ABSTRACT
                This working paper examines whether the concept of social
exclusion, including educational exclusion, adds values to the understanding
of poverty. It focuses on educational exclusion and inclusion in South
Africa. The paper states that the issues are complex and that educational
inclusion requires careful consideration of every aspect of schooling and
societal context. Innovative approaches to educational inclusion will need to
address issues at macro, micro, personal, and interpersonal levels.
Connections between school and community cultures have to be drawn, as well
as connections between educational and community programs of inclusion. The
concepts of inclusion and exclusion press for much closer conscious and self-
conscious consideration of identity and role: who is doing the excluding and
including; who is choosing the excluding and including; how these processes
of inclusion and exclusion are facilitated; and what are the dominant views
and relations of social, economic, and political power. The paper emphasizes
the importance of such interrogation at the levels of research and policy
formation to ensure that these processes are aware of ways in which they may
implicitly perpetuate injustices. (Contains 45 references.) (Author/WFA)

Exclusion and Inclusion in the South with Special Reference to South Africa.

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Introduction

Social injustices are prevalent in all societies. Discussion of the concept of social exclusion is underway in numerous contexts to determine its value in expanding understandings of poverty and inequalities. With its origins in the North (Kabeer, 2000), the concepts of inclusion and exclusion are currently being considered for their appropriateness in countries in the South. While the concept is 'celebrated' in the North having led to the introduction of Social Exclusion units in all UK government departments, usage is less common in the South where the discourse of poverty "provides a much more powerful frame" (Betts, 2001: 2). The primary question being posed in the South is whether indeed the concept of social exclusion adds value to understandings of poverty (de Haan, 2000).

This paper is undertaken as part of a research process funded by DFID which aims to consider educational exclusion and inclusion in South Africa and India. It is a working paper which aims to explore the value of the concepts of inclusion and exclusion to these countries. While acknowledging the multitude of relationships which the concepts bear to other fields of investigation such as knowledge production, globalisation, and the politics of identity, the research process is a modest attempt at contributing to the existing debates in the educational arenas of India and South Africa. For the purposes of this paper, focus will be placed on South Africa only.

A few introductory notes

The notion of educational exclusion currently receives much prominence in social policy research (Popkewitz & Lindblad 2000, Slee 2000, Kabeer 2000, de Haan 2000, Betts 2001, Preece 1999). A key problem with the concepts of educational exclusion is that it is difficult to reach agreement on a definition. On the one hand, conceptually it has become a short hand for discussing inequities of class, race, gender, ethnicity, and poverty. On the other hand, from a government policy view it does signify an understanding that social problems are interlinked, complex, and require co-ordinated and cohesive actions.

There are four qualifications that need to be introduced in discussing the notions of educational exclusion and inclusion. **First,** the usage of these concepts in the literature imply a strong normative stance which assumes that inclusion is good and exclusion is bad. Thus, the end of goal of inclusion polices are to overcome exclusion. While this may be a laudable ideal, it fails to recognise the fact that inclusive policies may result in new forms of exclusion. Education is both a means of social mobility and access and also a means of selections. Education thus includes

inasmuch as it excludes. **Second,** the notion of inclusion operates on the principle of 'normalisation' in which certain groups, communities and individuals are perceived as lacking access or entitlement to certain services. Hence, such groups, communities, and individuals need to be targeted for special inclusive measures which would overcome their exclusion. Such an approach often ignores the existing social relations in society which give rise to and perpetuate inequities. It fails to take into account the power relations within society and may end up conserving exiting political conditions. **Third,** the concept hides differences between and within groups, communities and individuals in that it ignores 'who' is being excluded or excludes. Thus, what is ignored are, inter alia, the different (and unequal) race, gender, and ethnic positioning of groups, communitas and individuals. Universalising the discourse assumes a pathology of individual failure. **Fourth,** the discourse of educational exclusion and inclusion fails to specify the relationships between race, class, and gender as dominant forms on inequity in society. Various theorists have advocated different versions of the complex interrelationships between race, class, and gender. Apple and Weiss (1983) forward the 'parallelist' framework in which race, class, and gender interact with three spheres of societal activity (economic, cultural, and political). This they advocate to be a relational framework. Others such as Sarup (1986) forward a cumulative, linear, hierarchical framework in which, for example, gender, race, and class add up to the 'triple oppression' of women. While none of the frameworks are inaccurate, they do not as McCarthy (1997: 547) notes, capture the 'mix of contingencies, interests, needs, differential assets, and capacities in local settings such as schools'.

This paper finds McCarthy's notion of 'nonsynchrony' a useful concept and proposes an interlocking framework (see Sayed 2002) whereby race, gender, class, region, language etc. all intersect in ways that produce unique and peculiar experiences. It argues that these factors cannot be placed on a two-dimensional grid which simply seeks the intersection of two of the categories. Such a grid would merely tell of the dual effect of two of these categories on a number of groups. The concept of an interlocking framework recognises the highly complex nature in which race, class, gender and other categories intersect and inter-relate to produce unique individual and group experiences. The fact that there is a dominant articulating principle of conflict or inequality does not or should not undermine the prevalence of other levels of injustice. It simply highlights that the primary form of political posturing may be around the articulating principle.

Diverse meanings of inclusion and exclusion

A literature review of the field suggests an absence of singular understandings or definitions of inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, it is argued that such understandings are or ought to be socially constructed and rooted (de Haan, 2000). Instead, there appears to be a rich debate surrounding the nature of the concept and its usefulness to the South.

It is interesting to note that some of the literature casts the discussion largely in terms of inclusion (Slee, 2001; OFSTED, 2000), others in terms of exclusion (de Haan, 2000) and yet others in terms of both inclusion and exclusion (Betts, 2001).

