The Development of Inclusive Education in the Tanzanian Primary School

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Abstract

In 1994 the Tanzanian Government ratified the Salamanca Statement. The Salamanca Statement emphasises the need to provide children with special needs basic education, and sees this as an indispensable step to reach the goals set at the first Education For All Conference in Jomtien 1990. The Framework for Action connected to the Salamanca Statement suggests inclusive education as a strategy to reach these goals. This study investigates from different angels the development of inclusive education in the Tanzanian primary school.

The study has employed a qualitative approach. The findings of the study are mainly based on interviews of various stakeholders such as school staff and government officials. However, also document analysis of national policies and observations are methods used in the data collection processes.

There are today several primary schools in Tanzania that are involved in inclusive education programs. This study explores 5 primary schools where initiatives to inclusive education have either been taken by the Government, by Disabled People's Organisations, the school's initiative or not at all. Although, there are quite a few schools currently offering education in inclusive settings, especially through the Government's programme, the challenges to further develop inclusive education in the Tanzanian primary school are immense. This study has attempted to look at the different factors which positively or negatively contribute to the development of inclusive education in Tanzania.

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List of Abbreviations

CBO   *Community Based Organisation*

CCM   *Chama Cha Mapinduzi*

CSO   *Civil Society Organisations*

DPO   *Disabled Peoples Organisation*

EFA   *Education For All*

IE   *Inclusive education*

NFU   *Norwegian Association for Persons with Developmental Disabilities*

NGO   *Non Governmental Organisation*

NPD   *National Policy of Disability*

PEDP   *Primary Education Developmental Plan*

PRSP   *Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan*

TAMH   *Tanzania Association for Mentally Handicapped*

TANU   *Tanzanian African National Union*

TENMET   *Tanzania Education Network/Mtandao wa Elimu Tanzania*

UN   *United Nation*

UNESCO   *United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Oranisation*

UPE   *Universal Primary Education*

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1 Background to the Study

1.1 Introduction

Today there are a number of resolutions concerning the rights to education for all children. The focus of this study is on inclusive education. This chapter looks at the major resolutions which entail principles regarding education for all, and foremost their focus on rights to education for persons with disabilities and inclusive education. Through the major declarations that are mentioned below, concerning rights to education, nations are urged to fast forward their actions of providing equal access to education for all. Education is agreed upon to be a key factor to human and individual development, and thus implicitly for a nation's economical growth. Minority groups such as persons with disabilities are in many countries the last to receive proper education; this is also true in Tanzania which is the country I have looked at in this study. Denying persons with disabilities the possibility to be given education deprives them of a fundamental right, and prevents them from achieving basic skills that are necessary for meaningful participation in their societies (Inclusion International, 06).

The struggle for achieving education for all was for the first time recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN,1948). Through this declaration and other various initiatives from the international community, all states with few exceptions are signatory and thus committed to resolutions that in different ways secure rights, protect the people of the state, their resources and their voices, regardless of traits such as race, religion, caste, gender, health or age. Education as a right for all is stated in Article 26 of the 1948 Human Rights Declaration:

> Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory... Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace (UN, 1948:26).

Article 26 may be perceived as the beginning of a still ongoing international era to secure basic education for all children. The goals to provide education for all children are stated

clearly in the below mentioned declarations, which are the ones I perceive as the most relevant documents in the context of this study, further I look at the Education For All resolutions which Tanzania is also signatory to.

1.1.1 Chronological presentation of relevant international documents

- **1948**: *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

- **1982**: UN *The World Programme for Action Concerning Disabled Persons*

- **1989**: UN *Convention on the Right of the Child*

- **1990**: *The World Declaration on Education For All*

- **1993**: *UN Standard Rules on Equalisation and Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities*

- **1994**: *Salamanca Statement and Framework of Action on Special Needs Education*

- **2000**: *World Education Forum (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals*

- **2001**: *EFA Flagship: Education for persons with disabilities: Towards Inclusive*

- **2007**: UN *Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*

1.2 Education For All

After the Universal Primary Education (UPE) goals where implemented around the world from the 60th to the 80th, the enrolment rates to primary education was still unsatisfactorily in many countries on the threshold to the 90th. This led to the first Education For All (EFA) Conference. Here a stronger appearance of children's right to education was promoted. The Conference was held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, with 2000 as the target year for achieving the goals stated in the declaration (UNESCO, 1990). In 1994 the Salamanca Statement and Framework was processed to increase the attention on education for children with special needs (UNESCO, 1994) and in 2000 the World Education Forum took place in Dakar (UNESCO, 2000).

Most countries have now approved the Jomtien Education For All Resolution (UNESCO, 1990), the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education (UNESCO, 1994) and The Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000). The countries that have approved and signed these resolutions have at the same time committed themselves to protect and promote the rights to education for all children in their societies, including the provision of education to marginalised groups, such as children with disabilities.

In Article 3 of the World Declaration on Education For All, "Universalising access and promoting equity", disability is taken into consideration stating:

> The learning needs of the disabled demands special attention. Steps need to be taken to provide equal access to education to every category of disabled persons as an integral part of the education system (UNESCO, 1990:9).

The Salamanca Framework (UNESCO, 1994) is a continuation of the Jomtien Declaration (UNESCO, 1990). This framework further promotes children's right to education, having a special emphasis on children with special needs. After the Salamanca Conference, both professionals and politicians were challenged with a new way of thinking in the process of providing basic education for all in regular schools. The term now emerging to reflect this new thinking was inclusive education (UNESCO, 1994; Ainscow, 1999). At the conference different voices expressed their concern towards reaching the goals of Education For All (EFA), claiming that the goals initiated in the 60's achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 1980, and especially the Jomtien agreement on Basic Education For All (UNESCO, 1990), would not be reached without the focus on marginalised groups excluded from education or secluded in special units, schools and other institutions. The Salamanca Statement restated the right of every child to receive education, and identified inclusive education as a key strategy for reaching the Education For All goals.

