.iii Bourdieu's process of analysis – phase ii : mapping out the positioning of agents

'The field is the analytical space defined by the interdependence of the entities that compose a structure of positions among which there are power relations' (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p.5). Field demands that there are agents within it who relate to each other and have come together for some common, legitimated cause and whose power and position are determined by the capital of value each has accrued. Legitimation here moves from the previous level of the Sphere of Legitimacy to the Sphere of the Legitimisable; from the macro field of power which considered the autonomy of schools against the heteronomy of centralised policy to the forces at work within the micro field of power of the school. Suchman's (1995) classification of legitimacy is again helpful in considering the type of legitimacy that is at work here. He defines two forms of legitimacy that relate to this second level of Bourdieusian analysis.

The first type of legitimacy is concerned with the extent to which the overall values of a school permeate through all of its agents. Whilst, at the analytic level, Suchman's notion of consequential legitimacy was based on how schools function as the means of particular learning ends, *structural legitimacy* explores the values a school bases its work upon and the extent of acceptance within it. Each case-study school could be seen (by its constituencies) to be acting in ways which were 'valuable and worthy of

support because its structural characteristics locate it within a morally favoured taxonomic category' – it acts on 'collectively valued purposes in a proper and adequate manner' (ibid., p.381).

Secondly, Suchman considers the leadership qualities of those who hold senior positions within the school and the ways in which these form allegiances within staff. His focus is on *personal legitimacy* - the individual charisma of organisational leaders – is a form of moral legitimacy in which 'moral entrepreneurs' (Suchman, 1995, p.581) have substantial roles in influencing underpinning values that determine acceptable dispositions.

These two types of legitimacy consider internal leadership and its capacity to construct a clear direction for a school, and the cohesion of staff in its commitment to follow this lead. Kugelmaas and Ainscow's (2004) research into 'leadership for inclusion' refers to the need for leaders to foster new meanings about diversity. The time that has passed since this research has tightened the hold of the standards discourse on inclusion, making it more difficult for Barry (headteacher, Muirhead Avenue Primary School) to seek new meaning – even though he strongly believed that it should happen – and increasing the element of courage (and therefore of risk) in doing so. In a later article Ainscow (2005) recognises that 'inclusive school development has to be seen in relation to wider factors that may help or hinder progress' (p.117). The current prevailing discourse of inclusion as a means of raising standards makes it more difficult for school leaders to legitimate any other

meaning. Even at a time when more autonomy has been given to schools there is still the demand from government that standards should be central to school development.

Bourdieu (1991) recognised that the more a field became autonomous the more it looked into its own logic to produce its practices, language and representations. This doxa then becomes the lens through which agents within the field (school) perceive the internal and external world. The ability for schools to achieve this state of autonomy has become restricted by the dominant standards discourse on inclusion which has become the dominant doxa, demanding either compliance with it or courage to construct logic to act against it. This second phase of Bourdieu's analytic framework enables a second 'map' to be produced which builds on from the previous map to represent these relationships externally (with the heteronomy of centralised policy) and internally (relationships between those involved in the providing data for this research).

The maps for each case-study school are shown below with brief notes of explanation before considering some trends/common themes that emerge. Blackdown Infants School map shows some distance between the school and the heteronomous pole of centralised policy. Internally its relationships are close with the headteacher having most capital – clearly expressed by staff who considered the ways in which he turned principles into practice as an 'act

of courage' which they respected highly. Teachers are positioned marginally closer to the heteronomous pole because of their role (particularly with Y2 children) in being directly accountable for their children's meeting of national expectations/standards.

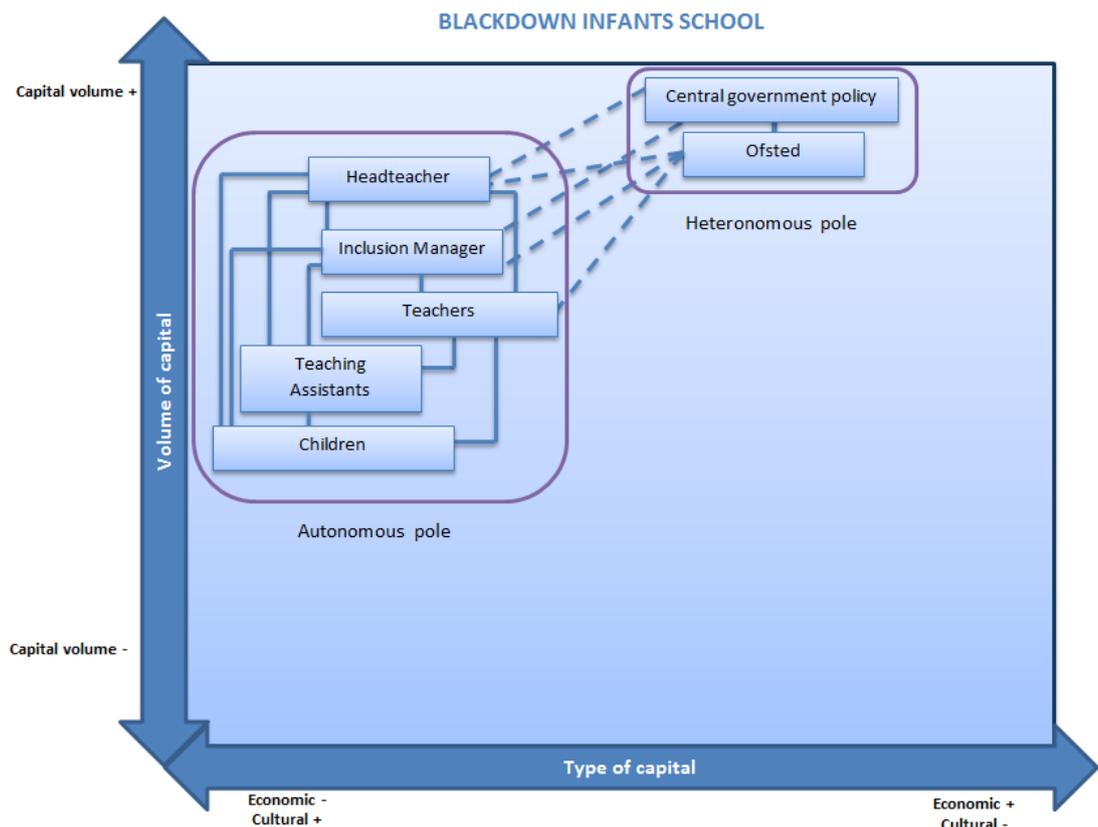


Figure 59 : Map showing positioning of agents : Blackdown Infants School

The headteacher, through his 'courage' in emphasising social capital through his development of child-initiated curriculum and the links with the parents/carers and the local community, is positioned towards the school's own autonomous cultural capital. He is shown as a clear leader within the school. The map also shows a clear hierarchy from headteacher to children,

though the distance between them is less than that in the other schools. This is representative of the status that is given to children, and indeed to the wider community, in their engagement with staff in the processes of learning.

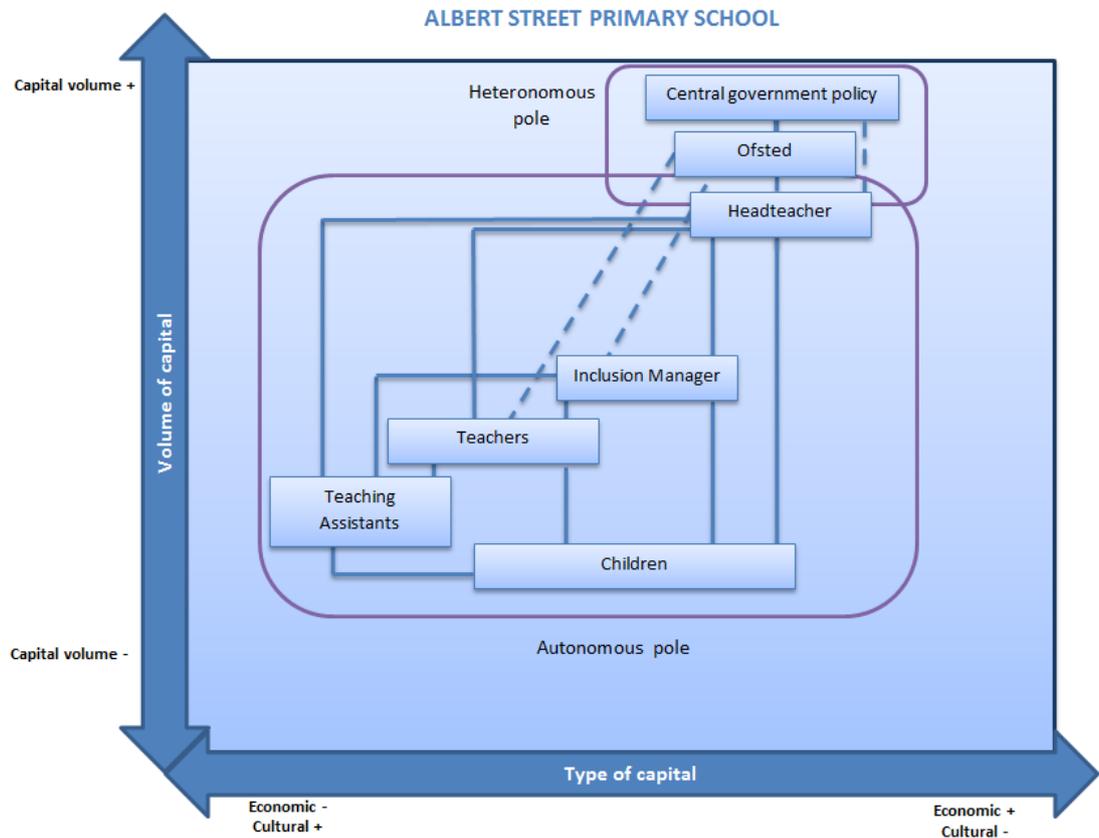


Figure 60 : Map showing positioning of agents : Albert Street Primary School

Albert Street Primary School’s map shows agents, particularly those holding senior leadership roles (this applies especially to the position of the headteacher), closer to the heteronomous pole. Its autonomy comes from its being recognised as a school which has positioned itself within the value system of this pole to the extent that its practices have become legitimated

by it. It therefore does not require the supervision imposed on schools which are more at risk of non-compliance. This is because of the clear ambitions of the headteacher for the school.

There is also a hierarchy of agents within this school, with the headteacher shown as being somewhat distanced from others. This is because of both her commitment to the heteronomy of the standards discourse and the fact that she was an Executive Headteacher of Albert Street Primary and another school.

As was shown in the description of this school's data (see 4.4) there is a difference between the positions taken by teaching and teaching support staff. The former gives greater emphasis to the standards discourse of central policy, while the latter considers its role to be more focused on the social capital of the diversity discourse in order to enable children to become more included and thus able to access curriculum learning.

Muirhead Avenue Primary School's position is in the centre ground – trying to relate to the heteronomy of centralised policy and its own autonomy as a principled school dedicated to a diversity discourse. The school is shown touching the heteronomous pole while, at the same time, having a substantial degree of autonomy.

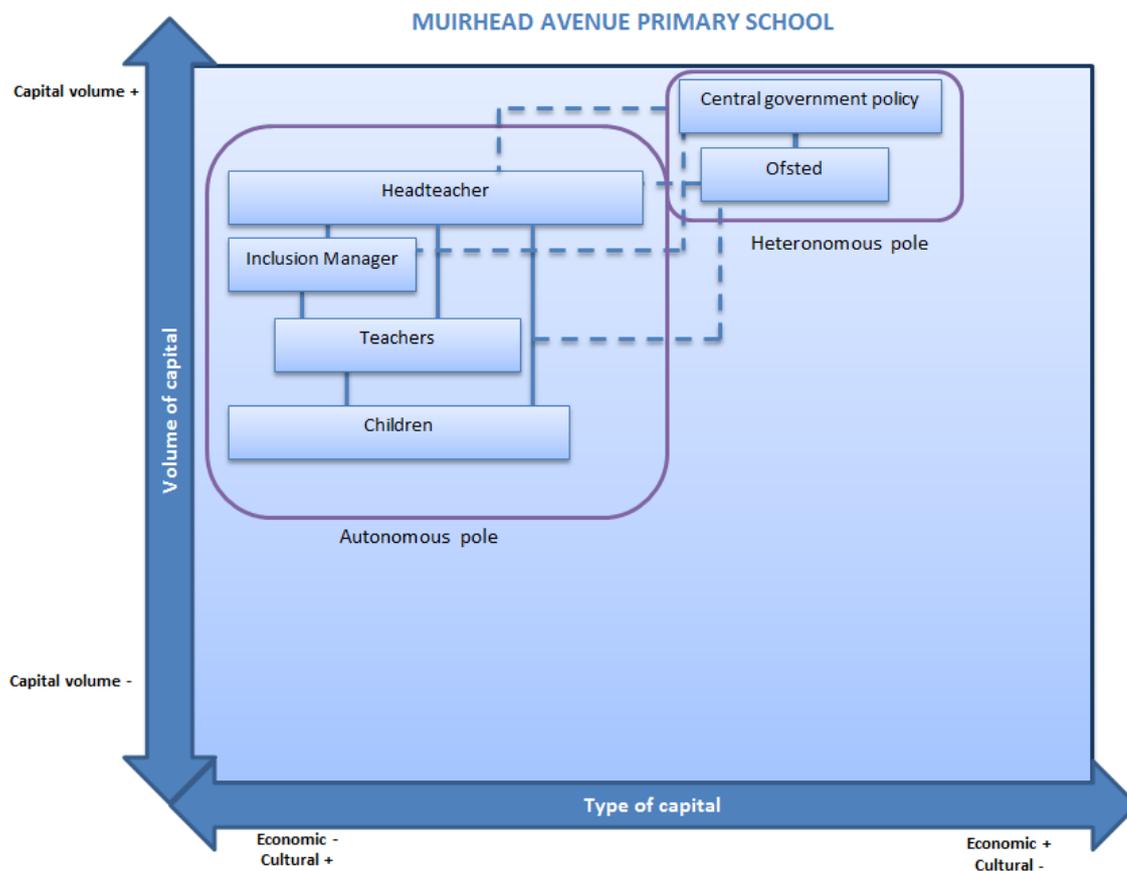


Figure 61 : Map showing positioning of agents : Muirhead Avenue Primary School

The effect of this is to stretch the role of the Headteacher to attempt to straddle this dichotomy, and to protect the principled work of staff; this has an impact on the positioning of staff and children, both of whom are affected by the two discourses. Congruence with Barry's (headteacher) principles about inclusion draws staff towards the autonomous pole, but with the heteronomous pole as a point of reference and accountability.