The concepts clearly are juxtaposed in that social inclusion of certain persons or groups implies exclusion of others. Yet it is simplistic to assume that social inclusion and social exclusion are merely opposing terms. Such usage would fail to account for the processes through which people become either excluded or included, nor does it explain who determines the status of inclusion and exclusion.

The following contribution helps convey the diverse nature and application of the concept of social exclusion. Silver's three paradigms of social exclusion offer a framework through which to view the varied interpretations of the concept in different contexts.

The Solidarity Paradigm

This is dominant in France and influenced by the work of Rousseau. "exclusion is the rupture of a social bond between the individual and society that is cultural and moral ... the poor, unemployed and ethnic minorities are defined as outsiders".

The Specialisation Paradigm

This is dominant in the United States, contested in the United Kingdom and is based on the work of Hobbes. Informed by individual liberalism, it is proposed that: "individuals are able to move across boundaries of social differentiation and economic division of labour. Liberal models of citizenship emphasise the contractual exchange of rights and obligations ... exclusion reflects discrimination, the drawing of group distinctions that denies individuals full access to or participation in exchange or interaction. Causes of exclusion are often seen in unenforced rights and market failures".

The Monopoly Paradigm

This is dominant in the United Kingdom and Northern European countries and is influenced by Weber's work. "the social order is coercive, imposed through hierarchical power relations. Exclusion is defined as a consequence of the formation of group monopolies [which] restrict access of outsiders through social closure. Labour market segmentation draws boundaries of exclusion" (Silver, 1994, cited in de Haan: 2000: 6).

Whether these alternative views are ideologically grounded or whether they simply offer different perspectives, theorists, policy makers and practitioners need to decide. Of importance here is to note the discrepancy and to question whether the categorisation assists in an understanding of social relations in the South. While the paradigms may prove useful, researchers in the South are urged to apply the concepts cautiously lest they simply:
> "relabel long-standing and locally developed approaches to social problems or,
> alternatively ... promote a tendency to assess southern realities in terms of the extent
> to which they converge, or diverge from some 'standard' northern model" (Kabeer,
> 2000: 83) .

Social exclusion is thus seen as an unfolding process, as a social pattern whereby social, economic and political struggle is waged to reproduce or challenge dominant relations of power. This view asserts that any research into social exclusion should focus on the processes of these institutions and indeed the rules through which deprivation occurs.

This returns us to the concern that the discourses of inclusion and exclusion often obscure or mask the agendas of cooperation and control. Jackson (quoted in de Haan) states that social exclusion tends to 'not see' the problematic aspects of inclusion (de Haan, 2000: 10). She questions the basis on which people are included in programmes and processes arguing that women are 'assimilated' in disadvantageous ways. Her plea is that instead of viewing inclusion as a panacea to exclusion and marginalisation, the terms of inclusion be carefully analysed. In an abstract of an article entitled *Social exclusion and gender: does one size fit all?*, Jackson questions whether:

> "an integrated approach works for gender, and argues that feminist research and gender analysis offers both better situated understandings of the character and experience of marginality, and useful insights for the emerging applications of social exclusion frameworks to developing countries" (Jackson, 1999).

Furthermore, as citizens are included in programmes, are they not incorporated in ways that subject them to the status quo, or in ways that expect them to comply with and meet standards predetermined by authorities without their cooperation? Or even in those contexts which offer complementary albeit integrated, progressive processes of inclusion, are these sufficient means of empowerment to help students re-shape the contexts of their educational experience so that these contexts are enriched by new perspectives? As Jansen argues, while black students are being 'included' in formerly white schools in South Africa, they encounter a hostile, anti-cultural environment in which assumptions are fixed about what constitutes good schooling, appropriate language policy, etc. Such schools inflict damage to self-esteem and the confidence of children. Children often learn that English has status while Zulu doesn't; that good teachers and role models are white; that appropriate history is European; and that failure is something that happens to non-white children (Jansen, 1998).

Accordingly, de Haan argues that the one of the main critiques of social exclusion has been the "one size fits all" approach (de Haan, 2000: 10). This approach assumes that social inequality can be overcome by providing the same opportunities equally for all citizens. While this would go a long way towards correcting historic imbalances and injustices, it is short-sighted. A discussion below on social exclusion, equality and equity shows the challenge of dealing with many varied requirements. One size does not fit all because citizens do not arise from positions of social, economic and political equality. This approach also tends to lump inequalities together so that gender problems are dealt with in the same way as racial problems. In other words, in an attempt to afford communities of learners the opportunity to explore and celebrate their common denominators, do differential programmes not in fact foster new forms of segregation and consequently new discriminations.

A further assumption embedded in the dichotomisation of society is the belief that people feel deprived and that they wish to be included. This is not a simple area either. As Kell's work in South Africa shows, citizens may wish to acquire certain commodified skills, but they remain uncomfortable about the institutions and processes through which they need to 'become skilled' (Betts, 2001: 5-6). In other words, citizens may consciously chose to exclude themselves from certain processes and opt to occupy alternative spaces (Robinson Pant, 2000). Rogers supports this view by arguing that the dichotomous discourse of inclusion and exclusion tends to create the excluded as 'other' and sees the only movement occurring from excluded to included

(Rogers, 2000). Nivedita Monga's example of 'deprived' women in India participating in the system echoes this point:

> "people without the commodified 'skills' advocated by the state are still participating socially, they themselves are subverting the dominant discourses, rather than being co-opted by them, whether these be the discourses of social inclusion/exclusion, oppression or liberation, or the formalisation/informalisation of the South African case" (Betts, 2001:10).