Further, the Salamanca Statement (1994) proclaimed that: "every child has unique characteristics, interests and learning needs". And also, "those with special educational needs must have access to regular schools which should accommodate them with a child centred pedagogy capable of meeting those needs" (UNESCO, 1994:2). The Framework for Action for Special Needs Education (1994) emphasises that education for children with special educational needs should be provided for within inclusive schools, laying out the standards for such schools stating the following:

> The fundamental principle of the inclusive school is that all children should learn together, wherever possible, regardless of any difficulties or differences they may have. Inclusive schools must recognise and respond to the diverse needs of their students, accommodating both different styles and ratio of learning and ensuring quality education to all trough appropriate curricula, organisational arrangements, teaching strategies, resource use and partnerships with their communities There should be continuum of support and services to match the continuum of special needs encountered in every school (UNESCO, 1994:7).

It is stated in the Framework for Action that inclusion and participation is crucial to human dignity and the enjoyment and exercise of human rights (UNESCO, 1994).

It is important to notice that the Salamanca Framework for Action (UNESCO 1994) specifies the diverseness of inclusive education. Stating that the attention of providing education should be focused on *all* groups of children, independent of their abilities:

> Schools should accommodate all children regardless of the physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic or other conditions. This should include the disabled, street and working children, the gifted, children from remote and nomadic populations, ethnic and cultural minorities and children from other disadvantaged and marginalised groups (UNESCO 1994:6).

Thus, we can understand the approach of inclusive education to meet the needs to all children, youth and adults with a specific focus on those who are vulnerable to marginalisation and exclusion (UNESCO, 2003).

The Framework for Action (UNESCO, 1994) consists of five paragraphs; three topics are considered more urgent to address, pointing out that the integration of children and young people with special needs would be more successful and effective if educational development were especially directed towards:

- *Early childhood education*, the Framework for Action emphasises the importance of giving attention to children in kindergarten and pre-school levels, stressing the value of an inclusive environment.

- *Girls education*, framing the importance of supplying disabled girls with adequate training. And proper guidance to make them prepared for their future roles as women.

- *Preparation for adult life*, preparing people with special needs to be contributing and independent members of their communities, pointing out the importance of a good system for transition, from school to either higher education, or suitable vocational jobs (UNESCO, 1994).

In 2000 a new Framework for Action to reach Education For All and Millennium Goals was made ready for new signatures at the World Education Forum in Dakar. 2015 was decided as a new target year to reach these goals (UNESCO, 2000). The Dakar Framework (2000) incorporates the Jomtien and Salamanca declarations and provides guidelines on what kind of learning and what kind of potentials to be developed:

> Every child, youth and adult has the human right to benefit from education that will meet their basic learning needs in the best and fullest sense of the term, an education that include learning to know, to do, to live together and to be. It is an education that is geared to tapping each person's talents and potential and developing learner's personalities, so that they can improve their lives and transform their societies (UNESCO, 2000:8).

Tanzania are signatory to the Education For All documents accounted for above, which are all important tools for achieving education for all children in Tanzania. Never the less, in light of this study the Salamanca statement is the most central, taking into account the main goal, which is to explore the development of inclusive education in the Tanzanian primary school. To reach this goal I conducted my fieldwork in Tanzania. During my fieldwork I visited both schools that were included in ongoing inclusive education projects and schools where no initiative were taken towards inclusive education. By exploring schools with different experiences to inclusive education and various identified stakeholders connected to these schools, the study attempts to identify the obstacles which the school faces at the primary level in Tanzania. However the study also tries to discover opportunities which can contribute to make the primary schools develop further towards inclusiveness. To get a holistic picture of the situation it has been important to include voices from all identified stakeholders who consist of parents, school staff and children with special needs, school committees, school district officers, high level policy makers and NGO representatives.

1.3 Justification of the study

According to Heckman (2006), initiatives that promote fairness and social justice, and at the same time promotes productivity in the economy and in society at large is a rare public policy. He claims that investing in disadvantaged young children is such a policy.

A crisis within education was taking place in the late 1980's, especially in countries of the South, reporting an extremely low enrolment ratio for children with special educational needs. This is a crisis that has seen very little or no progress, and in most places the situation is unchanged. At the beginning of this century only approximately 2% of people with disabilities who received education in countries of the South (Coulby and Zambeta, 2005). International Inclusion (2006), reports that this situation still remains the same, stating that 98% of children with a disability remain out of school in countries of the South. The situation among girls seems to be even worse in these countries where numbers indicate that 99% of girls with disabilities are illiterate (International, 2006). With these awakening indicators in mind, my belief is that all research aiming at making improvements to the contemporary educational situation for children with disabilities from countries in the South should be welcomed.

1.4 Country Profile

The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in April 1964, after the sovereign states of Tanganyika and Zanzibar decided to unite after their independence from the British in 1961 and 1963 respectively. Tanzania was first under the rule of the Germany from 1890, up to 1919 when the Germans was forced to surrender to Britain as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. After The Second World War in 1946 Tanganyika became a UN trust territory governed by British authorities, it remained this way until the country peacefully won its independence.

The United Republic of Tanzania is located on the east coast of Africa between the great lakes of the Rift Valley systems in the central part of the continent and the Indian Ocean. Tanzania's capital is Dodoma, however Dar Es Salaam is considered to be the commercial capital (GoURT, 2006) The estimates of Tanzania's population is today approximately 38.4 million (BBC, 2006). There are more than 120 ethnic groups, each with a distinct language or

dialect. Swahili is the official, universally spoken language in Tanzania. English is also an official language, and is the language of instruction after primary school; English also function as the commercial language. The implications of having English as language of instruction have though been widely discussed. Several research projects suggest that the competence in English among both teacher and students are not on a sufficient level, which is a precondition for effective learning (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2003; Malekela, 2003). Martha Qurro a senior lecture at University of Dar es Salaam argues that Swahili, which is the mother tongue among Tanzanians, should be used as the language of instruction in order for the students to understand their subjects properly (Gran, 2007).

The religious beliefs are fairly equally divided between Christian, Muslim and traditional beliefs. Tanzania has a diverse geography, the country has both the lowest point in Africa by the floors of the Rift Valley measuring 358metres below sea level at Lake Tanganyika, and highest point of the African continent with the still snow capped Kilimanjaro peaking at 5897 metres. Tanzania is a tropical country which has four main climate zones. The climate is governed by two monsoons, one from December to March and another from June to September, the latter being dryer (USSP, 2006).