The inclusion manager is positioned towards the autonomous pole, close to the headteacher in supporting his diversity discourse on inclusion.

Thus there is a closeness of working relationships between staff around this discourse but with some acknowledgement to the standards discourse. This was more strongly felt by those who worked directly with it as an element of accountability. A consequence of this was the headteacher as 'gatekeeper', protecting staff (and children) from the heteronomy of centralised policy and giving them opportunity to follow diversity inclusive practices. This imposed a considerable amount of strain upon the headteacher which was recognised by staff.

The three schools thus show differing maps in terms of both their horizontal and vertical axes. The horizontal axis represents the distance between each school as an autonomous generator of its own cultural capital, and the capital generated by the heteronomic policies of central government. Autonomy is constructed in two contrasting ways :

1. George's (headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) 'act of courage' represents him as standing against the dominant heteronomous pole. The strength of his principles was evident from the emotion with which he spoke about the past problems of the school being considered as underachieving, and his determined responsibility to positively change this trend. His commitment to diversity principles, as a way forward from this position, was facilitated by the EYFS curriculum framework

which provides a flexibility of teaching and learning denied to the other schools. Here the more formalised measuring and ‘commodification’ of learning and teaching brought with it a different form of accountability based on National Curriculum expectations. Autonomy here becomes an even greater ‘act of courage’ if it based upon a diversity discourse which eschews such expectations, for it heightens the risks facing school leaders in particular in not directly pursuing heteronomously determined ambitions for schools and their children.

2. Albert Street Primary School’s compliance with the expectations of the heteronomous pole reduced the risk of non-compliance to the extent that it has been adjudged an ‘outstanding school’ in its last two Ofsted inspections. This congruency allows the school to be trusted as one which will maintain both the appropriate discourse of teaching and learning and also continue its high standards of its children’s attainment. Its headteacher has become a part of the heteronomy through her work with the National College and through her recognition by the Local Authority as an Executive Headteacher of a second school alongside Albert Street Primary School. This has given her much capital, which is why she is positioned so highly on the vertical access of the school’s map of agents (figure 58).

Having considered the positioning of agents with the school as a field of power, this study will now explore Bourdieu's third level of analysis – how this positioning affects the habitus of agents.

4.5.iv Bourdieu's process of analysis – phase iii : implications of their positioning on the habitus of agents

Bourdieu's contention is that the power within objective structures (schools) tends to produce structured subjective dispositions (habitus) in agents (staff and children) that produce structured actions which, in turn, tend to reproduce/reaffirm the objective structure. Actions are thus contextualised within power structures and fields of power.

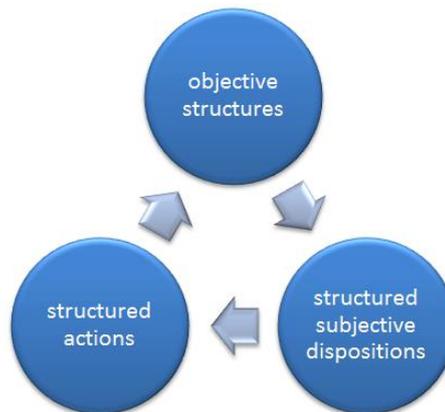


Figure 62 : *Schools as structuring structures*

For Digiorgio (2014) this cyclic progression translates into a set of relationships made fluid by the ever-changing nature of power and identity in the context of evolving inclusive practices of the school.

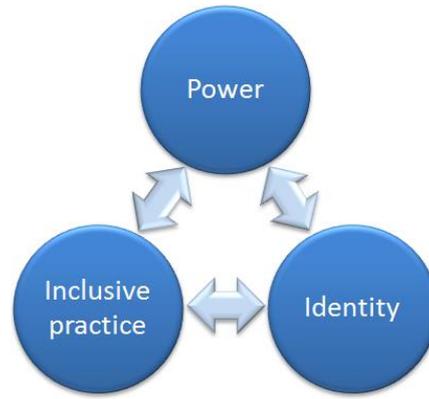


Figure 63: *The relationship between Identity, Power and Inclusive Practice (Digiorgio, 2014. p.45)*

Here, identity and power connect the ‘beliefs, experiences and practices’ (ibid., p.45) of agents, affecting their habitus in relation to the doxa of the field of power of the school. Because of the individual nature of each agent’s connection with the doxa, this is, in Bourdieusian terms, the Sphere of the Arbitrary.

This section will now explore the effects on identity of the power structures discussed above in the previous section in relation to the case-study schools. It will especially consider the effects upon children.

In her study on inclusive practices in a school, Digiorgio (2014) states that ‘The relationships between all of the players at this school were based in part on their own self-perceptions’ (p.46). These perceptions are placed within a field of power which impacts upon them, constructing a relationship between an agent’s habitus and the dispositions demanded by the field.

Agents thus can see themselves positioned in terms of this doxa, and from this identity can be created.

Brown (2014) refers to the 'dynamic arenas' (p.80) (such as a school context) in which identities are constructed. Here, policy discourses ('structural forces') about children locate them into 'power hierarchies of recognition', classifying them according to doxic understandings. Children find themselves within these categories because of their 'performance' judged against this doxa, or because of their 'narratives', the stories children 'tell themselves and others tell them about themselves, in order to inform and make meaningful their performances' (ibid.).

From this, identity can be seen to be constructed within a field of power in which discourses create criteria (derived from the doxa) from which judgements can be made about the categories into which children can be placed according to the habitus they display. The mapping of the field drawn in the previous sections illustrates this in more detail. They represent the varying degrees of capital possessed by agents, and the congruence of their habitus with the doxa of the field. Identity is a factor of the degree of congruence or incongruence. Thus 'power' and 'identity' are symbiotically related.

The key figures in determining power relationships and identity within the case-study schools were the headteachers. They influenced the degree of

congruence-incongruence between agents and doxa, acting as the gatekeeper, determining his/her school's understanding and practice of inclusion. This has brought them into contact with the external Sphere of Legitimacy controlling its effect on the more internal Sphere of the Legitimisable. In the case of Albert Street Primary School the 'gate' was opened by Jane (headteacher) to enable a congruence between the two, whilst in Blackdown Infants School the shift away from the externalised standards discourse, resulting in a degree of incongruence. The Early Years and Foundation Stage curriculum gifted George (headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) greater flexibility because of its emphasis on 'practitioner knowledge' of each child.

The narratives agents had of themselves and their position within the school raised further issues about the degree of congruence-incongruence between doxa and habitus of agents. For example, the distance between teachers, inclusion managers and headteachers from teaching assistants represents the relationship between the roles of 'professional' and 'support' staff. This further connects the comparative lower capital of teaching assistants with their position on the horizontal axis which places them more towards the autonomous pole. Teaching assistants can thus be seen as being more responsible for developing the capacity of children to become engaged with and included in curriculum learning. Their responsibility is placed on developing the habitus of particular children to attain the social skills and

attitudes necessary to attain inclusion in the social milieu of the classroom, including inclusion in learning. Thus the 'Sunshine Group' of Albert Street Primary, organised by teaching assistants, was seen alongside the school's individual/small group intervention work as means to support greater access to curriculum learning which is the prime responsibility of teachers (who have more cultural capital). In addition, the school's curriculum learning intervention programmes were designed to support children in their standards-learning progress ('powerful knowledge'). School celebrations of success gave reinforcement to the idea that such behaviour and learning were congruent with the principles valued by the school. The work of teaching assistants was thus seen as a means to standards-driven ends, and their identity seen secondary (though important) to the primary focus on curriculum learning.

In contrast, teaching assistants in Muirhead Avenue Primary School and Blackdown Infants School were seen as less distanced and removed from teachers. They were seen as supportive colleagues who impacted in a more balanced, holistic way through the intimacy of their relationship with individual children. Thus they upheld the diversity discourse of the school, supporting teaching staff in this quest, but also working with them to pursue curriculum learning ends. Their focus was upon helping children develop a habitus for learning across both discourses, beyond that of a single, standards-driven end.

Elements of incongruence were shown as 'dissent' from the school doxa. For example, teaching assistants working with Albert Street Primary School's 'Sunshine Group' were committed to supporting children who had quite profound difficulty in accessing its standards-driven doxa. Though their work might have been planned to bring about greater access to this type of learning, the teaching assistants identified the children as 'theirs', and worked with them to provide an alternative set of learning outcomes which were based upon the social dynamics of the group and the individual needs of each child. Their emphasis was upon personal and social rather than curriculum learning. It seemed that those whose responsibility lay with 'children of difference' were closer to the reality of the implications of difference for practice and, by the nature of their work, had greater understanding of it conceptually and practically.

The inclusion manager at Blackdown Infants School was not available during the time of this research, but the two teaching assistants who were interviewed could be seen to be more strongly in favour of the diversity discourse than their teaching colleagues. Here, if there was any veering away from the school's own legitimised understanding of inclusion, it was expressed through a concern for taking up a compromising position between discourses. Trying to 'balance' them, or find a logic that brought them together – as with the diversity means to standards ends in Albert Street Primary School – seemed to place pressure on teaching staff to ensure that

expected standards were met. Even in Blackdown Infants School there was still the shadow of Ofsted behind the words of teachers committed to this school's diversity/community approach to inclusion.

Teaching assistants seemed to have the most autonomy within the case-study schools. Less accountable in terms of the standards discourse, they found the means to work with children directly and more personally. They saw their work as supportive rather than interventionist – i.e. more directed at the development of social dispositions rather than curriculum skills. Even in their work aimed at helping children to understand particular curriculum concepts they might be supporting them to develop self-confidence, the ability to work with others or even the ability to understand English. The intimacy of this work, based on establishing close relationships with children, differs from the objectivity of purely curriculum-driven intervention work. This becomes translated through the understanding the teaching assistants have developed with children.

This is reflective of the 'distance' teaching assistants might seem to be away from the 'gatekeeper' of a particular school field – positioning them as relatively minor agents within its field of power. This allowed them to apply their own interpretations of the habitus necessary for entry into the school's understanding of inclusion.

As with the teaching assistants, the positioning of children is one which illustrates their lack of capital relative to other agents within the school. In a sense they are passively positioned by those with greater capital as receivers of learning (especially in the context of the standards discourse). It is only in Blackdown Infants School were they raised a little along the vertical axis because of their involvement in a child-initiated curriculum.

This passive positioning is reflective of the commodification of children within the education market place. Gewirtz et al. (1995) consider commodification as the locating of children within an educational landscape in which some are seen to have more value than others. This is reflected within the standards discourse in which inclusion is a means of intervening in children's learning in order to move them into higher levels of learning, as demanded by the expectations of the heteronomous pole. Gewirtz et al. state that this symbolises a shift in the place of the child in the school: 'The emphasis seems increasingly to be not on what the school can do for the child but on what the child can do for the school' (p.176). This shift is away from the personalised, 'child-centred' approach to one which depersonalises children, considering their function to be objective measures of school effectiveness from which judgements can be made about the school.

The child-centred, personal, caring position of schools in the recent past creates a romantic, nostalgic impression of the purpose of the education of

young children which is directly opposed to the consideration of schools through a business/commercial lens, which sees children as its products. The tension between these dichotomised ends can be seen in all three case-study schools to varying degrees, resulting in the positioning of children.

What is apparent here is the clarity with which Albert Street Primary School is recognised as a legitimated field because of its proximity to the heteronomous pole. It is therefore licensed to classify children using the shared capital as the legitimated means of positioning children – including or excluding them accordingly, and initiating remediating/intervention programmes to foster greater inclusion. The other schools have their own means of classification based upon their capital of worth, but these differ from that of Albert Street Primary School. As such, the classifications that ensue are misrecognitions for they are not based upon the ‘consecrated’ values of economic capital. Thus, George’s (headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) commitment to his conscientisation principles becomes an ‘act of courage’ for it places him outside of legitimated territory of values. Similarly, Barry’s (headteacher, Muirhead Avenue Primary School) attempt to balance opposing principles becomes difficult to interpret as a producer of a clear system of classification. The territory into which children are to be included becomes clouded.

It might be argued that the schools are developing inclusive practices as a means of fulfilling children’s rights to education. Each case-study school

could be seen, in its own way, to be focused on children as rights-holders. But this also hinges on the statused recognition afforded to the standards discourse.

At one end is the view expressed by Albert Street Primary School that children's rights are focused on their gaining the knowledge and dispositions to eventually enter the market-place economy; on the other is that demonstrated by Blackdown Infants School which is focused on their conscientisation and their engagement with the society in which they live. Di Santo and Kenneally (2014) describe this as a separation of 'educator and child centred' understandings of children's rights. They see it as a consequence of the quest for new approaches to the development of children's rights resulting in changes to national education programmes or to the introduction of new curricula – a point that could be levelled at current UK educational policy. Di Santo and Kenneally call for a 'rights-integrative approach' to the education of children, one which addresses children's rights to participate in their learning and become socially agentive. This demands that children engage with their learning and become empowered to influence their own learning. This runs counter to the required need for children to progress through set curricular learning, which is also directed towards the fulfilling of children's rights.

This resonates with the engagement of children seen in Blackdown Infants School and also strikes at the dilemma faced by Barry (headteacher, Muirhead Avenue School) whose principles lay with the empowerment of children and a rights-integrative approach but his accountability was through a curriculum learning formula.

4.6. Conclusions drawn from the analyses

This chapter has attempted to bring together the main findings from the data of this research into the perceptions and practices of inclusion in three case-study schools. In doing so thematic analysis strategies and Bourdieu's analytic framework have been employed to describe the ways in which these schools have legitimised their inclusive understandings and practices. Out of this research narrative the positions taken by the case-study schools can now be more accurately defined.