Situating educational exclusion and inclusion in a global context

The above argument outlines the importance of situating education clearly within a broader societal context so that the ways in which socio-economic and political dynamics impact the educational sector are understood. But how do societies understand or value education? In order to address this question, it is useful to consider trends in the educational sector or at least trends in governmental and global thinking. This framework allows for a more informed understanding of certain of the agendas prompting educational inclusion.

Thus while education is being framed in terms of producing information literate, independent learners able to navigate their way intelligently through a network of globalised markets, Lepani's (1993) work points to the fragmentation of society at fundamental levels. Alongside increased instability of the global economy, dominated by an ideology of market fundamentalism, there is a growing lack of respect for the values and ideals of market capitalism among persons who are repeatedly deprived through these systems. What is evident across most societies is "the progressive loss of environmental, social and spiritual capital, creating a crisis of leadership in both the economic and political systems" (Lepani, 1999: 5).

These trends interface with moves towards learner-centred education on the one hand, and demands for basic educational services on the other. While innovations in the increasingly efficient convergence of ICTs, telecommunications and micro-processing present opportunities for redefining educational spaces, and leapfrogging social developments, by and large these opportunities are being enjoyed only by those who have usually had access to education. Those historically excluded from education, continue to occupy these positions of deprivation with the potential of slipping further and further into impoverishment as they fail to command the skills required for employment.

Education as a 'private good' - individualisation of the sector

Furthermore, in an age of dwindling fossil-fuel resources and depletion of rare commodities, there is no doubt that globalisation has pushed economies, developed and developing alike, in the direction of re-evaluating the source of their economic potential. Investment in human capital, in the development of a human resource base which generates and regenerates knowledge - the commodity of these times - is seen as paramount. The emphasis on life-skills, on education and training which will guarantee productivity is viewed in market terms as 'smart solutions'. As explained via a UNESCO contribution at a recent SIDA Conference:

"... the issues, challenges and the process of learning are now focused on the 'individuals' and far less on the 'system'. In this respect, it is amazing to note that for very different reasons, the 'individuals' are the targets of economists, educators and political protagonists. The economists promote education vouchers and the freedom of choice of individuals on arguments of market efficiency. Educators believe that it is the learner who ultimately determines the construction of knowledge, on pedagogical grounds. As for the political protagonists, the value of alternative policies can only be assessed by their impact on the learners" (Hallak, 1999: 11).

"Students are perceived through lenses which assume they are deficient with respect to the school's expectations. In the deficit model students are therefore treated as victims requiring upliftment; as threats to the standards of the school; as problems to be remedied. It is not difficult to comprehend what kinds of educational strategies follow on ... It sometimes means segregating students in separate classes. Such practices are common and lead to the phenomenon that while the school is racially integrated, the classrooms are in fact segregated. But the segregation need not be as stark; it more often means that children in the same class are segregated in reading groups, for example, which turn out to be all white or all black" (Jansen, 1998: 102).

This deficit model often relieves the educational system of the responsibility of finding solutions for these 'not up to standard' learners. In those instances where the problem of difference is tackled with an underlying notion of 'students being lacking' as shown in the above quote, the solutions shy away from yet serve to reproduce racism.

Globalisation and nation-state with respect to education

In addition to these issues of marketisation and individualising learning, globalisation has laid bare and exacerbated the stark discrepancies between the North and the South vis-a-vis levels of economic development and access to resources. Social exclusion is apparent on a global level with the divide between 'rich' and 'poor' countries growing at a phenomenal speed and the degree of discrepancy intensifying. The complexity of globalisation is evident within nations: many countries in the North mirror the politics of global inequality. Within their fluid parameters, social relations of power are concentrated in pockets of affluence, complemented by escalating levels of impoverishment. Citizens are often disgruntled by notions of the 'American dream,' evidencing instead a lack of access to institutions, systems and structures associated with improved economic status.

Social exclusion and social inclusion in education: equity and equality considerations

Social inclusion initiatives appear to fall into the trap of assuming that what is posited as social equality will solve all divides. Social equality does not take account of equity and in fact undermines the many related issues of justice. Furthermore as will be shown below, the complex inter-relation of race, class, gender and other pivots of injustice means that programmes

promoting equality often tend to focus on one of these, losing the thread of correcting the others. As the following quote explains:

> "Equality is more conducive to measurement and standardisation [while,] in comparison, the intangible aspects of equity resist quantification. Equity is often mistakenly measured in terms of equality such as input resources (expenditures) or educational outcomes (achievement scores) ... Equity transcends the notion of equality by focusing on the qualitative value of justice. Central as the movement towards racial equality may be in reforms presently under consideration in South Africa, the question remains whether these reforms will also address inequities which stem from class, gender and so on, and therefore meet the criteria of justice (Fry, 1991/2 quoted in Soudien, 1998: 127).

Reference to the need for 'preferential' treatment for some people in certain situations does not beckon paternalism. It suggests that systems and institutions should recognise the fact that all people's situations are not equal. Consideration must be given to how to address these inequalities in ways that are not patronising or offensive and in ways that bridge rather than perpetuate divides. At the same time, as argued earlier, policy makers must be conscious of the fact that social inclusion initiatives cannot assume that their various participants are a homogenous grouping.

Social exclusion is viewed as a construct which allows for a somewhat crude categorisation of various social groups in relation to power and access to goods and services. The concept does not, without investigation of the processes of social exclusion and the forms of counter-services provided by the 'excluded' groups, say anything about how people who are supposedly excluded view themselves. Nonetheless, in the educational context social exclusion is a helpful measure of understanding how people are denied access to educational facilities and who these people are. It is also useful in tracing patterns of educational deprivation and access to other social goods such as employment.