1.4.1 Political conditions

The United Republic of Tanzania's first elected president was Julius Nyerere. He unified Tanganyaki and Zanizibar in the first year of his presidency in 1964. In 1977 the Nyerere merged the governing body of Zanzibar, Afro Shirazi Party with his own ruling party Tanzanian African National Union (TANU). The new party was called Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) or the Revolutionary Party. Since her independence in 1961, Tanzania has successfully held general elections every 5 years. However, not until 1992, when the constitution was amended, the country introduced a multi party democratic system. Nyerere stepped down from his position in 1985. The first multiparty election was held in 1994 with 11 parties registered, and the latest was held in 2005. The last election was won by Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete under the slogan "New Vigour, New Zeal, and New Speed: Promoting Better Life For All Tanzanians" (GoURT, 2005). The National Assembly consist today of 320 constituent seats where The Zanzibar's House of Representatives have 80 seats. Today totally 90 seats are allocated women. Zanzibar also has its own president, most laws concerning Zanzibar, except some few laws concerning union matters, are passed through the House of

Representatives in Zanzibar. The semi-autonomous relationship is rather unique and has survived for over four decades. Zanzibar follows the same election cycles as the mainland (USSD 2006).

1.4.2 Economy

Tanzania is today one of the poorest countries in the world, where more than one third of the population live below the national line of poverty, which is set to approximately one dollar per day (GoURT, 2007). The difficult fiscal situation led to significant macroeconomic and structural reforms in the mid nineties. Tanzania has experienced a stable political development, which have had a positive effect on the economic growth. The annual growth rate between 2000 and 2006 averaged 5.8 %, which is very good compared with the other Sub-Saharan countries (BBC, 2006). Agriculture, which accounts for half the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employs 90% of the work force, has evidently a very important economic role in Tanzania. Economically, Tanzania also relies on the tourism, fishing and mining industries (Mbendi, 2006). One of the key areas of contemporary policy focus is promotion of sustained and shared economic growth. The Government of Tanzania and development partners, which Tanzania is still much dependent of, launched a partnership strategy on the process of planning and implementing of poverty reduction activities (GoURT, 2001). Recently, the Government introduced the second "National Strategy fro Growth and Reduction of Poverty. One of the main investments to maintain this strategy is to further increase public spending on education (DFID, 2006).

1.4.3 Education

The formal education system of Tanzania is structured according to four successive levels, and starts with *Pre-primary education* for 5-6 year old children. It aims at promoting the children's overall development and prepares them for: *Primary education*, which in principle is a seven year compulsory level for all Tanzanian children, however in reality there are high drop out numbers, the main reason for this is that for many families the labour the child in the family produces is essential to their economy and is often considered as more important or a pure necessity in order to survive. The major objectives of primary education are to lay the socio-cultural foundations of the Tanzanian citizen and nation, and to prepare the children for the next level of education which is *Secondary education*. This next level is divided into two

forms, ordinary level (Form 1- 4) and advanced level (Form 5 and 6). And last students can move onto tertiary and higher education and training, which encompass all post ordinary level secondary education leading to certificates, diplomas or degrees, today less than 2% reaches this level in Tanzania (GoURT, 2005). To continue with what is one of the main focuses of this study, the next section will discover how inclusion gradually became an important term in a rights perspective and look at some of the documents which underline this.

1.5 Towards inclusion

Even if the use of inclusive education as a new terminology commenced at the Salamanca Conference (1994), the notion to include persons with disabilities into the regular schools was recognised earlier. Already from 1959 Bank Mikkelsen and Nirje fronted the escalating discourse on normalisation and integration of persons with disabilities. This discourse had been born as part of the Nordic social democratic phenomena. As a contribution to this discourse, Norway abolished its segregating school Act in 1970, and the concept of a school for all was formed based on the "Blom report"[1] , which spelled out three criteria for integration: a) Belongingness in a social community b) Participation in the benefits of the community and c) Joint responsibility for tasks and obligations (Johnsen, 2001:147). The Blom report became a point of departure for the development away from segregation and towards inclusion in Norway. Internationally the discourse on normalisation had spread from the Nordic countries to the rest of the Western world including the United States where it was further developed (Johnsen, 2001). According to Johnsen (2001) the early change of discourse in the Nordic countries on special needs education marked an ideological turn, which had links to a larger human rights and integration movement coming forth in the 60th and 70[th,] such as the movement for equal rights among African American, the women liberation movement, and the growing debate of rights to persons with disabilities around the world. In addition to the Education For All documents accounted for above, the integration of persons with disability have been recognised in important human rights documents both before and after the Education For All Statements, below are some of the other declaration, which has a focus on the rights of education to *all* children.

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[1] A commission with the chairman Knut Blom produced a report on behalf of the Norwegian Ministry of Education, Research and the Church in 1970-a turning point for the special needs education in Norway (Johnsen, 2001).

The World Program for Action Concerning Disabled Persons, which was adapted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1982, had a strong inclusive agenda urging member states:

> To adopt policies, that recognises the rights of disabled persons to have equal educational opportunities with others. The education of disabled persons should as far as possible take place in the general school system. Responsibility for their education should be placed upon the educational authorities and laws regarding compulsory education should include children with all ranges of disabilities, including the most severely disabled (UN, 1982:8).

Other steps towards inclusion can be found in the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1991 (Skjørten 2001, Ainscow 1999). The call for a radical change in provision to education for children with disabilities was strongly put forward when the General Assembly adopted the Convention and subsequently the ratification by 187 member countries represented (Ainscow, 1999). This is clearly stated in articles 28 and 29, declaring that all children have the right to education on the basis of equal opportunity, emphasising that "State Parties shall direct education so that all children develops their personality's, talents, mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential" (UN, 1989:7).

Further, rights to education for persons with disabilities were also strongly stated in the rules set by the UN General Assembly in 1993. These rules are referred to as the Standard Rules of the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (UN, 1993).
 In these rules, the focus of including persons with disabilities is clearly emphasised, for example in rule number 6 concerning education:

> States should recognize the principle of equal primary, secondary and tertiary educational opportunities for children, youth and adults with disabilities, in integrated settings. They should ensure that the education of persons with disabilities is an integral part of the educational system. General educational authorities are responsible for the education of persons with disabilities in integrated settings. Education for persons with disabilities should form an integral part of national educational planning, curriculum development and school organization (UN, 1993:6).