At the end of the review of the literature a chart was drawn up (figure 6, p.95) which brought together significant elements which articulated the strata that lay beneath the landscape of inclusion. Having explored the data from the case-study schools in this current chapter (both individually and combined), it is now possible to position them on these strata (figure 62) which exemplify inclusive principles and types of inclusive schools.

The position of each of the case-study schools has been plotted against the dimensions of this chart and shows the differences between their

inclusive 'profiles'. To the right is the more autonomous Blackdown Infants School, and to the left is Albert Street Primary School which complies more with heteronomous centralised policies. Muirhead Avenue Primary School sits in the middle trying to be the producer of two contrasting forms of capital.

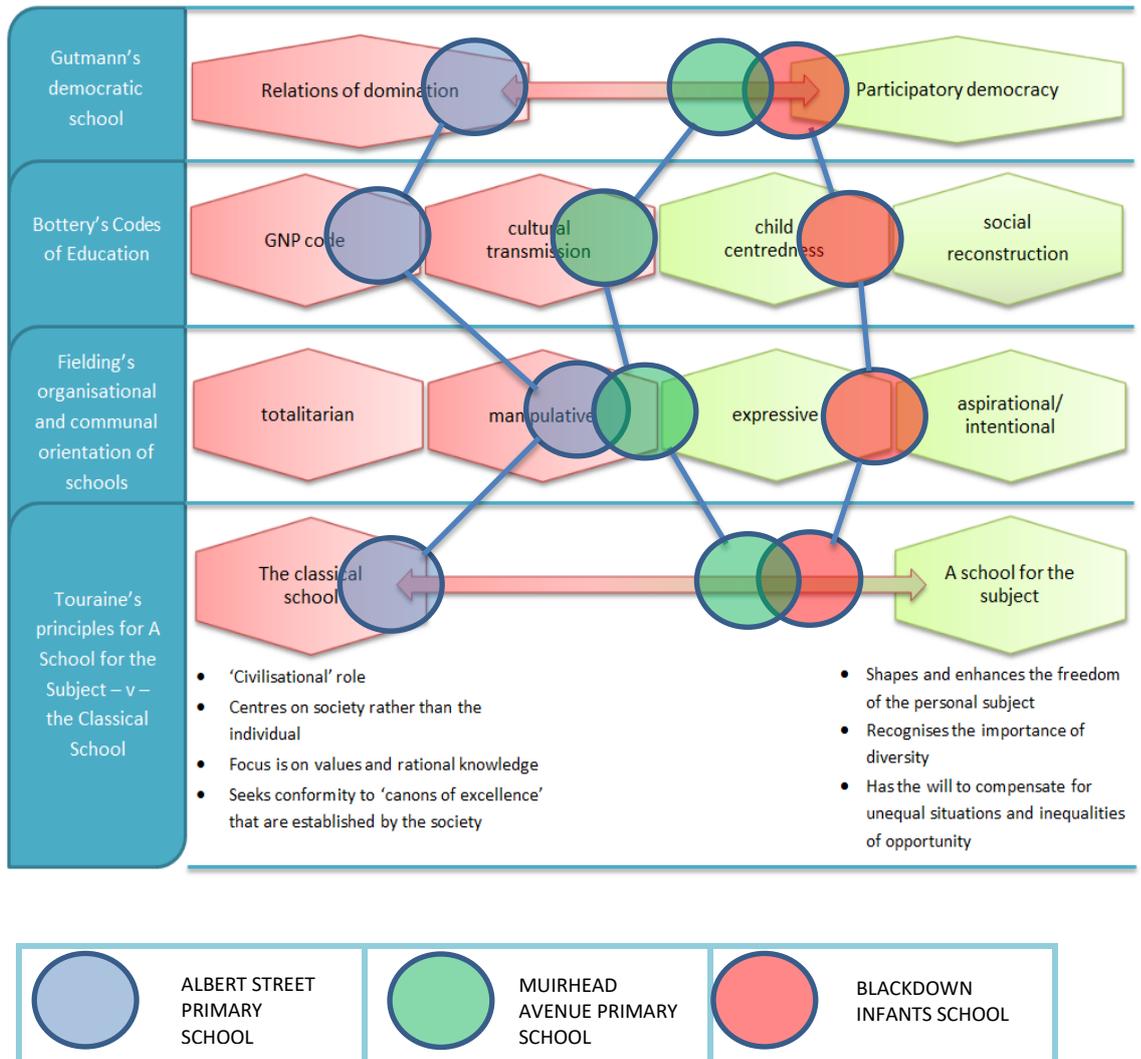


Figure 64 : Chart to show positions of case-study schools in terms of inclusive principles and types of inclusive schools

The hierarchy of categorisations of children that each school produced depended upon the capital which it had legitimised as being of worth, placing children in accordance of how much of this capital they had (or had not) accrued. The cultural, school-produced capital towards the left of this figure, embodied in each of its strata, is closer to the heteronomy of economic capital, resulting in schools which are more standards-driven in nature. The cultural capital of schools to the right is more reflective of their community/diversity/social focus.

In addition a number of key issues has arisen from the analysis of data. These are focused on the understandings schools have made of the concept of inclusion in the context of the post-welfarist/austerity shift; the capacity of school leaders to legitimise their school's approach to inclusion in the context of powerful, central government policies; and the effectiveness of the work of Bourdieu in bringing about understandings of how schools have adopted their particular approaches to inclusion. The key issues are :

***KEY ISSUE 1** : Bourdieu's conceptual framework provides an effective means of analysing and understanding inclusion and schools' approaches to it, facilitating the tracing of a school's construction of inclusion from its relationship with centralised policy through to the identity categorisations of children.*

KEY ISSUE 2 : *there has been a reconceptualisation of inclusion in the context of a post-welfarist society which has legitimated a discourse about individualism.*

KEY ISSUE 3 : *the dominance of this discourse, at a time of apparent autonomy being given to schools, has generated centralised policies on inclusion which have imposed a standards-driven culture of inclusion to which alternatives are difficult for school leaders to operate.*

These form the basis of the Discussion chapter that follows.

Chapter 5 : Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the key issues raised by this research in terms of new knowledge that might emerge from them. It follows from both the review of literature (Chapter 2) which highlighted more generalised issues about current understandings and perceptions of inclusion, and Chapter 4 which explored and analysed them in the specific context of the case-study schools and defined the key issues raised by this research.

These findings will now be discussed in detail, along with implications for future research, policy and practice.

5.2 KEY ISSUE 1: *That Bourdieu's conceptual framework provides an effective means of analysing and understanding inclusion and schools' approaches to it :*

5.2.i Bourdieu's conceptual framework and inclusion - a personal view

This study has been a quest to find a theoretical explanation of the shifts that have taken place over my career in education (since 1969). Bourdieu has grown to be a central part of this, for his theoretical concepts (particularly field, habitus and capital) have helped to form an understanding, especially when applied to the notion of changes to the concept of inclusion over this time. It is this 'tool-box' that has dominated the basis of this research, providing a 'theory-as-method'. For Bourdieu's canon of work is

more than a conceptual framework to help to bring about understanding of phenomena, it is a methodology – a means of collecting and analysing data. This has been useful in constructing a consistent lens through which the concept of inclusion, as it has moved from welfarism to post-welfarism, can be explored.

The tool-box has a variety of other conceptual tools which have also grown to be helpful in building this understanding. The notions of misrecognition and symbolic violence demonstrate the arbitrariness of imposed school systems and the exclusive nature of their effects. This has helped to understand how social justice operates in value-laden ways and, in so doing, has become a political mantra. Indeed it is the heteronomy of political power which has emerged as the controlling medium through which meanings of inclusion is constructed.

But the fundamental of Bourdieu's work in relation to this study has been the relationship between agency and structure – not only in analysing the autonomy of schools and their power of agency within the heteronomy of centralised policy-making, but within the space given to children to become agentic. My career began at a time when children were agentic, when they were 'at the heart of the educational process' (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967 paragraph 9, p.7) and ended with the structural dominance of the prescribed learning of the National Curriculum. The Bourdieusian lens

has helped to clarify this shift and what its implications have been for the meaning of inclusion and how these have come to be. In essence Bourdieu has helped to understand the ways in which power operates within a field

The tool-box has, however, some limitations and it is the purpose of this section to consider them further.

5.2.ii The role of theory and Bourdieu, and its limitations for this study

Let me say outright and very forcefully that I never “theorise”, if by that we mean engage in a kind of gobbledygook ... that is good for textbooks and which, through an extraordinary misconstrual of the logic of science, passes for Theory in much of Anglo-American social science There is no doubt a theory in my work, or better, a set of thinking tools visible through the results they yield, but it is not built as such It is a temporary construct which takes shape for any empirical work.

(Wacquant, 1989, p.50)

As these words proclaim, Bourdieu’s canon of work, rather than constructing ‘a Theory’, provides the concepts which are the tools with which social analysis and critique can take place. It is through their analytic application that the tools become a framework for understanding the workings of a social phenomenon – they become the lenses through which it is viewed rather than the theory it can be matched against. In this sense they

are the tools for articulating how a phenomenon (such as inclusion) is constructed at a particular time.

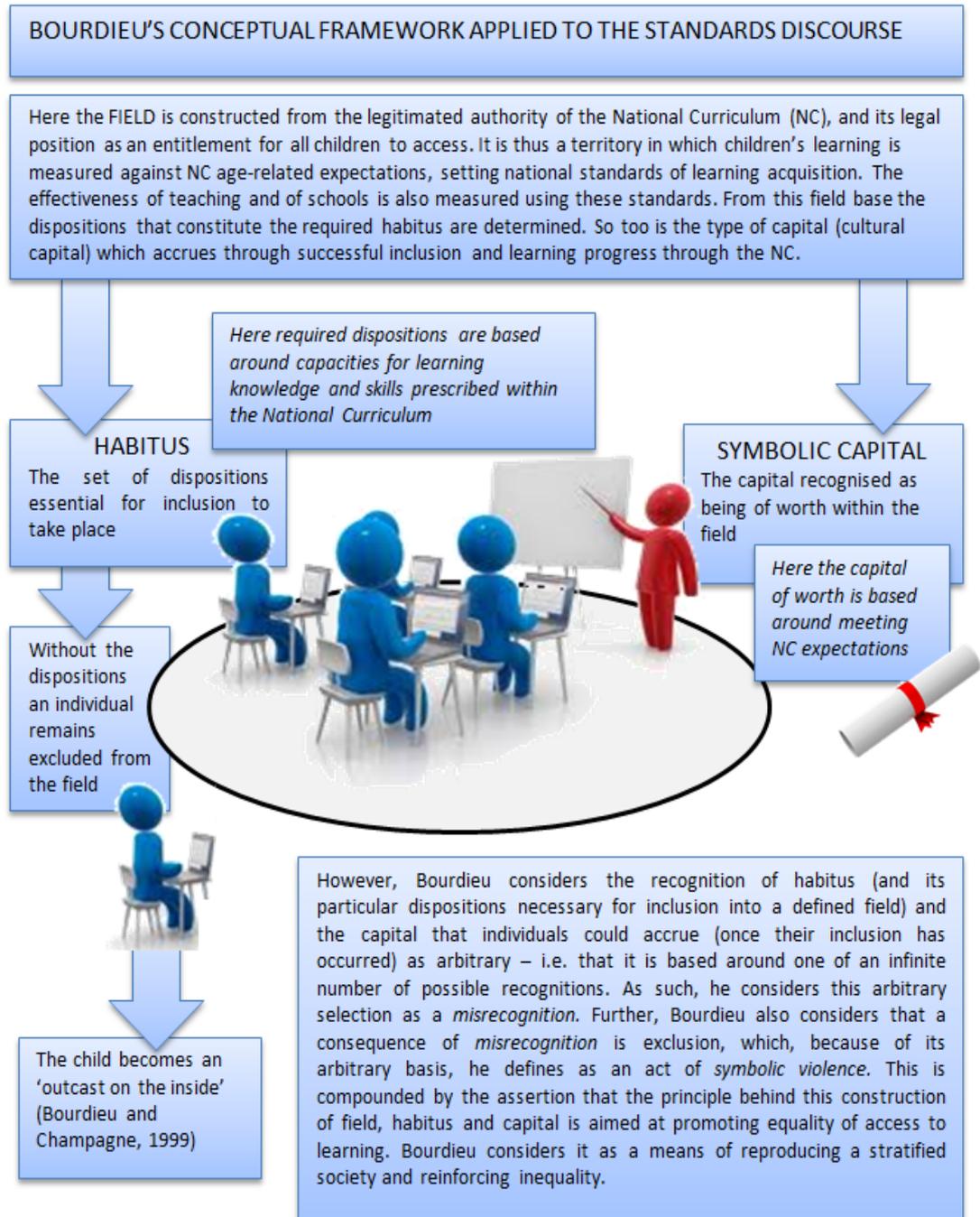


Figure 65 : Bourdieu's conceptual framework applied to the standards discourse of inclusion