The concept of educational inclusion requires a rigorous investigation of the context into which people are being included, the terms and conditions of the inclusion, the policy makers who set these terms and the actors who implement these policies. As is argued below, social inclusion of necessity requires careful definition and ongoing reappraisal to ensure that it is indeed a social good of benefit to society as a whole. It becomes clear through the ensuing discussion that institutional access alone - the creation of physical space - does not answer the call for educational inclusion. Besides for issues of affordability, cultural and political environments and practices, both within and outside of educational institutions, may perpetuate exclusion even after students have technically been 'placed'.

As argued earlier in this paper, educational exclusion operates in a sea of social exclusions which usually affect domains of access to a number of basic commodities: 'adequate' or 'quality' food, shelter, social security, employment, education, etc. It usually occurs in the guise of an acceptance of differentials: a smaller section of society is assumed (almost legitimately) to have greater access to commodities, better housing, education, sporting facilities, local amenities, etc. because of their socio-economic status. In other words, the socio-economic structures of societies are taken as given and educational exclusion is regarded as a norm. Thus educational inclusion, much as the rest of society, is framed by these inequalities and the various ideologies used to reinforce them. This means that social inclusion could easily take the form of a window dressing

(changing the look of things) without recognising that as different groups become involved in systems, their interactions and varying interests of necessity transform these systems. All too often, social inclusion occurs in an effort to appear responsive to the need for change, without introducing any fundamental changes, and, on the contrary, every effort to maintaining the status quo.

It is for this reason that the frames through which educational exclusion and inclusion are viewed should consider:

The point of access (to the school)

Access policies determine who do and who don't have access to particular institutions. Students are often excluded on the basis of geographical location with schools only accepting students who fall within their 'catchment' area. Other levels of access relate closely to institutional access in terms of a school's dominant culture undermining the cultures of some of its learners.

Institutional setting and ethos

Institutions may nominally include but subtly continue to exclude learners. Particular indicators of inclusion are, for instance, participation in school structures such as the Student Representatives' Council, sports teams and also, participation in the classroom. Governance of institutions is a key area that determines, not only policies pertaining to access but also those relating to institutional culture and practice.

The curriculum

Curricula are foci of power as is discussed below. Curricula have to address not only the varied interests of its expanded learner-base, but equally must reassess and transform those offensive aspects that reinforce inequality. New students may be included without any changes made to curricula to reflect their interests, histories etc. or to offer 'new ways of seeing'.

The interface of various injustices or the nonsynchrony of inequalities

Social exclusion is multi-dimensional. To avoid reductionism, programmes of inclusion will have to address all injustices and should use an approach such as the nonsynchronous model (McCarthy, 1997) to understand how dominant articulating principles (the overriding appearance of inequalities) masks other aspects of discrimination.

Schooling as a site of inclusion and exclusion

The duality of schooling

Schooling is generally regarded as a sector which can be used to advance various and often conflicting aims. With the state assuming a diminishing role in relation to education in comparison with private agencies, it is still true that in most countries, at least for primary

schooling, state policies tend to set the trends for the sector. It is therefore important to recognise that education cannot be considered in isolation or in a vacuum. Schools thus become institutions in which and through which society is shaped, values are reinforced and challenged. This means that it is a terrain of struggle, of asserting, reproducing and contesting dominant values. Schools often symbolise and epitomise the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. This "can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (Osler & Starkey, 2000: 3-4).

Schools are also seen as sites of acculturation. In studying South Asian adolescents in Britain, Ghuman proposes that:
> "the role of schools and other education institutions is pivotal in integrating South Asian young people - and, indeed other ethnic minorities - into the mainstream British way of life, and in developing ethnic identities. Furthermore, they play an important part in preparing young people for adult roles, including entry in higher education and future employment" (Ghuman, 1999: 213).

Ghuman's work concurs with others in showing that while schooling could build bridges between different social groups, the overarching relations of power may well resist such integration. Jansen, for instance, highlights similar features in the new South African dispensation. He observes the 'fear' of previous white schools at opening their doors to learners previously excluded, the anticipated crisis of numbers and the challenge of diversity. Furthermore, even if schools managed to build self-esteem among 'minorities', society at large could easily reverse this process. For example, due to employer racism in Britain, self-esteem of Asians, while higher at school than their white counterparts, dropped significantly a year after leaving school and contending with the job market (Ghuman, 1999: 219).

Schools are thus key institutions through which people (citizens) could potentially experience themselves as social outcasts or inadequate, recipients of skills or learning, or as agents and actors of change. It is for this reason that schools become crucial in human lives.

The question of access

The debate of the contradictory nature of schooling notwithstanding, the burning question of who has access to schools and education remains. In posing two scenarios (a conflict of objectives versus complementarities) of the interface between globalisation, education and human rights, Hallack proposes that in the former instance, education policies:
> "may be designed and adopted taking human rights principles into consideration, but more often than not, access to schooling and to good education is determined by market considerations and by prevailing social, economical, cultural and geographical inequalities (not consistent with the conventions of human rights)" (Hallack, 1999: 15).

As noted earlier, it is thus often the case that economically poorer communities generally have access to poorer quality education. The issue of access is therefore a political question regarding the kind of schooling people have access to and how this compares to schooling in other areas. It

also raises questions concerning why students don't have access to certain schools. And, if geographical constraints of access were circumvented, it raises questions of the dominant cultures at schools that continue to alienated certain 'groups' of learners. These are important issues regarding access which need to be addressed and which includes the question of what happens in schools to which access is granted.

Educational exclusion has been the order of the day even in societies which have allowed 'minorities' into their schools. It has assumed various forms including expulsion which though not the immediate brief of this paper, bears relevance:

> "Exclusion is the ultimate sanction a school can employ against a pupil who is persistently disobedient, disruptive or violent. Exclusion may be permanent or fixed term (whereby a pupil is excluded for not more than 15 days in any one term). At an individual pupil level the longer-term consequences of school exclusion are often profound. For example, students who are excluded from school in the final two years of compulsory education are two and a half times as likely not to participate in education, training or employment between the ages of 16 and 18, than those not excluded" (Sparkes, 2000: 24).