At the 30th of March 2007 the Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was opened for signatures (UN, 2007). This new United Nation initiative on rights to persons with disabilities is exceedingly concerned with inclusiveness in education. This is explicitly evident in Article 24:

States Parties should recognize the right of persons with disabilities to education. With a view to realizing this right without discrimination and on the basis of equal opportunity, States Parties shall ensure an inclusive education system at all levels (UN:2007:24).

Further in Article 24 it is pointed out a number of statements that specifically emphasise inclusive education as important when providing education for persons with disabilities. It is claimed that by realising the rights in the quote above, all States Parties should ensure that:

- Persons with disabilities are not excluded from the general education system on the basis of disability, and that children with disabilities are not excluded from free and compulsory primary education, or from secondary education, on the basis of disability;

- Persons with disabilities can access an inclusive, quality and free primary education and secondary education on an equal basis with others in the communities in which they live;

- Persons with disabilities receive the support required, within the general education system, to facilitate their effective education;

- Effective individualized support measures are provided in environments that maximize academic and social development, consistent with the goal of full inclusion (UN, 2007:24).

1.5.1 Challenges towards inclusion

Although the idea of inclusive education has been viable for a long time, the concept is not free from debate, and some mainstream educationalists have been resistant to the notion of inclusive education. They argue that small units located in the normal school environment, will not satisfactorily be substituted by normal classrooms and their teachers when it comes to specialist knowledge, equipment and support (Eklindh & Brule-Balescut, 2006). However, according to Loreman, Deppeler, Harvey (2005) there is sufficient research evidence on how inclusion can be successful, even for children with severe disabilities, but this prerequisites that the schools show a genuine interest to adapt the new practices, and that there is a culture of shared values among stakeholders. Nevertheless, it is stated in the Salamanca Statement

that one must always look at the needs of the individual, and in some cases it may require additional support outside the classroom (Eklindh & Brule-Balescut, 2006).

There are a lot of barriers and challenges to inclusion. Barriers may though be perceived different in countries of the North, where the main obstacles can be explained by the traditions in policies and practices of segregating, and exclusion of children perceived as difficult and/or different. While in the countries of the South the main difficulties are reflected through the limited resources, too few schools, inadequate facilities, lack of teachers and other qualified staff. However, no matter what the barriers are there should ideally be a practice of shared inclusive knowledge, culture and value that together enables progress of the inclusive ideas in both countries of the North and South (UNESCO 2003).

Apparently there are various external barriers such as political issues and shortcomings of resources to inclusion. Skjørten (2001:47) also emphasise the personal and internal challenges that may occur in inclusive environments:

- Social-emotional challenges; *e.g. develop genuine friendships, overcome loneliness*

- Challenges related to learning and development of skills; *e.g. develop functional language skills, experience mastery and competence in relation to peers*

- Challenges related to the preparation and upgrading of professionals working in inclusive settings; *e.g. gaining enough experience and new knowledge*

1.6 Why inclusive education?

Inclusive education has many advantages, and can be beneficial for all if it is planned and organised rigorously (Stainback, Stainback 1992 and Loreman, Deppeler, Harvey, 2005). According to Mittler (2000), the aim of inclusion in education is to restructure and reform the school in the direction so that all children can be part of all the social and educational opportunities offered at a school. The aim of such reform further implies that no one should be segregated or isolated. Mittler, further argues that a reform like this require a radical rethink in policy, and that such policies should be designed to benefit all. This includes those

from ethnic or linguistic minorities, those with disabilities or any other kind of learning difficulty as well as children who often is absent or at the risk of exclusion (Mittler 2000).

Skjørten agrees upon the fact that policies needs to be adjusted radically, however she states that the road to reach inclusion is long, and will amongst other things also require:

- a change of heart and attitude
- a reorientation related to assessment, teaching methods and classroom management including adjustment of the environment
- redefinition of teachers roles and reallocation of human resources
- an overall flexible educational system including a flexible curriculum and examination system (Skjørten, 2001:39).

The core of inclusive education is to make all children learn and feel belongingness in the environment of their communities and schools. To make this possible it requires a philosophy where diversity is valued, and according to Stainback, Stainback, (1992) a diversity that strengthens the group of pupils in a class, and offer all of its participants improved potential for learning (Stainback, Stainback 1992). These shared benefits is referred to by Befring as the Enrichment Perspective, and is described in the same line, pointing out "when a school, community, or a society adapts and is responsive to the needs and distinctive features of people with differing needs and abilities (e.g., disabilities) it enriches everyone, pupils and educators alike"(Befring, 2001:52). The Enrichment Perspective will be a guiding approach to this study and is presented more elaborately in the next chapter.

Eklindh & Brule-Balescut, (2006) have in their article, in the book "When All Means All" pointed out four factors from a UNESCO Conceptual Paper (2003) as they describe as key elements in the practice of inclusion. These elements are, *firstly* that inclusion is a continuous process, claiming it will always be better ways of responding to diversity. *Secondly*, inclusion has to deal with the identification and removal of barriers, where the endeavour for further evidence is important to encourage for innovations and problem solving. Thirdly, inclusion is about presence, participation and achievement of all students. And last, inclusion involves a particular emphasis on those groups of learners who may be at risk of marginalisation, exclusion or underachievement. They argue that there is a moral responsibility, basically

among schools and local authorities, to make sure that these groups are in particular carefully monitored according to the third key element.

Loreman, Deppeler and Harvey (2005) are affirmative to the notion that everyone will be rewarded in an inclusive environment, stating that the best thing about inclusion is that everyone wins. They also argue that:

- Diverse abilities among children in schools are more likely stimulate better communication and social skills.
- Inclusive settings also often give the children with disabilities an improved academic program, which results in improved skill acquisition and increased academic achievements.
- Children with disabilities who attend inclusive schools also experience enhanced social acceptance; and friendships with non-disabled is more likely to occur.
- An inclusive setting gives children with disabilities a broader general knowledge, which in effect enhances their social capabilities, and subsequently results in an increased income in their adult lives.
- Benefits of inclusive schools to children without disabilities are also compelling, and ranges from having better student/staff ratio, to a better over all funding to the class. The resources that are moved from special units should be to the benefit of all (Loreman, Deppeler and Harvey, 2005).

1.6.1 Towards inclusion in Tanzania and the South

According to Mmbaga (2002) there are clear indications of an inclusive attitude in the Nyerere policy "Ujamaa" (socialism) which still guides the legislation on education today. This policy was based on the culture of the people, living together, working together, and helping each other. Mmbaga also consider the Compulsory Education Act from 1978 as being relevant. This act advocates the right to education for every child within the general education system. In Article 56 of the act, we can read "every citizen of the United Republic is entitled to receive such category, nature and level of education as the ability may permit" (Mmbaga, 2002:79).