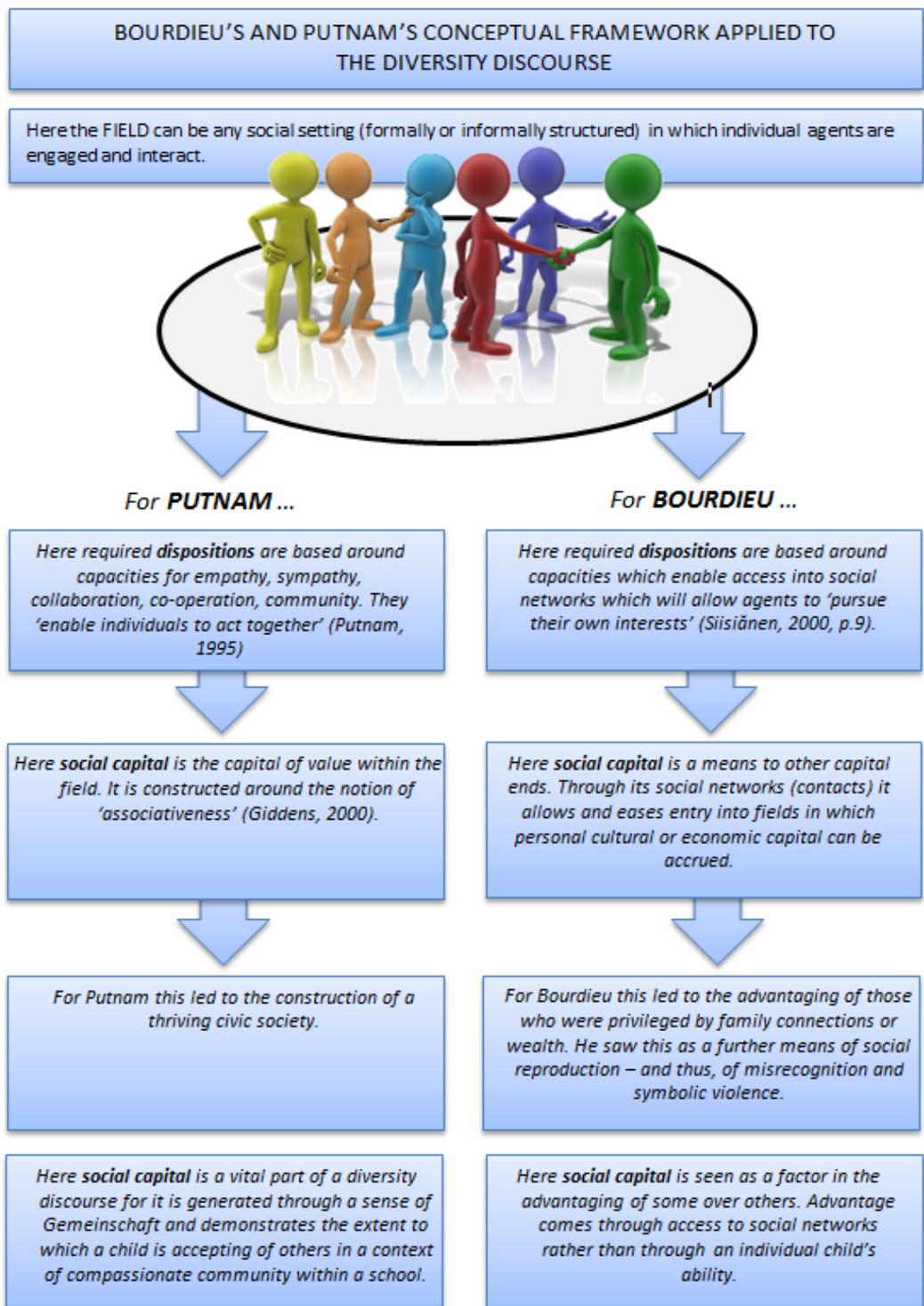


Figure 66 : Bourdieu's and Putnam's conceptual framework applied to the diversity discourse of inclusion

In the context of this study they have been used to probe deeper in the data gathered in the case-study schools and its thematic analysis. The ‘thinking tools’ allowed for a deeper analysis in terms of both power relationships and the inter-relationships of Bourdieu’s concepts - field, habitus and capital in particular. The product of this deeper analysis is shown in figures 63 and 64 above. They represent the two discourses of inclusion and show how they operate when observed through a Bourdieusian conceptual lens.

The diversity discourse model also includes Putnam’s interpretation of social capital for his use of ‘associativeness’ and social networks is also central to the diversity discourse.

These figures represent the landscape of inclusion discourses from which specific maps were drawn (see 4.5.iii) which articulate the power structures and how they interplay in determining an interpretation of inclusion in specific school sites. From these landscapes individual maps were drawn (see figures 57 to 59) to show how autonomy and heteronomy relate to each other – demonstrated by the distance between them. The map thus represents this crucial relationship in determining a school’s approach to inclusion based on data collected as part of the research. Further, these maps also demonstrate the dominance of the standards discourse and how this has been worked with by each of the schools in order to construct individual interpretations of inclusion. The maps also position stakeholders who have

taken part in the research to attempt to show the extent of their power in creating this construction in their school. The map, however, like all maps, shows the positions of objects in a landscape at one point in time (2010-2013); it fails to illustrate the evolution of that landscape. Thus the maps in this study present a static presentation of the understanding and practice of inclusion from which argument can develop – they do not present its development over time.

Bourdieu's intent was for his conceptual framework to be a 'set of thinking tools visible through the results they yield', and it is hoped that this has not been over-reached by this research. The tool-box has been a means of unearthing data from which discussion can follow. This specific focus of the use of the tool-box and the data it brings to light questions its capacity to become generalisable. Indeed, this issue also relates to the generalised use to which data from specific case-studies can be put (see 3.2.iii). In a Bourdieusian sense such data has prompted reflexive discussion and not a 'scientific' theory.

Thus the maps result from the use of the tool-box but it would seem that their construction is limited by the tools available. Indeed, there are two particular areas that do not have the tools available for their exploration.

Limitation 1 : exploring the practical as an expression of both social and psychological activity

Bourdieu identified an interest in social practices throughout his researches – '[t]he practices of everyday lives were the primary object of his study' (Rawolle and Lindgard, 2008, p.730). Accordingly, the maps show the state of inclusion within specific schools in the wider context of macro government policy during a time of post-welfarist austerity. As Rawolle and Lindgard continue, 'Bourdieu never offered simplistic definitions of practice, instead constituting the concept as a rich but open category for activities that have a social character and meaning, the specific details, structure and effects of which emerge in research' (ibid.). Practices are both public and specifically contextualised in time and space, and it is the job of Bourdieusian research to unearth the way in which this context gives name and meaning to an activity that positions it within its social organisation and space.

A limitation here is Bourdieu's accounting of practice as purely social, for he does not consider internal mental states. In their place, habitus is used to 'theorise practice without identifying either rational mental states as the sole origin of action, and without appealing to the mind's ability to represent actions' (ibid.). The dispositions inherent in habitus provide the connection between agents and practices. Even though it might be considered that dispositions are the embodiment of an individual's social history, such internal matters were not within the public focus of Bourdieu's work.

It is at this point that the Bourdieusian theory-as-method limits this research. This criticism centres on the objectivity with which he engaged with his concept of habitus (Sweetman, 2003, Sayer, 2005) and of 'not engaging sufficiently with the domain of the affective' (Reay, 2015, p.10). The criticism is levelled at habitus being given a narrower cognitive aspect than that which would be generated through a fusion of the psychological and psychoanalytical with the sociological. Bourdieu makes a plea for this in *Pascalian Meditations* : 'Sociology and psychology should combine their efforts to analyse the genesis of investment in a field of social relations' (Bourdieu, 1997, p.166).

The case study schools demonstrated the presence of this affective domain within this field of social relations as schools constructed an understanding of inclusion. George (headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) expressed strong, tearful emotion when talking about the effects of being told that his work was not being effective; Barry (headteacher, Muirhead Avenue Primary School) stated how he was being 'emotionally battered' by trying to 'instil a set of values' in children and the school community whilst also coping with the pressures of ensuring their successful attainment of expected levels of learning.

Such tensions cannot be revealed by their plotting on a map of a field of power. They result from the personal management of the interface between school leader habitus and field of heteronomous power. Habitus is a human

quality and is therefore prone to human frailties. The moral imperative of school leaders to define its values, and hence its principles and practices, emerges from a complexity of 'ambivalence, compromise, competing loyalties, ambiguities and conflict' (Reay, 2015, p.11). It creates a Headteacher habitus built around transactions with the field (both the macro-field of centralised policy and the micro-field of the school and the personalities and value-systems of its members), which is highly charged with personal and inter-personal emotions. The dispositions implied by this complexity further demand, what Bourdieu has called, a 'divided habitus' in which individuals are caught between two competing fields. This is clearly evident in the three headteachers from the case-study schools who each have, to different extents, a habitus divided between the two discourses but who also find ways of balancing them in ways that they can morally justify.

Through this process headteachers thus come to hold multi-identities as they move from discourse to discourse. Barry's habitus struggle was that while, on the one hand, he wished desperately to invest the school with aspects of himself through the projection of his identity (Bollas, 1995), while on the other the dominant external projection of the standards discourse led to repression, and the questioning of his ability to lead. This is an area of subjective emotion which loses some of its meaning and significance by being reduced to objective classifications.

Reay (2015) states that 'The concept of habitus enables links between individuals' inner emotional worlds and external social and structural processes; it both animates the social in the psychosocial and allows us to better understand how the psyche is formed in and through the social' (p.22). This is far removed from the more sanitised objectivity placed upon Bourdieu's concepts of agent and structure. It enters a personal, subjective narrative of habitus acquisition linked to the objectivity of field theory. Though this has been a part of this research, there is further work needed here to explore this especially at a time of 'austerity-as-ideology' (Ignagni et al., 2015). For it is within this context that there appears to be a dominant emphasis upon the acquisition of cultural capital, as expressed by prescribed curriculum learning, which subsumes the individual narratives of children (and their habitus) towards whom it is aimed. It is thus the link between the institutionalised state of cultural capital (the curriculum learning defined by the state and the school) and habitus that, because of the domination of the power of the former, may seem to determine the behaviours in children that are the required product of an equally required habitus.

This is the compliance and the conformity demonstrated in Albert Street Primary School. This statement hides the complexity of habitus and the behaviours it determines. Bourdieu goes on to argue that :

It is important ... that the lines of action engendered by habitus do not, indeed cannot, have the neat regularity of conduct deduced from a

*normative or juridical principle. This is because **habitus is in cahoots with the fuzzy and the vague***

(ibid., p.22, emphasis in original)

An element of the 'fuzzy and the vague' is the difficulty in distinguishing between habitus and 'embodied cultural capital'. The latter infers that capital has been internalised to the extent that enables an individual to be seen as a 'fish in water'(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.127). This is a matter sited in the individual. In contrast, habitus is generated through social rather than individual processes, from the interplay of agents and structures within a field of power. It comprises patterns of dispositions that become externalised criteria necessary for agents to become active within a specific field.

Limitation 2 : exploring Bourdieusian transubstantiation of capital

Throughout this research there have been assumptions made about the 'transubstantiation' (see 5.3.iii) of the cultural capital that is accrued through children's meeting curriculum learning expectations into the gaining of economic capital in the eventual workplace. This assumption is formed around the notion of the public visibility of education credentials that come through curriculum learning and which recognise its attainment. It is a mainstay argument of the standards discourse that the one leads to the other and that this will secure a future national economic security. The dependence of this argument 'may be questioned' (Sullivan, 2002, p.146) for its accruing is

not only dependent upon internal mental states, also, as Sullivan points out, cultural capital is itself a construct open to individual researcher interpretation. Indeed, this is a consequence of Bourdieu's lack of a 'Theory' for the open-endedness that ensues allows for variance of interpretation in the ways in which cultural capital is seen to be operationalised.

The instrumentality of cultural capital within the standards discourse gifts it immense status. For example, the effectiveness of 'Pupil Premium' funding, aimed at raising the attainment of 'disadvantaged' children through additional funding for schools based on the number of children identified as disadvantaged, targets comparisons with the progress made by such children with those who are 'non-disadvantaged'. This is to presume that any disparities can be resolved by additional funding which can be spent on intervention strategies aimed at integrating children into the standards discourse. In this process cultural capital can be acquired by a disadvantaged child in order that they attain the same as non-disadvantaged children and in this way social justice can be seen to be done. This is a narrow and instrumental view of cultural capital, and indeed of social justice, based upon the assumption that this form of cultural capital is the currency of a school as 'a business that all can potentially access' (Gunter, 2015, p.1208). Its narrowness, however, does not take into account the myriad social and psychological factors that cause a child to be unable to attain this access. Bourdieu can be criticised for allowing a vagueness to surround this linkage, a

lack of precise clarity which he might have justified as both being reflective of the complexity of the real world but also providing a lens through which this complexity could be viewed and analysed.

It is this lack of recognition of the personal factors that impact upon a child's inclusion into the standards discourse that suggest that Bourdieu's framework is limited in terms of its use to fulfil all the intentions of this research. It provides a means of interpreting a public dimension of inclusion, but I am left with burning questions about the role of the psychological in two senses.

The first is a concern with the emotional capacity of school leaders to find the leadership space to consider and put into practice alternative models of inclusion than that of the standards discourse. I am left with an unfinished framework which does not take into account the personal dimension of school leadership. Nor, secondly, does it take into account the individual background stories of children which facilitate or hinder their inclusion. The agency of children is only visible in its public, cultural capital form, not in its psychological.

Finally, the mechanisms of capital exchange which provide a logical progression from inclusion into curriculum learning (standards discourse) and its accruing of cultural capital to its later exchange for economic capital of the

market-place, remains tenuous. Yet it is the solid basis of government policy on inclusion.

These short-comings have to be placed within a generalised context of the power of Bourdieu's work in explaining phenomena and in providing a conceptual tool-box to help with this. It is in the specific context of this research that I am left feeling that there is more to bring the sociological and the psychological together and that either additions need to be made to the mixed methods used or that a new conceptual framework needs to be established which specifically builds on Bourdieu's work to gain greater insights into the focus of this research. The exploration of this deficit is the purpose of the final chapter.

5.3 KEY ISSUE 2 : That there has been a reconceptualisation of inclusion in the context of a post-welfarist society which has legitimated a discourse about individualism :

5.3.i The significance of the post-welfare shift in its recasting of inclusion : curriculum learning and social justice

The review of the literature explored inclusion in the context of a societal shift from welfarism to post-welfarism. Of prime importance in the birth of post-welfarism was the unravelling of traditional forms of welfarist notions of citizenship and their replacement by 'personal exclusiveness' (Young, 1999, p.6), a shift which was explored in Chapter 2. Inclusion has thus moved from being essentially a *social* welfarist concept (the community of *Gemeinschaft*) to taking a polarised meaning of the engagement of

individuals with post-welfarist economism and its related structures (including the National Curriculum expectations of learning as induction into the values of capitalism).