The relevance of suspension or expulsion to this work is that often newly included students are 'seen' or 'read' as problematic because of their misfit with what they experience as an alienating environment. The consequences for these students are as dramatic as if they were excluded from society on all levels.

This serves to underline the link between disadvantage and permanent exclusion which in turn raises questions about institutional policies *re* integration of learners at the level of culture, classroom, curriculum and general ethos. These issues are dealt with below. For now, it is important to bear in mind that these learners become socially excluded which succinctly may be defined as "the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society. Social exclusion may, therefore, be seen as the denial (or non-realisation) of the civil, political and social rights of citizenship" (Walker, 1997: 8 quoted in Barton, 1999: 59).

The motivation for educational inclusion

Schooling is assumed to involve a process of preparing learners for participation in society. In harmony with other educational influences which come from the home and the community, it assumes a fairly prominent role in either domesticating students to uphold the status quo or to exercise their agency in transforming systems from which they are excluded. As has already been noted, schools themselves are sites of struggle while the technologies they adopt, the curricula and classroom methodologies, present key features of dominant or transforming ideologies. Sparkes argues that while earlier research suggested that differences in the quality of education that students receive are a less important source of variation in educational attainment than non-school factors, more recent investigations assert that schools do make a difference (Danziger and Woldfogel, 2000)

Bearing in mind the earlier assertion that as long as social inequalities persist, educational inclusion faces the challenge of needing not only to achieve meaningful 'inclusion' at the

institutional, classroom and curriculum levels, but also to confront the dominant social values which are premised upon and which perpetuate injustices, what then constitutes real inclusive education?

Real educational inclusion presumes a broad-based collective will to effect transformation at every level of society. It requires grand schemes with an architecture that frames and facilitates transformation as well as political will at a sectoral, institutional and classroom level to create truly inclusive spaces. Britain's Social Exclusion Unit has reported on its efforts at 'joined-up' thinking in tackling problems of social exclusion, including those on the educational front. Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott who heads up the unit expresses the desire to build on successes from its first four-year run, claiming that:

> "Analysis carried out by the unit has shown me just how interconnected and self-reinforcing the problems of social exclusion are [ranging from] disparities in educational attainment, truancy and poor housing conditions - all examples of the cycle of deprivation and disinvestment ... we recognise these sorts of multiple problems cannot be solved by looking at single issues. We now place emphasis on 'joining up' policy between government departments and taking a long-term approach, applying three basic principles: reintegration, prevention - addressing the causes not just the symptoms - and mainstreaming ... The key to all of this is partnership" (Guardian - Society, 16 January 2001: 3 - 4).

According to the unit's report, there was a 33% drop in the number of children excluded from school in 1999 - 2000. What exactly this figure means would need closer investigation, but the claim remains significant. But while such joined-up thinking appears effective, it clearly requires a completely new way for governments to work. This challenge of co-ordinated visioning, strategising and acting would need to be taken on board by countries interested in correcting their problems of educational exclusion.

Educational inclusion is thus a tall and multifaceted order. However, in societies that proclaim any semblance of democracy, it is an imperative. The various levels at which schools as institutions may function to either include or exclude learners has been highlighted. Further complexities of educational inclusion must be considered to make valid recommendations regarding real initiatives aimed at achieving social justice in the educational sector.

Inequalities in inclusive education

Education of all citizens

Educational inclusion which defies the social norm of exclusion, is, as has been argued earlier, about fundamental change and real transformation. It assumes a notion of citizenship which may be contested as a number of countries in the South do not necessarily treat citizenship of their 'nationals' as a given. For example, it is argued that in the colonial African context, many states regarded some of their subjects as 'other' and without automatic national status. It is stated that:

> "... in the British colonies, they were categorically treated as 'subjects' rather than 'citizens', whilst in French colonies, they could progress from the status of 'indigene' towards citizenship through the assimilation of French culture and civilisation" (ILO, 1994).

African nationalism aimed to end this exclusion. However, complex citizenship laws have served to perpetuate forms of exclusion so that being born in a country is not necessarily a guarantee of citizenship. Citizenship could therefore be a model for exclusion in that only citizens could have rights. Structural pluralism which comprises the differential incorporation of social groups into a common political society is another model (ILO, 1994). South Africa's apartheid system may be described as constituting such a system of differential incorporation, the legacy of which prevails in conditions of skewed relations of power in favour of a dominant, essentially white, privileged minority. Nayak describes India's caste system as a similar mechanism of exclusion. Vast sections of the population, by virtue of their caste status are denied basic citizenship rights including rights to education (Nayak, 1994). It is important to engage the legacies and consequences of these systems when dealing with educational exclusion. Unfortunately, the seeds of what is often a destructive divisiveness continue to be watered in institutions precisely because the histories and legacies of exclusion are deep-rooted.

Multicultural and multiracial education

In efforts to accommodate 'difference', educational inclusion has in the past been paraded under the guise of multicultural education or education for plural societies. There have been numerous criticisms of this view, not least the fact that the concept serves to mask real features of injustices such as race and that it tends to collapse issues of different groups, imposing common denominators and singular 'solutions' inappropriately. In addition, multi-culturalism is often used to refer to 'black' communities and assumes the homogeneity of white groups (Osler & Starkey: 2000). Multiculturalism also assumes that persons belong to a single culture without understanding of the varied cultures in which people may share. Similar arguments are leveled against 'multiracial education'. Figueroa draws on Mullard (1982) to identify phases in the development of this concept in Britain. They are 'assimilationist, integrationist and cultural pluralist'. All three phases it is believed, "stemmed from the same social imperative - to maintain as far as possible the dominant structure of institutions, values and beliefs" (Mullard, 1982: 121 quoted in Figueroa, 1999: 47). Multiracial education was concerned with including alien (black) groups while maintaining the status quo based in inequality. The approaches denied the existence of 'race' focusing instead on culture as a factor of 'difference'. Multiracial education "teaches black pupils that they will always remain second-class citizens" (Figueroa, 1991: 48).