Rodda and Eleweke (2001) points to evidence from UNESCO, where many of the governments and the policies in countries of the South are positive to the concept of inclusive education, yet the process of implementation is still absent in most places. Rodda and Eleweke further refer to Abosi (1996, in Elweke) whose observations in Africa show that the implementation of inclusive programmes has not been sufficiently supported in terms of planning and resource allocation by the governments. He argues that these inadequate tendencies lead to frustration and isolation for learners with special needs (Rodda and Eleweke, 2001). However, in various countries there have been initiated pilot projects, many of which have been financed by foreign donors. In Ethiopia, South Africa, Zambia and Mozambique inclusive education projects have been initiated. To be mentioned is the Kokebe Tsebah Primary School in Ethiopia who successfully included children with mental retardation (Teferra, 2006). The INSPRO and ESSP III programs have been carried out in the Northern and Western provinces of Zambia (Muhau and Siltakorpi, 2006). South Africa and Finland had a bilateral program[2] from 2000-2003, where they among other projects to enhance educators in education, initiated inclusive education projects in two provinces (Lekgau and Matero, 2006). According to the evaluations of these projects, there were noted many positive experiences. However, the challenges seem to be numerous, the concerns varied from shortage of appropriate instructional materials, better school environments, infrastructural barriers, lack of in-service training, more teacher training colleges emphasising special needs curriculum, more special teacher training colleges, and the continuous work to change peoples attitudes towards inclusion. An example of poor attitude was reflected in a comment from a participant of the SCOPE program in South Africa, who said that the schools had turned into dumping areas, referring to children with disabilities (Savolainen, Matero and Kokkala, 2006). Evidence indicates that the tendencies mentioned above have affected the progression of inclusive education the last decade in many countries of the South (Eleweke and Rodda, 2001).

1.6.2 Inclusive education and a south-south perspective

In 1998 the so called Agra Seminar brought together people from 40 different countries working with inclusive education. During the seminar inclusive education was discussed on the same premises, as all participants represented, came from a country considered as

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[2] SCOPE

economically weak. The consensus reached among the group was that they could learn much more from each other than from North-based specialists and practitioners who had different levels of resources and different systems. They argued that their experiences also would be of value for the countries of the North. Some of their Conclusions were:

- IE need not to be restricted by large class sizes.
- IE need not to be restricted by a shortage of material resources.
- Attitudinal barriers to inclusion are far greater that economic difficulties.
- Specialist support should not be school based
- Disabled ex-students and parents have much to contribute to IE.
- IE is part of a larger movement towards social inclusion

(Stubbs, 2002)

According to Mmbaga (2002), the provision of education to disabled people in Tanzania have very much been affected by practices originated in the North. She further agues, to avoid transplanting systems and practices, agencies and their experts coming from the North must utilise the strengths of existing practices and work with the weaknesses (Mmbaga 2002).

In Tanzania, the culture of African socialism point towards a culture of inclusiveness. This is according to Mmbaga (2002) demonstrated through the norms and values of the Tanzanian society, where every person regardless of the differences has dignity, equal opportunity and respect. Many of these norms and customs originate in indigenous traditions and beliefs (Kisanji, 1995). Research indicates that both non-formal and formal education roots in indigenous education and the principles of indigenous education will still apply in today's formal education (Kisanji, 1999). Kisanji further argues that African indigenous education was, and is, inclusive. He argues that the list of principles below that talk about universality, relevance, functionality and community localisation are very important to develop an inclusive educational system. Different forms of indigenous education are " (i) Absence or limited differentiation of space, time and status: indigenous customary education was available and accessible to community members, where ever they were during waking hours (ii) Relevance of content and methods: the content of education was drawn from the physical or natural social environments, both of which were intricately tied to the religious/spiritual life of the people (iii) Functionality of knowledge and skills: all the knowledge, attitudes and

skills embodied in the curriculum was based on cultural transmission, knowledge creation and transformation (iv) Community orientation: all educational content and practice was based on and within the community (Kisanji, 1999:11). The indigenous practices have, according to Kisanji, been ignored in favour of practices coming from countries of the North. Kisanji critically asks if these practices are effective in the countries of the South, when the cultural, political, social and economic are so different (Kisanji, 1998). Haskel (in Kisanji, 1998:2), goes even further and refers to inclusive schooling as "contemporary cultural imperialism of western ideologues". Tanzania, as many other countries of the South is not capable of providing education for children with special needs. Special need schools have in fact never been accepted in the general education system and are not included in official policies. The inclusive classroom in Tanzania is more or less non-existing. Pupils who are not able to follow the education provided, because of special needs are labelled "slow" or stupid and are ignored (Mmbaga, 2002). Nevertheless, according to Mmbaga (2002), the inclusive school is embraced in Tanzania; but its development suffers from social, economic and administrative constraint. An international initiative, which has focused on different implications for improving the head way towards inclusion, is the UNESCO flagship. In the following section the study looks at the goals, tasks, and activities of this flagship.

1.7 UNESCO Flagship

The Flagship on the Right to Education for Persons with Disability: Towards Inclusion consists of an alliance of more than twenty NGO's and agencies, including UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank. The Flagship was established in January 2003 after a Nordic initiative with the Norwegian UNESCO commission in front. The first secretariat of the flagship was hosted by the Faculty of Education in the Department of Special Needs Education at the University of Oslo, Siri Wormnæs was the head of the secretariat in Oslo, before it in 2006 was moved to Finland (Wormnæs, 2006). The Nordic countries used the UNESCO General Assembly in 2001 for requesting a creation for such a disability flagship. However, the roots to this flagship started growing immediately after the establishment of the International Working Group on Disability and Development (IWGDD) in 1998. The flagship continues today functioning as an international working group on disability and development that work to identify common visions towards the realisation of inclusiveness. To succeed in this realisation, the main task of the flagship is to work as a catalyst, securing the rights of

education and realisation of the Dakar Framework (2000) to all individuals who requires special needs education (UNESCO, 2006). UNESCO is the only global organ who represents the membership countries governments, and that has a focus on the realisation of the Salamanca and Dakar documents. In order to see a further improvement of this work, UNESCO needs to be strengthened by tying a closer relationship with NGO's, DPO's, other UN organs and others such as TenMet. This will be, and has been one of the flagships main task and contribution. The flagship has organised activities such as meetings, seminars, workshops and conferences to promote consciousness and knowledge concerning rights and opportunities for disabled children. Additionally, a concept paper was written in 2004, many organisations made a contribution to this paper. The Concept paper expresses the principles of the flagship:

> Education must be viewed as a facilitator in everyone's human development and functionality, regardless of barriers of any kind, physical or otherwise. Disability must never be a disqualifier. Adequate resources must be matched with political will, and constitute pressure maintained to governments to live up to their obligation (UNESCO 2004:5).