In this way 'inclusion' has become a much-abused word, confusing its meaning with that of integration as well as the ends to which it is a means. Its social, moral and ethical components have been hijacked by post-welfarist political ambitions. As schools have become more accountable by the 'value for money' mantra school leaders are not only redrawing boundary lines around the territory of expectations of learning, but also redefining curriculum teaching and learning intentions around the need to mould children to the expectations of this territory and the tolerance that can be given to those who fall outside its boundaries.

Moral and ethical principles become subsumed by those of the political ambitions of post-welfarism, fuelled by measures to combat austerity. National economic security and prosperity has become an over-arching political aim and in its wake has emerged the rise of the competitive individualism of the market-place, which has grown to dominate. This rise of individualism has replaced the social – captured by Thatcher's '... who is society? There is no such thing!' (Keay, 1988, p.4), confirming a new post-welfare refocusing of the purposes of education and the type of individualist citizen at which they should be aimed. In turn, this has led to a recasting of

inclusion as a means of access to this new territory of politically constructed educational economism.

A consequence of this cost-effective shift from the moral to the political has been a movement away from the focus on agents and their welfare and social needs to structures created from government policy. In Young's (1999) phrase, the shift to post-welfarism has been 'from inclusive to exclusive society' as the responsibility for inclusion has shifted from the state to the individual. Here, the state no longer has the prime responsibility to provide welfare services to benefit groups/individuals within society; rather it is the provider of structures that individuals, as consumers of the services embodied within these structures, take on the self-responsibility of using to the full. As a consequence, the focus then becomes switched to the structures themselves and their inclusive accessibility - the quality of the services they supply and their public accountability.

Translated to school settings the standards discourse provides a metric by which qualities of service can be measured. It is the structure of these measures that has become the fundamental of schools, an imperative that cannot be ignored. The responsibility for meeting expected standards falls to teachers and school leaders – failure to achieve this implies that there are weaknesses in the quality of the service provided by the school, information of which is made publicly available through Ofsted reporting procedures

(Ofsted, 2015). It is a system which treats children instrumentally – as Dickensian ‘little vessels ... ready to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they were full to the brim’ (Dickens, 1854 (1965), p.16), as passive recipients of learning, moulded by the demands of curriculum learning.

An essential confusion here is the transposing of the service-provider and service-consumer roles and principles to schools and children. Public accountability of schools is founded upon data gathered of young children’s attainments. In a Bourdieusian sense, the post-welfare accountability emphasis is upon the measurement of (cultural) capital acquisition which dominates over the habituses children might have which support or discourage it from happening. The education of young children also includes the development of habitus (Field, 2010, for example) and there is a risk that this becomes of lesser importance in the context of the need for children to acquire curriculum capital.

Post-welfarist arguments about social justice seem to give little status to the development of habitus with two profound effects. Firstly their emphasis upon distributive justice implies that curriculum learning opportunities are open to all, whilst they remain open only to those children whose dispositions allow. The capacity of a child to possess a habitus-match which facilitates inclusion is largely dependent upon his/her social classification, with generations of researchers demonstrating the difficulties facing children from

disadvantaged backgrounds or with special educational needs restricting their gaining inclusion into National Curriculum learning. For example, The House of Commons Education Committee' Report - Underachievement in Education by White Working Class Children found :

White working class underachievement in education is real and persistent. White children who are eligible for free school meals are consistently the lowest performing group in the country, and the difference between their educational performance and that of their less deprived white peers is larger than for any other ethnic group. The gap exists at age five and widens as children get older. This matters, not least because the nature of the labour market in England has changed and the consequences for young people of low educational achievement are now more dramatic than they may have been in the past.

(House-of-Commons-Education-Committee (2014, p.3)

This argument goes back as far as Jackson and Marsden (1962) and beyond. Its current form co-mingles the social and the educational as cause and effect. Social class is seen as a determiner of attainment because of mismatches of the habitus of working-class children with the required habitus demanded to gain access to this learning territory. The same could be argued for children with special education needs, children from other heritages – indeed children of difference

The second effect of post-welfarism giving little emphasis to habitus is that opportunities to access curriculum learning and its cultural capital become, in this social justice way, a moral imperative which justifies the dominance of the standards discourse and the importance of its public accountability. The moral necessity, therefore, is to ensure as many children as possible enter its territory, and this justifies their integration – their moulding to its morally upheld requirements.

Throughout these changes inclusion has been seen as a means to particular government policy societal ends aimed at providing a means to greater social justice. The shift from welfarism to post-welfarism moves social justice from the egalitarianism of welfarism and its concerns with the equal distribution of welfare resources to allow more to gain full citizenship, to the post-welfarist notion that social justice is synonymous with individuals' social mobility.

But this is a misrecognition. Its failure, as Reay (2013) remarks, is that, although claiming to be a powerful tool with which to construct social mobility, it did not focus on the underlying causes of social inequality but was, rather, a 'politically driven distraction', a 'very inadequate sticking plaster over the gaping wound social inequalities have become in the 2010s'(p.663). Yet it is this sticking plaster that is legitimated as the panacea for social inequality, licensing a standards discourse on inclusion as a means to defined

curriculum learning ends which will place children who achieve this on the road to successful capitalism. The responsibility is seen to shift away from centralised policy to that of individual children as consumers of learning.

Over time social mobility has become nothing more than a 'recycling of inequality' (Reay, 2013, p.661) which perpetuates the stigma of categorisations of difference. It is self-fulfilling in that it is based upon a construction of a hierarchy of social classes into which individuals are placed, affirming a social order/positioning. It is this construction which has been immovable and which has dominated the social landscape, reshaping itself continually but always reaffirming a social order.

The merging of social justice, social mobility and curriculum require further untangling and clarification. The emphasis on distributive social justice needs questioning, for it compounds inequality rather than reduces it. Underpinning this failure to effectively tackle social justice lies the categorisations that position individuals, defining the 'able' and the 'labelled' (Ignagni et al., 2015) and determining their capacity for the social mobility that equates with social justice.

5.3.ii The identity bestowed on children through the processes of inclusion – citizenship, habitus change and misrecognition

What is learned by the body is not something that one has, like knowledge that can be brandished, but something that one is.

(Bourdieu, 1990b, p.73)

Bourdieu here refers to a wider effect of learning – one that is not only concerned with the acquisition of knowledge but also with the creating of identity and the positioning of the learner. Thomson (2000) refers to this as an apprenticeship :

*... the slow, lengthy process of acquiring not only symbolic and cultural capitals necessary for participation in the field, but also the processes of investing in the game, accepting its doxa and its ways of being, learning the strategies of participation, and acquiring the habitus, that embodied sense of **being** a practitioner.*

(p.69, emphasis in original)

It is this sense of inclusion as apprenticeship to societal ends that this section considers, for it implies a territory (field) into which apprenticeship is aimed and its purposes and principles. Within this research the notion of citizenship (in its welfarist and post-welfarist contexts) has been discussed as a focus of the purposes of education. This territory of inclusion has changed as notions of citizenship have shifted criteria towards what Goodley and

Runswick-Cole (2014) define as 'the myth of the ideal white, male, middle-class, heteronormative, and "able" citizen' leaving those who differ from this as 'labelled' (Ignagni et al., 2015). This is a misrecognition which helps to perpetuate its own position and power-base. Implicitly it has become accepted as a legitimated form of citizenship norm in a post-welfarist context, from which inclusion can be constructed and curricula designed in order to induct children into it. For Hardy (2016) this frames the conception of citizenship and the curriculum that inducts children into it as 'intrinsically beneficial'.

The two discourses work towards different conceptions of citizenship but the process of contestation and legitimation between them and the citizenship they espouse, are not straightforward. Their complexity centres on the 'paradox of doxa' (Bourdieu, 2001b), a term used by Bourdieu to describe his astonishment at how social practices which emphasise domination are 'perceived as acceptable and even natural' (p.1). This has led to the standards discourse becoming so doxically accepted that there is 'no alternative'.

The standards discourse gives this centralised controlled learning recognition, and gives status to the body of knowledge it espouses as 'common sense'. But it also misrecognises the concealed restrictions it perpetrates upon children of difference, and in doing so further misrecognises the inequality it perpetuates through the severity of its

stratifications and hierarchies. The complicit acceptance of this state has become an integral part of post-welfare society that reinforces the Thatcher mantra that there is 'no alternative'. It has become a 'total' hierarchy, grounded in the natural make-up of a capitalist society. There is a failure, in this doxic acceptance, to recognise it as misrecognition. In Bourdieu's words :

Misrecognition of the social determinants of the educational career – and therefore of the social trajectory it helps to determine – gives the educational certificate the value of a natural right and makes the educational system one of the fundamental agencies of the maintenance of the social order.

(Bourdieu, 1984a, p.387)

It is through the process of 'consecration' (Bourdieu, 1986) that the standards discourse has gained legitimacy and has gained widespread doxic understanding and acceptance. This is reinforced by Bourdieu's notion of *nomos* which relates to the acceptance of the state of normalcy that pertains within a field – particularly in the criteria used to divide its population (social class, gender, learning difficulties ...). In the context of schools and the standards discourse these divisions have produced a lexicon of vocabulary and technical terms which are commonly understood by staff in schools, children and their parents/carers. This language has developed over time to provide a legitimated means of understanding the progression in each child's

learning and, more generally, the work of a school. It is a language not only of children's development in their learning and identity, but of the public accountability of schools. It is a natural language of the post-welfare era which symbolises the osmosis of post-welfare values and principles into the daily life of Everyman. Moreover, this takes place under a banner of enhancing social justice/mobility (see 5.2.i) as it shifts to a post-welfarist position in which social, political and economic inequalities are transformed into educational inequalities which then become the responsibility of the individual. 'Blame' (Young et al., 2014) can be seen to shift to schools and even to children for their non-attainment of expectations of learning.

This raises questions about the fixedness of habitus within children because of their background, heritage, needs etc. – factors which have 'caused' their difference and the risk of their exclusion. Even in 1932 Russell was concerned that :

[T]he less fortunate members of the community must ... suffer such intellectual atrophy that they do not perceive the injustice of which they are the victims.

(Russell, 1932a, p.92)

For Bourdieu this implied that 'the less fortunate members of the community' became doxically classed as 'outcasts on the inside' :

The education system excludes as it always has, but now it does so continuously and at every level of the curriculum ... and it keeps hold of those whom it excludes, just relegating them to educational tracks that have more or less lost whatever value they once had. It follows that those outcast on the inside are forced ...to do a balancing act between ...anxious submission and powerless revolt.

(Bourdieu, 1999, p.425)

Bourdieu's words here echo his notion of the 'destiny' effect (see p.61) on reproducing social positions. This raises questions about the capacity of individuals to combat the forces of social reproduction and in doing so transform habitus. However, the powerful effect of factors (external to school) that impact on children's habitus can be seen to pre-determine attainments within a standards discourse. They can also be seen to construct a passivity in children, an acceptance of processes of post-welfarist schooling and their capacity to find a place within (or without) it, begging the question – can habitus change?

In this context the role of the school, in following government policy, is to transform the habitus of individual children in order that they can become included into the standards discourse. It is the potential 'cleft' (Kupfer, 2016) between the embedded habitus of the child and the demands made by the institutional habitus that determine the degree of potential inclusion.

It is the role of the school to bring about this transformatory compliance through its 'pedagogical devices' (ibid.). The school's focus, however, in standards discourse terms, is upon cognitive habitus (Nash, 2005) – the product of curriculum learning. This is a narrow part of the child's totality of habitus yet it is given significant importance because of its measurability in a political climate which demands actuarial accountability of public services.

Bourdieu recognised the working of 'the subjective structures of the unconscious' (1996, p.29) in constructing understandings (individually and collectively) of social reality. But he considered these structures as 'a long, slow, unconscious process of the incorporation of objective structures' (ibid.). It is this 'mental dimension' (Kupfer, 2016) and the ways in which individual children's embedded habitus is supplanted by the cognitive habitus demands of the standards discourse that have the potential to ignore their life-stories as standards success takes priority. Between these two forms of habitus is a conceptual 'space' (Noble and Watson, 2003) in which pedagogy can operate to attempt to bring about the required learning demanded by institutional and structural demands.

It has been argued above (5.3.i) the welfarist focus on agent has been usurped by post-welfarist emphasis on structure. With this has also come a shift from habitus to capital, on curriculum content learning rather than personal dispositions.

The accruing of capital is seen to lead to eventual successful entry into the market-place economy. This implies that capital acquired through the processes of education can become exchanged for the capital of the market-place – it is this assumption that this section will now go on to explore, for it is a central pillar of the standards discourse.

5.3.iii Changes to capital and the dependence on data

The dominance of post-welfarist neo-liberalism implies a constructed science of metrics by which calculations of cost-effectiveness can be made. This reduction to measures defines milestones towards successful citizenry against which individuals can be measured and their capital assessed. The assumption is that capital will shift from one form into another as milestones in this progression are passed. But there remain unanswered questions about how this happens.

It is unclear how underpinning processes of curriculum learning measurement are means to ascertaining the extent to which a child will progress towards becoming a full post-welfare citizen and able contributor to national economic well-being, or if they are simply part of an assumed and universal instrumentality of the certainty of measurements. Data has become a part of everyday life and is used to ‘objectively’ and ‘scientifically’ justify argument. The reduction to data of the complex and highly personalised processes of learning through a standards discourse hides (and

misrecognises) so many other factors that its claim as an accurate measure around which so much depends, has to be questioned. It would seem to be a process which has been constructed in the abstractions of conceptual theory rather than in a more existentialist context, separated from a human dimension.

In contrast, the logic of exchange mechanisms and laws of conversion surrounding the diversity discourse are more humanely centred but less instrumentally clear, for it is based upon a contrasting understanding of the function of schools which is dependent on a logic deemed weaker than the global doxic acceptance of that of the market-place. Its emphasis is upon social capital acquisition, and its exchange is directed towards social well-being. Indeed it could be argued that there is no exchange for its learning relates to the immediacy of children's lives where it finds application, rather than for some future event. This does not conform to the metrics of post-welfarism. It is seen as a natural element of being human, and therefore not 'powerful knowledge'.