Features of racism and other injustices in education

The evidence of the indefensibility of racism in society specifically with regard to education, is also evidenced in a growing concern to camouflage racist practices through notions of the underclass. Ogbu argues that the gap in school performance between blacks and whites persists because its root, racial stratification, continues to function and because social mobility has fostered the growth of a 'buffer' black middle class. Evidence suggests that irrespective of social class, black children perform less well than white children. Researchers have also had difficulty explaining the behaviour of black students through the frame of social class and have repeatedly returned to the historicy of Black American struggle for understanding (Ogbu, 1994).

McCarthy, through a non-synchronous theory of race relations in schooling and society emphasises the need to see the multidimensionality of social inequality. He underlines the need to see racial inequality within a broader context of class, gender and other inequalities, and to identify a dominant articulating principle which shapes the primary nature of social injustice. McCarthy's work points to the overriding problem of racial injustice in the United States education system. He warns against a linear narrative which reflects the blatant exclusion of blacks from education and other aspects of society, and poses instead a need to recognise the agency of oppressed minorities in waging battle against injustices (McCarthy, 1997).

Nonsynchrony thus helps explain the contradictory nature in which relations of domination articulate to present differently textured conditions, and in addition, the way in which struggles may engage with these interfaces in unique and peculiar ways, re-shaping and sometimes transforming the dynamic to produce a different set of contradictions.

Opportunities for educational transformation

Power relations present themselves clearly throughout the various dimensions of education. In terms of each of these aspects - access, curricula, classroom dynamics, institutional 'incorporation' and the convergence of inequalities - inasmuch as they present possible crises for the educational sector and institutions, also present opportunities for transformation.

Institutional access

Access to schools is synonymous with exclusion for many learners. Similarly, educational inclusion is often riddled with elements of exclusion for many students by virtue of their not fitting in or needing to conform to cultures in ways that undermine their own cultures. Schools could transform not only their policies of exclusion, but also their often negative views on and approaches to inclusion. The institutional ethos could cultivate a culture of learning that recognizes the different strengths which each 'group' of learners brings to the educational exchange. While this necessarily involves changing staffing patterns and the school culture to reflect the demography of learners, this must come to be seen as a positive.

School Governance

School governance is a key area through which schools may reproduce or transform their institutional ethos and cultures. School governors engage with educational injustices in a number of ways. Governance structures may or may not:
- reflect the racial, gender and class (or the language, religious, geographical) composition of the pupil complement.
- include parents and student representatives or representatives from local community organisations.
- themselves be governed by a code of conduct which ensures transparency and the will to guide the school through ongoing process of transformation to ensure that its culture accords with the interests of all students.

School governing bodies typically regulate conflict and facilitate decision-making. As Brehony notes, there is nothing in the British Education Act to ensure that 'ethnic minorities' are represented and "interests based on social class, gender or ethnicity are not recognised as requiring representation" (Brehony, 1999: 159). Given the nature of social inequalities, the composition of governing structures often favour and promote the interests of certain social groups over and above others. It is for this reason that educational researchers concerned with transformation promote the need for careful and clear representation. As Jansen questions:

" ... who has the right to decide on or represent issues of curriculum and diversity within integrated schools. Can a governing board which is largely or exclusively white, in a school which is mainly black, decide on the content of the education experiences of these children?" (Jansen, 1998: 104).

This problem of composition and interests of governing bodies is however, not skin deep. Nominal representation is akin to window dressing. If representatives are not confident in their tasks, they occupy spaces that could otherwise be productively filled. While governing bodies need to address the issue of their composition in relation to their school body and in relation to the composition of the country as a whole, the issue of the agenda and general framework of the structure is equally crucial. The governing structure irrespective of composition may well simply be interested in maintaining rather than transforming the status quo. Nonetheless, the call for 'representation' in governance remains crucial and is akin to that made in relation to research into inclusive education. With regard to a narrower focus of inclusive education only in relation to disabled learners, Slee comments on the social relations of research:

"The research agenda: its methods, questions and implementation, is determined by non-disabled researchers. The voices of disabled people, their families and advocates are silenced. The overwhelming outcome of this research politics is a radically incomplete picture of disability, disablement and impairment" (Slee, 2001: 119).

Curricula

Curricula are potential sites of battle in the presentation of 'chosen' world views as given and suppression of differing views as 'other'. Their transformation present the opportunity for schools to broaden their world views in becoming part of the global community. Schools, rather than seeing themselves as 'dropping standards' should welcome the expansion of their scope to include criteria that are appropriate for both local and global contexts.

Nonsynchrony & contradictory relations

The contradictory and peculiar nature in which injustices prevail at different educational sites presents an opportunity for developing the skills to deal with difference, among the staff, between the staff and students, and among the learners themselves. These are skills required in a global world, what better way to develop them than through tackling real problems facing institutions.

The value of policy

The multi-dimensional nature of social exclusion and the fact that processes of exclusion have to be redressed, suggest that the challenge to policy formulation is great. Policy has to take account of the complexities of social injustice and the need to address the intersecting forms of exclusion. For example, where groups require economic redistribution as well as social recognition, policies have to account for both of these.