1.7.1 Structure and activities of the flagship

According to Wormnæs (2006), the flagship had a joint secretariat between the Faculty of Special Needs Education at University of Oslo and the UNESCO office in Paris. The Flagship also had a board consisting of representatives from the flagship cooperation partners, who mainly consisted of organisations for persons with disabilities, but also bilateral and global donors had seats in the board. A positive outcome of this organisational structure was according to Wormnæs that all had a sense of ownership to the flagship, where all had different expectations and demands. The secretariat did make an effort to include all voices and experiences; however according Wormnæs the time allocated to work with the different agendas of the flagship had not been sufficient. Wormnæs further claimed that many tasks remained undone when in 2006 the secretariat at the Faculty of Special Needs in Oslo was substituted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Finland. Wormnæs argued that a step in the right direction was spelled out in the main line of action that followed the UNESCO General Assembly in 2005, which stated to improve education policies and systems for inclusion. This would hopefully; according to Wormnæs (2006) have a positive impact on the further progress and development of the flagship that is now continued in Finland.

Further according to Wormnæs (2006) the flagship does not have any concrete projects; however it had worked globally, with various kinds of activities with different partners to promote the objectives of the flagship. As an example, the flagship has had representatives participating in the development of the new Convention on Human Rights Articles on 17 and 19 concerning education and accessibility. Another important job the flagship had done to emphasise its goals, had been to communicate with the editors of the EFA Global Monitoring Report with the aim to increase the focus on education for children with disabilities. Wormnæs further told me that the Norwegian secretariat initiated two ad hoc working groups making an effort to improve the quality in education for disabled children. The first ad hoc group worked with statistics and indicators on education for disabled children; according to Wormnæs this was important because the lack of data concerning disability today is a consequence of inconsistent indicators of disability. The second ad hoc group worked on issues concerning teacher education. The objective in this group had been to increase the focus on teacher's qualification towards children with special needs. Wormnæs claimed this task to be important, because teachers and their knowledge are crucial to create an inclusive environment.

The flagship has held different network meetings the last few years. According to Wormnæs, the destination for these meetings was chosen as a result of established contacts that wished and wanted to be local hosts, preferably in areas where the meeting would generate increased local activities as a result of the meeting. The first network meeting was hosted in Uganda in November 2003. Officials and NGO representatives from Kenya and Tanzania participated, alongside with local representatives from Uganda. National curricula and education for children with disabilities was on the top of the agenda of this meeting.

As mentioned Tanzania is considered to be a poor country, and many of its citizens live under poor condition. It is argued that poverty may lead to disability; below I will discuss the implication of poverty and disability.

1.8 Poverty and Disability

The relation between poverty and disability is evident, however Elwan (1999) points out that this linkage have not been systematically examined. Anyhow, she further argues that the linkage have already proved to be a fearsome combination, and seem to be inextricably linked, where either one may cause the other. This is in line with Department For International Department (DFID) (2000) who argues that disability is both a cause and a consequence of the other. The World Bank (2004) refers to this link as a vicious circle, and explains that the moment someone is affected by impairment they are often faced with discrimination, social exclusion and stigma. They argue that ignoring and not addressing this problem early and adequately can result in poverty. DFID describes that the cycle of poverty and disability have many openings for entry, stating that:

> Poor nutrition, dangerous working and living conditions, limited access to vaccination programmes, and to health and maternity care, poor hygiene, bad sanitation, inadequate information about causes of impairments, war and conflict and natural disasters all cause disability (DFID, 2000:3).

The figure below, presented by DFID (2000) helps understand the cycle of poverty and disability.

Figure 1.1 Vicious Circle of Poverty and Disability

Howard White representing the World Bank concludes in his report on poverty in Africa that disability is a hidden face in Africa, taking the revealed numbers from survey data from Tanzania into account, where households with a disabled person have 60% less consumption than the average and a headcount of 20% greater than the average (Inclusive International, 2006).

1.8.1 Poverty and disability in Tanzania

The number of persons with disabilities living in Tanzania today is not exactly known, however taking into account different indicators for disability, estimations vary from 3% to 10% of the population (Handikap-International, 2006). Numbers from the Department of Social Welfare (1996) indicate that more than 80% of persons with disabilities live in remote areas. Furthermore it is stated that disability among the population continues to increase as a result of poor nutrition, diseases and accidents as the most common factors. In addition, harmful traditions and practices have contributed to the poor situation of children with disabilities, these unfortunate children are often perceived as a burden or curse to the family, and consequently they do not receive any further remedial efforts (GoURT, 1996).

Another major challenge for persons with disabilities is structural change in society resulting from globalisation, structural and cost-sharing programmes forces many persons with disabilities into meaningless and isolated lives. Persons with disabilities are often categorised into the group that is considered "very poor", they are described to be people who rely on others, and are not engaged in productive activity. They rarely gain any sympathy by their surroundings (DFID, 2007). A Swahili proverb expresses this harshly: "Mtumai cha nduguye husa hali masikini" : "one who relies on his relatives will die poor" (DFID 2007:10). As the synergies of being disabled turns out negatively, not only for the individual, but also for their respective families, and the whole society, the call for an enhanced focus to this vulnerable group have been strong. Especially, the Disabled Peoples Organisations (DPO's) has put pressure to make disability more visible in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan (PRSP) (Handikap-International, 2005).