This is to question the role of the school's responsibility in teaching beyond the common-sense and the naturalness of a diversity discourse, for this is not seen as 'powerful knowledge'. For while it might contribute to an understanding of citizenship in a *Gemeinschaft* way, creating 'organic' communities, the *Gessellschaft*-type society of post-welfarism poses more

instrumental and individualistic citizenship demands. Here there is a need for knowledge and skills formally recognised as essential for effective citizenship within a post-industrial society.

In Bourdieusian terms the emphasis upon a standards discourse focuses on an *institutionalised* state of cultural capital, as seen in Albert Street Primary School. By this term Bourdieu referred to the 'objectified' state of the cultural capital generated by schools in the form of academic qualifications which act as guarantees of cultural competence (Bourdieu, 1986) helping to measure out the milestones towards its exchange for economic capital.

In contrast, Blackdown Infants School's concern was to develop cultural capital in an *embodied* state. Bourdieu states that this form of cultural capital takes the form of the development of 'long lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (ibid., p.17). In this sense, Blackdown Infants School's emphasis could be said to lie in a form of capital that was founded upon habitus. It strove to develop the dispositions in children (and the wider community) which would engage them with learning. George (headteacher) spoke of learning being life-long and of the importance of children's acquiring the 'positive attitudes' (and 'emotional levelling') with which to become engaged with learning as a 'lifelong' activity.

5.4 KEY ISSUE 3 : That at a time of apparent autonomy being given to schools, centralised policies on inclusion have imposed a standards-driven culture of inclusion to which alternatives are difficult for school leaders to operate

5.4.i Leadership space and habitus tugging

The tension between heteronomy and autonomy greatly affected Barry (headteacher, Muirhead Avenue Primary School), restricting the 'sense of choice and personal freedom [that would allow him to] find new patterns and possibilities' (Bolman and Deal, 1997, p.3). It was this lack of leadership space which stifled him, preventing him from finding the means to put his inclusive principles into practical action. Ainscow et al.'s (2006) contention was that 'All actions, practices and policies may be regarded as the embodiment of moral arguments' (p.23); they are dependent on the values that underpin them and the principles that form and shape their emergence into practice. Barry had a strong moral stance about the education of children. His values echoed those prioritised by Ainscow et al. (2006) - 'equity, participation, community, compassion, respect for diversity, sustainability and entitlement' (p.25). Putting these values into action, Barry wanted his school to be '... focused on presence, participation *and* achievement' (ibid., emphasis in original).

Within the interviews with Barry the strength of his emotional attachment to and belief in these values was clearly shown (see 4.5.v, for example). His struggle, however, was against the dominance of the standards

discourse and the doxic acceptance of it as a legitimated form of education in which :

Pedagogy and classroom decision-making are driven by the overbearing emphasis on performance. Outcome measurement and teaching are distorted by the fears of measurement and comparison.

(Ball, 2013, p.3)

Barry sought the space within which to construct his alternative. He was caught, however, in the limbo of trying to construct a hybrid model of inclusion that would not only remain faithful to welfarist principles but would also meet the post-welfare demands of government policy and Ofsted monitoring.

The issue here is the capacity of school leaders to hold two very different beliefs about the purposes of education at the same time, especially when one emanates from dominant centralised policy-making, and remain faithful to principles. For example, Male and Palaiologou (2015) make a case for pedagogical leadership which resonates with that adopted by Barry describing it as 'an ethical approach that respects values and does not engage in any project that will only benefit the individual, but instead looks after the ecology of the community' (p.219). This seems diametrically opposed to the '[t]here is no alternative' Thatcherite view of the dominance of the individual and the competitive focus of the market-place for it questions the very

economic and global principles that give it form. This stance presented in Barry a conflict of moral consciousnesses.

This is an issue about habitus in the context of a field of power. Bourdieu's notion of *illusio* emerges from his consideration that by agreeing to enter (and become included in) a field of power an agent accepts the laws that determine how to act and think within it – the 'rules of the game'. *Illusio* implies that the game is worth playing – even though it is based on the arbitrariness of one reality being gifted more legitimacy than another, causing particular fields to dominate and to be worth the struggle of gaining inclusion into. Barry's struggle was with the rules of the standards discourse game, in this particular field of power dominated by heteronomy.

He was caught between the two discourses. There was a 'cleft' between the habitus demanded of school leaders within the dominant standards discourse and the 'principled' habitus which Barry had adopted. The former 'tugged' (Noble and Watson, 2003) against the latter. He became 'haunted' (Gordon, 2008) by its spectre because it could no longer be 'contained or repressed or blocked from view' (p.xvi). Its presence demanded his attention, bringing with it 'turmoil and trouble' and causing a state in which 'something different from before seems like it must be done' (ibid.). Gordon uses the image of haunting to articulate the effects of 'modern systems of abusive power in their immediacy and worldly significance' (p.xvii). The abusive power

of the imposition of post-welfarist standards discourses of inclusion through centralised government policy-making and monitoring troubled Barry to the extent that he 'fell on his sword' and left the profession. He could no longer contain the strength of this discourse.

It is here that the social and the personal become intertwined. The cause of Barry's 'suffering' can be seen to lie either in the societal context given to the dominance of standards discourse, or in his personal inability to comply with it or create an alternative. Bourdieu states :

... as sceptical as one may be about the social efficacy of the sociological message, one has to acknowledge the effect it can have in allowing those who suffer to find out that their suffering can be imputed to social causes and thus feel exonerated; and in making generally known the social origin, collectively hidden, of unhappiness in all its forms, including the most intimated, the most secret.

(Bourdieu, 1999, p.629)

Barry's suffering was a product of misrecognition and of symbolic violence but because it was caused by a discourse that originated from a heteronomously strong site (government policy), he found exoneration difficult. For him the two discourses remained separated, and he could not align them because of the strength of the standards discourse and the

distance he saw himself from it. This caused him to feel the impossibility of alignment and a sense of professional and personal failure.

Barry's haunting made it difficult for him to find leadership space in which he could find ways to operationalise his values. Policy is a discourse of possibilities, and of non-possibilities, within a field of power. Discourse is a 'site and object of struggle' (Best and Kellner, 1991) in which different groups 'strive for hegemony and the production of meaning and ideology' (ibid.). Barry's struggle was with the legitimisation processes of a field of power with which he did not conform. His efforts to shift loci of power to enable autonomous policy statements to be constructed around his values could not compete in the hegemony of centralised policy controls. Such statements failed to 'obey laws that are proper to them' (Bourdieu, 2001a, p.67) – i.e. did not comply with legitimated heteronomy.

Jane (headteacher, Albert Street Primary School) could find autonomy because of compliance with the 'proper' laws of the standards discourse. This enabled her, as a leader of an 'outstanding' school, to have the leadership space to develop a way of operating that was trusted by the heteronomy of Ofsted.

George (headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) was also able to find the leadership space. His 'act of courage' was committed in a context of compliance with National Curriculum and EYFS learning expectations (which

he had had to work hard to improve). Having reached this position he was then able to implement a child-initiated curriculum which, as long as standards continued to be above expectations, was acceptable practice. In this, his school 'obeyed the laws that are proper to them' (op. cit.) and in doing so created the leadership space for the construction of an alternative to a standards discourse.

5.4.ii Squaring the discourse circle

There is a danger that the two discourses are seen as separated ends of a range of understandings and practices of inclusion, whose polarised stances make the squaring of the inclusion circle difficult. This distinction between discourses made it difficult for Barry (headteacher, Muirhead Avenue Primary School) to rationalise a form of inclusion that would satisfy his personal understanding and that defined heteronomously by government policy. He could not find a way that would bring these together. School leaders in the other two case-study schools did find a way.

For Jane (headteacher, Albert Street Primary School) the diversity discourse became a means of equipping children with the habitus necessary to engage with the standards discourse. For George (headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) the diversity discourse created a community in which all children felt confident and assured and which provided a platform from which

they could engage with a range of learning (part of which was the standards discourse).

Both of these school leaders sought ways of developing communities of learning, but each had its own particular type of learning in mind. Jane focused on children's attainment of curriculum learning expectations and the cultural capital this generated, whilst George's focus was on the habitus of learning. Each sought to establish a specific community of learning that would help to develop their school's learning ambitions through individual and social support mechanisms.

It is in these two different approaches that the inclusive circle becomes squared, that a blending of the two discourses becomes conceptually and operationally justified though from opposed value stand-points.

Chapter 6 : Conclusion

6.1 Is there 'no alternative'?

This is a question which has been under the surface of this research as it explored the dominance of the standards discourse in post-welfare austerity. The power of this dominance finds its roots within market-place economism and capitalist neo-liberalism – enormous powers which have globally shaped societal values and government policy. The impact upon inclusion has been to champion the standards discourse as a means of apprenticeship/entry into these values. To seek alternatives to this form of inclusion is to battle against a solidly embedded doxa of capitalist individualism. This concluding chapter will discuss issues around seeking alternatives to a standards discourse of inclusion.

6.1.i The limitations of the standards discourse

The standards discourse is reliant on principles of competition, of the sanctity of measurement, of the purity of knowledge and of the privilege that accompanies its attainment. Its doxic intent leans towards 'the effect of intensifying competition and increasing educational investment on the part of groups who are already heavy users of the school system' (Bourdieu, 1999, p.422), leaving those who are excluded from it as 'outsiders on the inside'. Yet its argument is that it provides educational opportunity for all because it is available for all, in all schools. This is a logic of which, because of its

reproduction of underlying inequalities, Bourdieu is heavily critical for through its misrecognition it strengthens the justification of elitism :

The formal equity that governs the entire educational system is actually unjust, and, in any society that proclaims democratic ideals, it protects privileges all the better than would their open and obvious transmission.

(Bourdieu, 2008, p.36)

The structural emphasis of the standards discourse focuses attention on the measurement of children's attainments as a central part of schools' public accountability, which raises several moral issues about its claim to inclusion. Children are used objectively as commodified indicators of school effectiveness. Structure dominates agency, as 'needs' are viewed from a purely curriculum learning perspective – a product of the structure. This is a process of elimination whose long term consequences that 'those who felt unsuited for school ... were unsuited for the positions that an education opens up (and closes off) – that is white collar jobs and, especially, managerial positions within these occupations' (Bourdieu, 1999, p.421). The standards discourse is a legitimated form of inclusion based upon categorisation and discrimination – its claim to inclusion is illusory.

These consequences flow from the purposes of education being dominated by causes which lie outside its remit but have become entangled within it. 'The dominated apply categories constructed from the point of view

of the dominant to the relations of domination, thus making them appear as natural' (Bourdieu, 2001b, p.35). It is through this doxic seeing that public sector services are now seen as part of the market-place, affected by the instrumentality of its measures and accountabilities. The strength of acceptance of this doxa makes the quest for alternatives difficult to manage.

The focus on post-welfarist individualisation translates exclusion (i.e. the non-attainment of expectations of learning) as an issue within the child. Categorisations of children express the extent to which they meet (or fail to meet) these expectations, making it clear which are not attaining and by how much. Particular children thus become the focus of intervention programmes to assist with their inclusion. This implicitly places the onus on those children to make changes to meet externally imposed requirements.

To return to the beginning of this study, Ainscow et al. (2006) presented the principled case for inclusion (2.4), an argument that lay deeper behind the surface veneer of curriculum content (which is the focus of the standards discourse). This case was rooted in 'equity, participation, compassion, respect for diversity, sustainability and entitlement' (p.23), qualities which, when activated, would bring about inclusion at the level of fundamental societal values which would apply to all, but also shape inclusion in school. Their achievement demands enormous changes to political and governmental ambitions, in order that individualism changes from its current divisive meaning (as a sign that a child has gained sufficient cultural capital to enter

the competitive educational field, or that he/she does not have sufficient capital and therefore needs remedial intervention in order that this be rectified – remaining excluded if this is not possible), to one which is symbolic of acceptance and tolerance of difference.

Barry has emerged from this discussion as a school leader in turmoil, torn between compliance with the standards discourse and the moral stance he wished his school to be built upon. His position symbolises the difficulties and tensions that surround seeking alternatives to the standards discourse which has become an accepted doxa – ‘Capitalist, neoliberal societies beget capitalist, neoliberal education systems’ (Reay, 2011, p.2), creating what Bourdieu and Passeron named ‘class racism’ (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979). This is reflected in a statement made by then Secretary of State for Education Michael Gove to the Parliamentary Education Committee : ‘Rich kids do better educationally than poor, clever children before they even get to school ... unfortunately, despite the best efforts of our society, the situation is getting worse’ (Education Committee, 2010).

Inclusion into the standards discourse serves as a poor model to tackle this social injustice. It has become part of a pathway to individuals’ finding their ‘place’ within capitalist society, an apprenticeship through which essential knowledge, skills and values are learned. But although heralded as a single pathway of learning entitlement it is not open to those who lack the necessary dispositions because of their needs, culture or class.

6.1.ii Outcasts on the inside – an inevitable consequence?

At the conclusion of the review of the literature (figure 6, p.95) a democratic ideal was drawn together as a polarised opposite to the ‘classical’ school (Touraine, 2000). It constructs schools as democratic sites through which access to learning is available and accessible to all. It could be argued, justifiably, that this is the exact case put forward by post-welfare neoliberalism. It is the stark inequality of this latter system and its reproductive recycling of advantage/privilege and disadvantage that has to be addressed. This demands changing the national ‘mind-set’ (Reay, 2011) in order that society is freed from its preconceived and predetermining notions of the purposes and practises of education and schooling. It further demands of school leaders a reflexive rethinking of ways to find more inclusive, rather than divisive, ways of operating schools.

The fixed views of post-welfare neoliberalism conflate education and economism, to think of alternatives to the education systems that emerge from them requires tackling the moral issue of equality, the ethical issues around practice, and, more fundamentally, the values and principles that should underpin them. It is to explore the notion of democratic participation which allows individuals to follow an education pathway because of ‘interest and inclination’ (Reay, 2011) rather than predetermining social labelling. The changes to national mind-set values and understandings that this would entail are enormous, but they would help to bring about ‘a society in which every

person shall be occupied in something which makes the lives of others better worth living ... and breaks down the barriers of distance between them' (Dewey, 1916, p.325).