The social exclusion frame also offers the opportunity for the policy making process to be reflexive, to involve persons in positions of power who in the first instance, have instituted mechanisms and processes of injustice. While this may not be possible in all contexts, one of the advantages of globalisation has been the ability to communicate any defense of injustices globally.

One of the comments made in the social exclusion framework is that not all voices have to be heard before action can be taken (Anderson & Collins, 1998). While policy formation should be as engaging as possible in order to ensure success of transformation, policy makers must also be prepared to act, to generate understandings and contributions which allow processes to move forward.

It appears that one of the primary considerations in policy formation is to heed the sentiments of the social exclusion debate and to include any possible players in the process of formulation. Thus a balance has to be found between processes of inclusivity which take account of the various inequities that may make it difficult for groups to participate, and producing an architecture that directs transformation.

The policy arena highlights the need for a holistic policy that sees the education system as a whole in relation to national constitution and policy and in relation to all citizens. An inclusive education policy which does not recognize its commitment to all citizens irrespective of race, class, caste and gender and which does not seek to redress all forms of injustice fails at the outset. This does not mean that policy will lead to the enactment of all changes it beckons since policy is not a plan. It does, however, signal the areas that planners must face in their prioritisation of changes in accordance with a programme of action.

Important principles of the philosophy of inclusive educational policy as noted in Salend, 2001 are:

* Effective inclusion improves the educational system for all students by placing them together in general education classrooms - regardless of their learning ability, race, linguistic ability, economic status, gender, learning style, ethnicity, cultural background, religion, family structure, and sexual orientation.
* Effective inclusion involves sensitivity to and acceptance of individual needs and differences.
* Effective inclusion requires reflective educators to modify their attitudes, teaching and classroom management practices, and curricula to accommodate individual needs.
* Effective inclusion is a group effort which involves collaboration among educators, other professionals, students, families, and community agencies (Salend, 2001: Preface).

An important consideration in policy development is that much of the material on inclusive education is based on policy around special education. This view is supported by authors like Slee and Dyson. A growing field of research is occurring around inclusive education in relation to all students, addressing issues of exclusion on the basis of race, class, gender and other social divides. This is evidenced in the work of Britain's Social Exclusion Unit, its Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) and other DfEE work (for instance, that done with Traveller communities). It is not always fair to transfer arguments pertaining to special education to inclusive schooling which confronts race, class and gender. The conditions of exclusion are not always analogous by virtue of the fact that political exclusion is part of a political strategy whereas segregation on the basis of a difference in relation to physical and mental ability may not always be political.

The following discussion considers issues pertaining to inclusive education policy without being prescriptive about the shape and form of such policy. The policy of providing equal opportunity to all learners to realise their true potential may well mean, in certain instances, that educational provision appears segregated. It is crucial to look beyond this at the overarching philosophy and ideology that underpins policy. If this is inclusive, progressive, and responsive rather than reactive, it may facilitate forms of delivery that at face value appear contradictory but which move education and society as a whole in the direction of equity.

Fundamentals of inclusive education policy

There are a number of requirements of inclusive education policies which should be considered to ensure that they are feasible and useful to their context. The premises of policy formation include the following considerations.

Feasible, enabling policy

A number of authors have emphasised the need for feasible and implementable policy (Sayed, 2002). Clearly policies which are wish lists may spew the rhetoric of inclusion, but not reflect the context to which it pertains. For this reason, policies may draw on global models of success, but should be recast to reflect the conditions to which they apply. Implementable policies presupposes policy that is enabling in allowing actors to use the framework or policy architecture to guide and enact transformation. An enabling national architecture provides a rubric within which actors are able to design policy at a regional and institutional level. Thus national policy ought to be feasible not only in terms of facilitating national processes of educational delivery, but also in terms of articulating with and facilitating regional policy development and institutional policy development. Policy has to make sense for all these levels of delivery.

Holistic, integrated policy

Policies must be part and parcel of broader educational policy. If inclusive educational policy is located outside of the broader framework, it will constantly face problems of inarticulation with

other educational initiatives. But beyond this, policy makers and implementers need to take ownership of and need to think inclusively. Educational policy formation, inasmuch as it needs to take account of other sectors e.g. how educational delivery (and curricula particularly) relate to the labour market and job opportunities, must also consider the various components of educational development e.g. how to integrate training for inclusive education with human resource development programmes that take account of a range of other issues such as information literacy and other skills development training.

There is a further aspect to holistic policy development. Inclusive education policy ought to be broad enough to address the multidimensional nature of educational exclusion. It needs to take account of the contradictory nature of exclusions and the nonsynchronous way in which factors of social injustice articulate in different contexts to generate various forms of exclusion. Inclusive policy needs also to address the range of areas through which these fundamentals of exclusion play themselves out: access - institutional and cultural - curricula, governance.

Democratising policy formation

Policies should be developed by a collective of actors all of whom are legitimately involved to advance the interests of certain social groups. The interests of all social groups must be represented to ensure that the structures that develop policy reflect and indicate the interests of all citizens. This implies democratic representation as opposed to nominal representation and the real inclusion or consideration of what may be conflicting issues with a view to resolving or working with discrepancies and conflicts. This further implies the development of a policy creation space, methodology and set of related mechanisms that facilitate the production of a coherent policy framework. Facilitation is critical to ensure that policies always adhere to and reflect national policies that pertain to 'real' social inclusion. It is also crucial given the nature of the terrain of educational and social inclusion: it is a terrain of struggle and contestation with divergent views vying for power.

A further aspect to this is that policy needs to move beyond the rhetoric of empowerment by recognising that relations of power need to be addressed in ways that allow deprived social groups to determine the ways in which they wish to acquire and exercise and maintain a share of power.