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan was initiated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1999 (WB, 2008). Tanzania was among the first countries to implement the PRSP in 2000 (GoURT, 2005). There have been many critics pointing toward the invisibility

of disabled persons in the PRSP's. The International Labour Office report that in the majority of the cases on the African continent where the PRSP have been initiated, persons with disabilities have not been satisfactorily involved, and consequently lost their opportunity to be included in such an influential paper concerning poverty reduction in their respective countries (ILO, 2002). The World Bank have responded to the critics and formed a strategy paper in order to increase the inclusion of disability in the PRSP's (WB, 2004). In the paper they express the importance of including disability:

> Strengthening the disability policy focus of PRSP's is essential to the success of their strategies for two reasons. First, disabilities are a significant factor of extreme poverty in developing countries. Unless disabled people are included in the poverty reduction strategy of PRSP's it is unlikely that most of the Millennium Development Goals will be met. Second, disabled people from a large group of the population that is currently excluded form contributing to the economic and social development of their countries. Bringing them into the mainstream of economic activities would lead to a substantial increase in Welfare and GDP (WB, 2004:2).

In 2005 the second PRSP was published in Tanzania. According to Disabled Peoples Organisations in Tanzania there were noticeable improvements in the new plan. However, the further need to promote the disability dimension in the PRSP is reported to be essential. The Christoffel Blindenmission has responded to this by initiating a project that offers different activities, which further promote inclusion of persons with disabilities in the PRSP's. The project is guided by the Handbook on PRSP and disability, which was initiated by Judy Heumann, who is a disability advisor in the World Bank (Handicap-International, 2006).

Below I have attempted to display the structure of this study. The figure displays the content in each chapter.

1.9 Structure of the study

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          ┌─────────────────────┐
          │   Introduction and  │ ──────────  ┌───────────┐
          │     background      │             │ Chapter 1 │
          └─────────────────────┘             └───────────┘
                     │
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          ┌─────────────────────┐
          │ Theoretical Framework│ ─────────  ┌───────────┐
          │  Research questions │             │ Chapter 2 │
          └─────────────────────┘             └───────────┘
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          ┌─────────────────────┐
          │ Research Methodology:│ ─────────  ┌───────────┐
          │  Qualitative Approach│             │ Chapter 3 │
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┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐   ┌────────────────────┐
│  Interviews  │   │ Observation  │   │ Document Analysis  │
└──────────────┘   └──────────────┘   └────────────────────┘
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       ▼                  ▼                    ▼
┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐   ┌────────────────────┐
│ School Staff │   │   Sample     │   │ National/Inter     │
│ Pupils       │   │  Schools:    │   │ national           │
│ NGO          │   │  1,3,4       │   │ Policy Papers      │
│ Ministry     │   │              │   │ Reports            │
│ College      │   │              │   │                    │
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          ┌─────────────────────┐
          │ Presentation of     │ ──────────  ┌───────────┐
          │ findings            │             │ Chapter 4 │
          └─────────────────────┘             └───────────┘
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          ┌─────────────────────┐
          │   Discussion &      │ ──────────  ┌───────────┐
          │  Recommendations    │             │ Chapter 5 │
          └─────────────────────┘             └───────────┘
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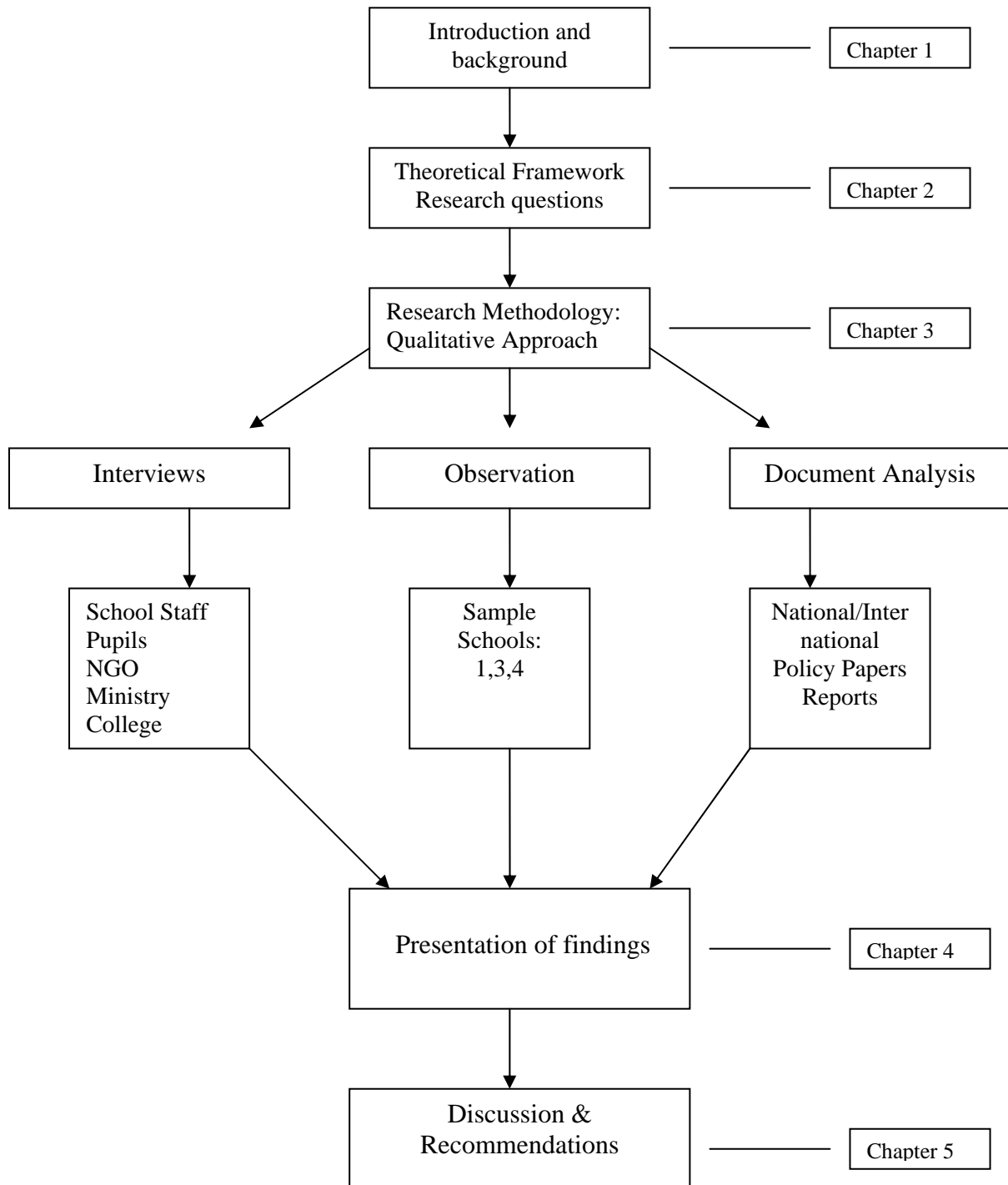
2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In this study I have chosen to employ two approaches to enlighten the phenomena of inclusion. The first approach is recognized as the "capability approach". The approach has been developed by Martha Nussbaum, (2006). The capability approach is a purely political philosophical theory on social justice. The capability approach was mainly chosen in this study because it has a specific focus on increased social justice to persons with disabilities, which also is the basic notion in the declarations which was presented in chapter 1. Nussbaum first applied the capabilities approach in her work "Women and Human Development" (Nussbaum, 1999). The further application of her theory is described in the book "Frontiers of Justice" (Nussbaum, 2006). This book is also the basis for my understanding of the capability approach, as it touches core areas in my study. In the preamble of the book she argues that there are three urgent, unsolved problems of social justice. She claims that existing theories concerning social justice do not cope adequately with these three problems. As an alternative to theories in social contract traditions, which has influenced the development of just societies through different theories in the modern western world, she proposes the capabilities approach. She identifies the problems of social justice to involve firstly, justice to non-human animals; secondly, to extend the justice to all world citizens, by showing theoretically how one might recognize a possibility of a whole just world, giving all people in all nations a chance of a just life from the start. Finally and most relevant to this study, the third problem Nussbaum recognizes is the lack of rightful justice to people with physical and/or mental impairments (Nussbaum, 2006).