The concept of inclusion necessarily embraces the concept of exclusion. In seeking alternatives it is possible to find them in programmes such as Albert Street Primary School's Sunshine Club (see figure 37, p.215) in which children who are at risk of exclusion are recognised as problematical and are 'repair[ed] and return[ed]' (Heinrich, 2005, p.26) to mainstream curriculum learning. Such alternatives complement the existing standards discourse; remediating children in order that they can (re-)enter it. Its concern is with integration rather than inclusion.

Current schooling practices produce 'ableism' and 'labelling' (Ignagni et al., 2015), divisive forces which work to define the habitus necessary to become included in 'able', and the 'bad habitus' (Pöllmann, 2016) that leads to divisive exclusion and labelling. The determinism of this system seems to suggest an unending fixedness of habitus, a view that Bourdieu would contest (Nash, 2005).

Bourdieu stated that habitus 'is not a fate, not a destiny' (Bourdieu, 2005, p.45). Although it might be considered as 'a product of history, that is of social experience and education, it may be *changed by history*, that is by new experiences, education or training' (ibid., emphasis in original). But this

would imply a fundamental switch from cultural capital acquisition (the current focus of post-welfare neoliberalism) to the development of individual habitus, within a revised cultural context whose values and principles are aimed at participation. But this takes a huge 'act of [political] courage'.

Inclusive alternatives would demand a move away from the prioritising of 'performative regimes that dominate English education policy, and which focus schools' work on the achievement of key data targets rather than inclusive practice' (Pennachia and Thomson, 2016, p.2). This refocusing would require three radical shifts :

1. A shift away from cultural capital

The acquisition of the knowledge and skills embodied in the National Curriculum has become a metric of learning achievement and consequently of cultural capital gained by it. Such measures articulate the extent to which a child is included or excluded and what needs to be carried out to ensure his/her 'repair and return'. Exclusion is thus a necessary part of a system that categorises children in this way.

To become the principled inclusive school that Ainscow et al. (2006) define requires the 'presence, participation and achievement of all students' (p.25), a state that cannot exist if cultural capital is prioritised for this excludes some children and, in doing so, recognises a small part of their achievements and capability. Structural changes to schools are necessary if

they are to attain this move away from the tenuous prioritising of cultural capital (gained through National Curriculum learning) as a prerequisite for becoming a post-welfarist citizen.

Such restructuring would look more immediately to the child and his/her habitus – at personal dispositions rather than capital. It would seek to develop social contexts in which diversity is accepted and through which a broader sense of habitus is understood than that of the narrowness of a cognitive habitus (see 5.2.ii). As such it would become a person-centred school as defined by Fielding (2007) (see figure 6) in which the personal is prioritised over the functional attainment of curriculum learning.

2. *A shift towards cultural social justice*

The move away from cultural capital is also a move towards redefining the type of social justice demanded by inclusion. The distributive social justice that is the basis of cultural capital has been divisive, separating the able and the labelled. Its means of distribution is centred on schools as providers of curriculum learning (cultural capital). It fails to recognise the varying capacities of children to connect with and access this provision – habitus has been dominated by capital distribution.

Cultural justice (Gewirtz and Cribb, 2002) involves the removal of prejudices and lack of recognition and respect that present certain cultures, and individuals, as inferior. To do so is to place the child at the centre of

learning and not the curriculum. It is epitomised by the first words of *Reading, How To* (Kohl, 1973), which state :

There is no reading problem. There are problem teachers and problem schools. Most people who fail to learn in our society are victims of a fiercely competitive system of training that requires failure.

(p.9)

Kohl questions the siting of 'blame' for children's 'failure' to learn to read. The arrogance of the standards discourse, more generally, shifts this focus onto children and their lack of engagement. If a school is at fault it is because it is not delivering the curriculum as effectively as it needs to ensure that standards are acceptable. Either way, the curriculum is unquestioned.

Kohl raised questions about the reading curriculum and its appropriateness to children in some of the poorest and most disadvantaged cities in the U.S.. By changing approaches to curriculum teaching and learning, making it relevant to the real-world they lived in, children became engaged as readers. This was the approach adopted by the Liverpool E.P.A. project, and this book had a profound effect on me as a young teacher teaching in one of its schools. But this is a book of its time – written at the point of change from welfarism to post-welfarism. There is a current immutability about curriculum learning which precludes it from the open interpretations and transformations which Kohl was able to employ.

3. A shift towards a social citizen

An education of which the purpose is to make good citizens has two very different forms, according as it is directed to the support or the overthrow of the existing system.

(Russell, 1932b, p.12)

The citizen as individual consumer is a focus of post-welfarism that demands compliance with societal market-place values, a product of capitalism. This passivity contrasts with the work of the Liverpool E.P.A. project which sought to create an enlivened and participative citizenry aimed at making their society a better context in which to live their lives. Its basis was community education rooted respectfully deep within the culture of disadvantage, for 'Community education can only provide children and others with the social exercises essential for an informed and critical grass roots democracy' (Midwinter, 1973, p.75). Active participation as citizens within a democratic society was its aim. But this is to promote citizens as agents of social change – a notion that runs completely contrary to the compliant citizens demanded by post-welfarism, able to fit into and achieve in the market-place. But there is also a deep-rooted doxic acceptance of the citizen as individual, in whom self is prioritised over the social. To move towards a social citizenry is to 'overthrow' these personal and social doxic positions.

6.1.iii Child-centred leadership

The welfare/post-welfare shift has placed school leaders in managerial contexts which are founded on commodification and market-led responsibilities. These shifts question how central heteronomous policy is translated into school settings, and the capacity of school leaders to act in autonomous ways in order to take more control of policy-making. Bolman and Deal (1997) considered organisational cultures through the lenses of different 'frames' – the structural frame, the human resource frame, the political frame and the symbolic frame. It is the latter two that are of relevance to this study for they highlight the tension between 'an ongoing process of bargaining and negotiation among major interest groups' (political frame) and the 'organisational culture and values', 'plausible interpretations', 'vision' (symbolic frame) (Crawford, 2003, p.68). These frames have impact ('tug') on school leaders in determining the critical relationship between school autonomy and governmental heteronomy in enabling or hindering school leaders to activate this role based upon their own values and principles.

Fielding's (2007) 'person-centred approach' (see p.94) describes such an inclusive school. It is reliant upon leadership which is holistic in its inclusion of a learning community. This was exemplified by George (headteacher, Blackdown Infants School) who strived to facilitate the engagement of children with learning through also engaging parents/carers and the wider

community in learning. This heightened a community valuing of school and education for its focus was on the respect given through cultural justice.

By placing, Plowden-like, the child at the heart of the educational process, George was able to construct a logic of learning which embraced child-initiated learning, family learning and community learning. His ambition was to create a community of learning at the centre of which lay the child and his/her engagement with learning. George's emphasising of community sought ways to ensure a child's personal and social well-being ('emotional levelling') in order that he/she was part of this community and engaged in its desire to learn. The standards discourse was seen as a part of this learning, but the focus was upon the dispositions of children to learn. Leadership was centred on enabling all children to engage in this way – an ambition recognised by Ofsted in their grading Blackdown Infants School as 'good'. It is this child-centred leadership exhibited by George that gives optimism that the post-welfarist tide has not swept away alternatives – that there is still a space for leaders to lead according to their own inclusive values rather than those imposed through an actuarial standards discourse.

6.2 Conclusion – the research questions

This study has attempted to answer the overarching question :

*How do staff and children in schools known to be inclusive
conceptualise and realise inclusion at a time when a*

post-welfare culture of individualism dominates?

through four further key questions, which will now be considered in turn.

i. How is inclusion understood in three particular case study schools?

The case studies of the three schools provided a means of accessing participants' understanding of the conceptual territory into which the inclusive practices of their school was aimed. Participants included children, staff (teachers and teaching assistants) with responsibility for inclusion, and headteachers to facilitate a wide range of involvement. It further involved staff meetings and meetings with participant children as a group.

The use of photography was aimed at introducing a medium that captured real-world images of interpretations and understandings of inclusion which could then be used to focus discussion. This data enabled a narrative to be constructed of a school's understanding of inclusion using the personal insights of participants. There were some issues around the time frame in which data was collected from schools to construct these narratives. The first interviews took place in 2010 and the last in 2013 (this was because of my transferring to the University of Nottingham), which might be considered to skew the view of post-welfarism more towards the end of New Labour for some schools, while others were witness to the early impact of the Coalition and Conservative governments and their attempts to manage austerity. The research would have benefited more by better consistency across a smaller slice of time.

ii. How is this understanding realised through the conceptual lens of Bourdieu in the practices of the case study schools?

The case studies also provided data about the practices of inclusion and how they related to the discourses of standards and diversity. The Bourdieusian 'lens' provided a conceptual framework for the analysis and deeper understanding of this narrative - in particular his concepts of field of power, habitus and capital. In addition, Bourdieu's theory-as-practice enabled the differences between each school's interpretation to be mapped in order to situate it in the wider context of heteronomic power and policy influence.

iii. How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices in the case study schools?

The standards and diversity discourses were seen to be present in some combined way in all three case study schools. This thesis supports the idea that the dominance of the standards discourse, especially in a time of post-welfarist/austerity individualism, will cause it to be a part of the life of all schools. The issue was how big a part should this be, and how can this be determined by the principles and values of specific schools in a context of such domination.

A consistent feature here was the extent to which there was whole-school understanding of the culture and meaning of inclusion across all participants. The values and principles that underpinned the concept and

practices of inclusion were extensively shared and commonly understood and accepted.

iv. How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant post-welfarist discourses?

Tensions seemed to increase towards the school leadership end of the range of participants. It was here that accountability metrics became significant. Children and teaching assistants generally were more concerned with the diversity discourse and the sense of community well-being; teachers and headteachers had ambitions in this direction but were also faced directly with the domination of the standards discourse.

Ways were found of making the two discourses operationable – generally by using the diversity discourse as a means to standards ends. But it was the ambitions of some school leaders in the face of standards accountability that placed them under considerable tension. In essence these were tensions between welfarism and post-welfarism, between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gessellschaft*, between community and individuality.

6.3 The significance of this study

The acceptance of the notion of inclusion was shared to all three case study schools. The aspiration of this research was to explore differences of interpretation within what appeared to be a common understanding. This section outlines the significance of this study, empirically and theoretically.

6.3.i Empirical significance

Developing an understanding of inclusion using a Bourdieusian conceptual framework

This thesis has striven to use Bourdieu's concepts to understand inclusion as entry into a territory deemed to be of value. The sense of value is a product of a field of power in which struggles occur over values and principles, and the habitus (dispositions) required for a child to match for admission. Bourdieu argued that his work is not a 'theory'; that it develops through the application of his concepts to real-world phenomena – which has been the ambition of this study.

Further, this study has explored the place of case study in considering both the real-world practices and understanding of inclusion and also as a means of collecting data for a Bourdieusian analysis. This has been an effective combination – indeed, Bourdieu applied it many times to analyse a wide range of social phenomena and concepts. His tool-box has much within it to assist. The significance of this study is in its content and its application of Bourdieusian analysis.

Contributing to an understanding of inclusion at a time of individualism

The shifts that inclusion has undergone over the past 50 years have formed the background to this thesis. As stated in Chapter 1 it began as a making sense of changes that had occurred within my career in education. The significance of the welfare to post-welfare shift within that period of time

has had an enormous effect on the concept of inclusion, moving its value base and its practices away from the social towards the individual.

It has not, however, been a simplistic shift from one era to another; it has been 'messy'. Remnants of welfarism still remain embedded in consciousnesses, causing conflicts and tensions with the introduction of newer post-welfare policies and practices. It is this which has been the focus of this study – how do schools come to terms with this changing notion of inclusion as the shift moves towards individualism?

6.3.ii Theoretical significance

Leadership contexts – a Bourdieusian perspective

The headteachers in the three case study schools have grown to be central figures within this study. Around them have also grown questions about the extent to which both the autonomy of their schools and their legitimated powers extend. Bourdieu's Hierarchy of Legitimacies articulates a theoretical map of legitimated sites, allowing analysis of tensions that might exist between them. Of particular note here is the positioning of autonomous school and heteronomous policy at a time of post-welfarist austerity which causes them to be subject to centralised controls. It is in this context that headteachers have to function and find ways of finding principled ways through.

The study has shown how the headteachers have struggled to do this by finding their own patterns of legitimation – either by conforming to standards discourse demands or by ‘acts of courage’. It is the interface between the symbolic frame of school values and principles and the power of the policy-making political frame that pinpoints the source of models of inclusive understanding and practices. This struggle symbolises the degree to which school leaders have had to be reflexive in considering the inclusive positioning of their schools.

Discourse claims

Each discourse has a legitimate claim to be the focus of children’s learning. This study has attempted to expand such claims to cover both citizenship and social justice.

Inclusion is seen as an induction into particular societal value systems which lead ultimately to particular forms of citizenship. In a Bourdieusian sense this induction/apprenticeship also relies upon the accruing of related capital which facilitates the acquisition of citizenship. It is a misrecognition to give one interpretation over another, for each is an arbitrary construction. However, the current domination of the standards discourse has been divisive in the way it has categorised children, with those who gain inclusion also having greater access to more opportunity. This is to question the social justice of this discourse.

6.4 Post script

Throughout this research the polarised contrast between the inclusive practices that I was immersed into as a new teacher in an E.P.A. Liverpool primary school and the post-welfarist inclusion-exclusion system I retired from has struck me as a remarkable change in the national meaning of education. But the change has also been about how children have been considered and positioned within education systems over this time, and the type of citizen that societies (and governments) have demanded.

Nostalgia is far from a good enough reason to argue for the diversity-community discourse of the E.P.A.. The effects of its child-centredness and focus on cultural justice were never properly evaluated. Yet their principles can still be found – indeed, this research has often quoted the work of Ainscow et al. (2006) whose principles reflect those of Midwinter and the E.P.A. project in Liverpool. Their voice, though distant, can still be heard. It seems to be part of a belief in some school leaders (Barry and George, for example) that the education of young children is about engaging them with the process of learning, rather than the curriculum stuff of learning. It is about habitus rather than capital; it is about the development of communities of learning which centre on schools and their children; it is about perceiving learning as not school-bound but as a life-long activity; it is about the ‘courage’ of school leaders to find the leadership space at a time of rigorous austerity to seek inclusion.