Flexible, adaptable policy

Policy has to be flexible and adaptable containing simultaneously elements that allow for (a) adaptation to regional and local conditions, and (b) the ongoing mechanism for reflexivity and innovation. In other words, policies must include the very conditions for their reappraisal and transformation to ensure that while they are strong enough to direct action, certain principles and philosophies, they are not cast in concrete so as to restrict the flow of new thought into their frame.

Discourses of inclusion that influence policy

The following sub-section concerns itself with understanding the thinking behind inclusive educational policy development. It draws extensively on the work of Dyson, as it is believed this usefully guides thinking about how and when to marry what could be discrete ways of thinking about educational inclusion.

Dyson (1999) proposes four dominant discourses of inclusion:
- the rights and ethics discourse
- the efficacy discourse
- the political discourse
- the pragmatic discourse

Dyson proposes that the four discourses may be used where appropriate to help address concerns that fall within their ambit, for instance a consideration of ethics and politics may help address questions about how inclusive a school is and what the process of making it more inclusive could be, how well it allows for student expression in relation to rights and responsibilities etc.

The rights and ethics discourse

Proposing that children have the right to education, this discourse emerged in the 1950s with the intention of "equalising opportunities and spreading economic and cultural benefits more widely through society" (Dyson, 1999: 39). The intention was to address the inequalities generated by the education systems of capitalist societies. Special education is seen as reproducing societal divides by separating 'disabled' persons from the rest of society and protecting such services from addressing the need for 'integration'.

It is important to introduce the notion of attainable development targets. With growing concern for "(a) the universalism of human rights; (b) their social dimension; and (c) the means for effectively realising global social rights" (Deacon, 2000: 35), strategists are concerned that if "a government is unable to raise revenue so as to be able to comply with its human rights obligations, human rights guarantees become illusory" (Tomasevski, 1997: 240 quoted in Deacon, 2000: 35). This view emphasises the need for 'well-resourced' countries in the 'developed' world to redistribute resources globally so that those less developed countries are able to meet the basic rights of their citizens. Social policy that faces the need for global ownership of the problems of poverty (and social exclusion) has thus become a pressing issue. The United Nations, in tackling the need for provision of basic services, including education, to all, are factoring into their thinking a need to redress global imbalances.

The efficacy discourse

This discourse argues that inclusive schools are more cost-efficient, socially beneficial and educationally effective than segregated special schools. According to Dyson, this discourse critiques special education arguing that expected outcomes of special programmes (mainly

remedial teaching of reading) appeared unsuccessful (Dyson, 1999: 41). Furthermore, it appears that students seemed to fare similarly in special and 'mainstream' schools. Special education is also seen as more costly in all respects (overheads, infrastructural costs, human resource investment) (Dyson, 1999). In support of the discourse, research also indicates that physically disabled students do not learn differently from 'other' students.

In inclusive environments, institutions are challenged to include 'disabilities' in ways that make them appear normal and part of life. Inclusive education thus challenges all school-goers to develop skills to deal with difference as a normal part of life.

It may thus be argued, on the basis of evidence, that inclusive education is a sensible and cost-effective route to pursue.

The political discourse

This discourse proposes that special education persists and is premised upon vested interests - a specialist, human resource base, and parent interest groups to name but a few. When individuals or social groups denied access to mainstream education struggle for inclusion, they may "align themselves with oppressed groups in a wider social struggle, or may even demand that the struggle be handed over entirely to those groups" (Dyson, 1999: 42). The struggle occurs also at the level of ideas and concepts in challenging conventional views of segregation and proposing more advanced thinking of inclusion.

The pragmatic discourse

This discourse is practical in focusing on the dimensions of inclusive education as well as the means by which it may be enacted. Certain protagonists of this discourse believe that inclusive schools have 'determinate characteristics' vis-a-vis, structure, programmes, systems, practices, culture and ethos which distinguish them from non-inclusive schools. The discourse is also concerned with outlining an 'inclusive pedagogy' which relates to theories of instruction and learning or teaching strategies (Dyson, 1999: 42). It is important to determine inclusion though by the 'absence of injustices, discrimination, exclusionary barriers rather than the presence of particular pedagogical practices and organisational forms' (Dyson, 1999: 45). This discourse would thus include numerous manuals and/or guides with various recommendations on how to 'achieve' inclusive education. The discourse promotes the view that 'right action' in relation to policy and practice will lead to successful inclusive education.

As noted earlier, these categories allow for questions to be posed that check whether an institution is able to deliver to all of the categories simultaneously or whether there are tensions between the categories. For example, does improved access to education or inclusion compromise 'quality' of education providing a poorer quality of learning than a segregated environment may have provided?

Closing Remarks

This paper has discussed the concepts of educational inclusion and educational exclusion in the context of the social exclusion, social inclusion debate in the South. It has considered these concepts in relation to the multi-dimensional issues of poverty and shown ways in which the concepts could usefully be employed in the South. The discussion has highlighted that the issues are hardly simple or easy to tackle. Educational inclusion requires careful consideration of every aspect of schooling and societal context. Innovative approaches to educational inclusion will need to address issues at macro, micro, personal and interpersonal levels. Connections between school and community cultures have to be drawn, as well as between educational and community programmes of inclusion. The concepts of inclusion and exclusion press for much closer conscious and self-conscious consideration of identity and role: who is doing the excluding and including, who is choosing the excluding and including, how are these processes of inclusion and exclusion facitilited, and what are the dominant views and relations of social, economic and political power. The paper emphasises the importance of such interrogation at the levels of research and policy formation to ensure that these processes are aware of ways in which they may implicitly perpetuate injustices.

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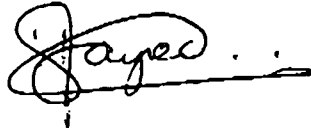
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