Appendix I : Interview Schedules

Task and Interview Schedules for work with children

Meeting 1 :

The purpose of this meeting is to introduce the research as a project for the children to become actively engaged.

- Introduce the researcher as researcher from University of Warwick/Nottingham¹
- Children introduce themselves
- Why do children think this school has been selected as a case study

school :

- What do the children think this school is good at?
- Relating this to the research.
- Outline of the research :
 - Trying to find out about inclusion
 - What does this mean? (write key words/phrases on white board)
 - Have you examples?
- Setting the task :

¹ I transferred from University of Warwick to the University of Nottingham in November 2013

- Each child is to think about what we have said inclusion means, and think about how they interpret its meaning – for there is no one set definition.
- Each child is to take **one** photograph which shows his/her interpretation of inclusion in practice and write a few words to explain what it shows and why he/she took it.
- This is to be brought to Meeting 2 (in a fortnight's time) when we will sit (researcher and child) to find out more about why this particular 'shot' was chosen.
- Details of practicalities of obtaining cameras and arranging time to take photographs (arranged with Headteacher/Inclusion Manager/Class teachers beforehand)
- Any questions

Meeting 2 :

The purpose of this meeting is to discuss with each child the reasons why they chose to take their particular photograph of inclusion - what does this photograph articulate about the meaning of inclusion. As this is a one-to-one interview it is important that arrangements comply with the school's safeguarding policy and procedures.

- Reintroduction of researcher and task.

- Child asked to describe the photograph he/she has taken (referring to the words written by the child to describe/explain the photograph).
- Discussion with the child about the 'story' of the photograph – what it contains, what is happening, location and context.
- Discussion with the child about how the photograph demonstrates the meaning of inclusion.
- Questions about :
 - How inclusion is taught – and indeed, is it taught?
 - The two discourses – how does this sit alongside having to learn a formalised curriculum/SATs etc.?
 - Which is more important to learn?

Task and Interview Schedules for work with Staff

Initial Meeting :

The purpose of this meeting is to introduce the research and to actively engage staff in it. Before the meeting the researcher had examined the school's recent Ofsted reports and related policy documents (Inclusion, Learning and Teaching, SEN&D) as well as the school's web-site. This meeting also followed the initial meeting with the Headteacher to seek approval for the research to take place in this school.

- Introduction to the research.
- Why the school is a case study (refer to statements from Ofsted reports etc.)
- **TASK 1 :**
 - How is inclusion seen in practice in the school?
 - Small groups are to present this on a sheet of paper.
 - Discussion about inclusive practice connecting the work of each group.
- **TASK 2 :**
 - In the same groups arrange 12 statements about inclusion in order to illustrate how inclusion is considered in the school ('12 card exercise' see page 128).

- Having completed this task, then write a group definition of inclusion.
- Presentation and discussion
- Setting the task :
 - Each member of staff is to take **one** photograph which shows his/her interpretation of inclusion in practice and write a few words to explain what it shows and why he/she took it.
 - Arrangements for the collecting of photographs and feed-back
 - Any questions.

Interviews with staff :

- Introductions : name, position, how long has interviewee been a member of this school's staff.
- Purpose of the interview : to try to understand how inclusion is thought about and operationalised within the school.
- Discussion covering :
 - What is inclusion and what does it look like within the school
 - On which children it focuses
 - How children are seen within the processes of inclusion – subjects to be remediated?
 - Inclusion in the context of the standards discourse
 - Inclusion in the context of the diminishing role of the LA

- Impact of inclusion
- The boundaries of inclusion – when can a child no longer be included?
- The boundaries of the school – are school's having to take on too much responsibility for their children? How does this reflect on the responsibilities of parents and of other agencies?
- The future of inclusion

Interview Schedules for work with Headteachers

Initial Meeting :

The purpose of this meeting is to introduce the research and to determine arrangements for its work within the school. It thus covers :

- Details of the research focus
- Anticipated research schedule, including who might be involved and to what extent
- Timings
- Outcomes

Interview with Headteacher :

- Introduction – name, number of years at the school
- The importance of inclusion within the school and the story of its development
- The principles that underlie inclusion
- Inclusion within the context of the standards discourse/Ofsted
- The tensions (if any) between the two discourses
- The boundaries of inclusion – when can a child no longer be included?

- The boundaries of the school – are school's having to take on too much responsibility for their children? How does this reflect on the responsibilities of parents and of other agencies?
- Reflections and feelings about the persona impact of this balancing of discourses
- The future of inclusion

Appendix II : Codes used for the analysis of interviews

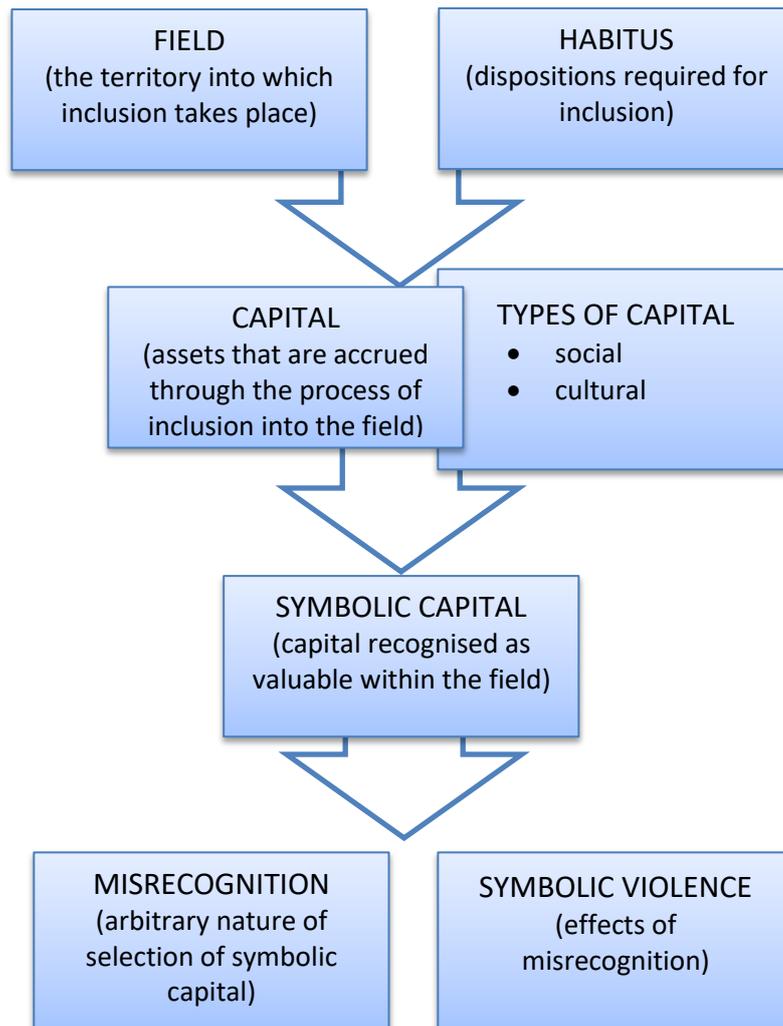
This research focused on four research questions :

- i. How is inclusion understood in three particular case study schools?
- ii. How is this understanding realised through the conceptual lens of Bourdieu in the practices of the case study schools?
- iii. How do dominant discourses shape understanding and practices in the case study schools?
- iv. How do those in schools seek to reconcile tensions between competing perspectives in dominant discourses?

Data gathered from the case-study schools was used to find answers to these questions. To provide a means of achieving this the central concepts and ideas brought together in the review of the literature were redeployed as themes used as organising headings under which data could be gathered and examined across the case-study schools. From this basis, the research questions could then be answered more comprehensively.

These themes were :

CONCEPTUAL THEMES



OPERATIONAL THEMES

- Changes in the practice of inclusion as it has shifted from welfarist to post-welfarist interpretations and understandings
- Inclusion as a means to particular ends, and how these ends emerge from the positioning of schools within a context of heteronomous authority

- The effects of this positioning on the legitimate authority of a school to decide its own (autonomous) principles of inclusion
- The positioning of schools (and their leaders) within Bourdieu's Hierarchy of Legitimation
- The composition of inclusive schools, and the differences between that of a standards-driven inclusive school and one founded upon the diversity discourse
- The ways in which these two forms of inclusive school tackle the dilemma of difference ...
- ... and the ways in which they create categories which position children
- The knowledge (learning) end to which the two forms of inclusive school are dedicated
- The positioning of schools against the *Conceptual map of inclusive principles and types of inclusive schools* (figure 6)

These over-arching questions and themes were used in order to reflect upon the data gathered and to both place it against the research questions and to consider common areas between the case-studies. This was, in essence, the first two levels of *Phases of thematic analysis* (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.87) (figure 21, p.194 above) reproduced below.

1 familiarising yourself with the data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas
2 generating initial codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code
3 searching for themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
4 reviewing themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis
5 defining and naming themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> on-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme
6 producing the report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis

The other 'phases' were employed to construct the 'outlines of main themes' for each school (see figure 22, p.205; figure 31, p.238; figure 39, p.274). These map out the themes particular to each case-study school as they emerged from their data, but are founded on the research questions and themes that were discussed in the review of the literature.

Appendix III : Letter to parents/carers of children to be involved in the research



Dear Parent/Carer,

29th November 2011

Can you help me? I'm a retired Warwickshire headteacher who worked for a long and happy time in a school like Albert Street Primary. I found retirement a bit dull after all the excitement of being part of the community of a school so I looked for other things to do. One of these things was to start a research course at Warwick University – and this is where I need your (and your child's) help.

The school I retired from, like Albert Street Primary, had a policy of including all sorts of children into its care, and this has fascinated me for a long time. Like Albert Street Primary, our school had children with a range of differences – yet somehow they all became part of the school community, mixing, playing and working together so well. I often wondered how this happened – there are certainly all sorts of government and local authority documents that say that it should, but what is the special quality in a school like yours that enables it to happen so well? This is really what I have to look into.

I've already spoken to a number of people in your school, but there is one very important group which is missing, the children. Their view is vitally important. So, my purpose in writing is to ask your permission to talk and work with your child for part of a day to try to find out what this special quality really is, and what it means to them.

What this will involve is :

- *Asking children to draw pictures about the school*
- *Talking with them about inclusion*
- *Asking them to take some photographs in school about inclusion*

All of this will be carried out respectfully and safely (I am CRB checked, and have also had to seek approval for this work from the University). No child, indeed not even the school, will be identifiable in the research. This research will, in the first place, will be for the University – but there will be feedback to the school as part of a more general feedback (again no child will be identified in this).

I would be most grateful if you would give permission to allow your child to take part in this research which I know will also be fun! Please could you return the tear-off slip at the bottom of this letter to Mrs Smith by Thursday, 1st December; I'm hoping to come into school on Monday, 5th December to work with the children then,

Many thanks

Gerry Bailey

I give/do not give* permission for my childto
take part in the Warwick University research project with Gerry Bailey on Monday, 5th
December 2011.

Signed (Parent/Carer)

**please cross out one*

It should be noted that this letter went out to parents/carers under the heading of the University of Warwick, where the researcher began this study (July 2009) before transferring to the University of Nottingham in November 2013.

Appendix IV: Information sheet for participants

Inclusion : how it is perceived and how it operates

PhD Research Project

Gerry Bailey, School of Education, the University of Warwick

Research Aims

This research will explore how inclusion is perceived and how it operates in some primary schools. It will focus on :

- What is believed to constitute inclusion in different school settings?
- How do stakeholders in these schools perceive inclusion?
- How is inclusion influenced by the standards discourse?

This research is set within the current context of inclusion which sees it moving towards an emphasis on enabling more children to have access to National Curriculum learning through the establishing of intervention programmes etc. This is a move away from inclusion being founded on establishing a sense of community within schools in which all are accepted. This move from social to curriculum learning lies at the heart of this research.

My own interest in this work comes from a background as a retired headteacher in whose career inclusion has played a significant role. My interests lie in how the relationships between these two forms of inclusion (referred to in the research as a standards discourse and a community discourse) is understood and seen in schools today.

Proposed Research Methods

To find out more about this relationship I am proposing to collect data from three case-study schools. This data will gathered through :

- *Meeting with staff collectively to consider some statements about inclusion*

- *Asking staff to take a photograph which sums up inclusion in their school*
- *Meeting with some children to discuss inclusion in their school*
- *Asking these children to take a photograph which sums up inclusion in their school*
- *Interviews with some children and staff about the photographs taken*
- *Interviews with some staff and school leaders about inclusion*

I would be happy to feed-back any findings from the research that relate to your school or relate to more generalised issues around inclusion.

How you can help.

I am researching into how inclusion is thought about and how it operates in schools known to be inclusive. This research involves interviewing and working with some staff and children from three case study schools. I am more than happy to provide more information about this, and to provide feed-back as the research progresses.

This research is conducted within the ethical guidelines of the University of Warwick and the British Educational Research Association. As a result respondents have the right to withdraw from research at any time, data collected from this research will be identifiable only to the researcher, the use of this data in publications, including the PhD itself will be anonymous, any audio recordings of interviews will be accessed only by the researcher and respondents will be given the opportunity to comment upon the findings made from this research.

I am hoping that, having read this information you will be willing to participate in this research. If you require any more details about the research content or the ways in which it will be carried out then please contact me via:

E-mail: edsiba@warwick.ac.uk

Phone: 0771 426 1194

Appendix V : Consent agreement

Consent Agreement

In agreeing to for this interview to take place I confirm that I have read the information about the project named above and that:

- Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to take part, but I know that I may change my mind at any time and withdraw from the project without having to provide reasons or justification for that withdrawal.
- I understand that all information provided will be treated as strictly confidential and will be used only for academic purposes.
- I agree that research data gathered for this study may be published provided my name or any other information that might identify me is not used.
- Access to recordings will only be available to the researcher and his supervisor.

If I have any questions about the conduct of the research project, I may contact the researcher :

tel : 0771 426 1194

email : edsiba@warwick.ac.uk

or his supervisor :

tel :

email :

signed date.....

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