With regards to my study on inclusive education in Tanzania, two of the problems of social justice that are identified by Nussbaum seem relevant. First and foremost the capabilities approach challenges the lack social justice to persons with disabilities, and secondly the capabilities approach challenges a world of inequalities and basic life chances. In this chapter I will give an account on how Nussbaum justifies her capabilities approach. Further, I describe the main thoughts and principles of the capabilities approach, and also look at how the theory is applicable to inclusive education. The main scrutiny of the theory in this study will be on its interest to justice for persons with disability. This brings me to the second part

of this Framework which guides this study in light of inclusion, and is a "Special Educational Approach to an Inclusive School". This approach is recognized as "The Enrichment Perspective" and is developed by Edvard Befring (2001). I would argue that Befring's approach has similarities with the philosophies that are illuminated in the capabilities approach. However, this will be emphasised when a more elaborate account of the two approaches have been given.

2.2 Capabilities approach vs. contractarian theory

As mentioned, Nussbaum perceives the capabilities approach to be an alternative to theories within the social contract traditions, thus it is important to clarify the essence in these theories which will be explained in the next sections. Nussbaum sees the principles of contractarian thinking as inadequate in the questions concerning, foremost for the nature of my study, the unsolved problems of basic rights for persons with disabilities. However, also the unsolved problems concerning the role of nationality or place of birth that influence people's basic life chances. It is important to notice that Nussbaum do not see the contract tradition as an opponent to the capabilities approach. She rather talks about it as an allied, and regard them as close relatives. Kant, Locke, Hobbes and Grotius have all influenced the development of the capabilities approach. However, the contemporary contractarian John Rawls and his Theory of Justice (1971) have had the greatest influence, as she believes it to be the strongest theory of social justice today (Nussbaum, 2006). As Rawls himself was fully aware of the inadequacies in his theory, he left it open and invited to future contributions. Nussbaum, consider her capabilities approach as an effort to extend the Rawlsian approach in three new areas that Rawls was unsure that his theory would cover. Nussbaum, points out that the ideas of human dignity and the inviolability of persons are core intuitive ideas in both theories. The critique of utilitarianism is another similarity of great relevance that must be added when looking at the capabilities approach and the Theory of Justice. Nussbaum, admit that the capabilities approach was originally designed as an alternative to the economic utilitarian approaches. In contrast with the capabilities approach and Kantian forms of contractarianism, Nussbaum argue that:

> These approaches do not consider each person as an end, but are willing to promote an overall social good in ways that may in effect use some people as means to the enrichment of others (Nussbaum, 2006:71).

Rawls base his critics on utilitarianism on its commitment to trade-offs on diverse goods such as liberty, economic well-being, health and education. They are all important, and one of these goods should not be sacrificed, merely to make a larger amount of another, or produce the largest social total or average (Nussbaum, 2006).

Nussbaum shows that contractarian thinking has contributed, and still contributes to social justice. The main idea within social contract theories is that people make contracts with each other, so the parties of a contract would avoid using violence or force in order to get hold of one another's property; in return peace, security and expectation of mutual advantage would be gained. However, the classical theorists worked from an assumption that the people involved in such contracts were men who had more or less equal capacity and also the capabilities to engage in productive economic activity. No social contract doctrine can show to any inclusion of persons with physical and/or mental disabilities when it comes to choosing of basic political principles. This becomes a problem of justice, because, as Nussbaum explains, the social contract tradition asks two questions. "By whom are society's basic principles designed?" and "For whom are society's basic principles designed?" The problem of justice to persons with disabilities evoked by these questions of principles is according to Nussbaum "that the contract between two parties are imagined to be one of the same as the citizens who will live together and whose lives will be regulated by the principles that are chosen" (Nussbaum, 2006:16). So the primary subjects for justice are the same ones who choose the principle, and do not include persons with disabilities, who may only be included at a later stage, or through parties own care and commitment. The difficulty as Nussbaum points out is that:

> The tradition specifies certain abilities (rationality, language and roughly equal physical and mental capacity) as prerequisites for participation in the procedures that chooses principles; these requirements have large consequence for the treatment of people with impairments and disabilities as recipients or subjects of justice in the resulting society (Nussbaum, 2006:16).

Nussbaum excuses the classical theorists to a certain extent, drawing attention to the fact that just up to resent times, persons with disabilities were for the most part not educated, were often hidden away, and generally abandoned from the public sphere (Nussbaum, 2006). However today, Nussbaum argues there should be no reason for the exclusion of persons with disabilities with respect to participating in political choice. She claims that the many factors leading to the omission of persons with disabilities are not reasonable, and consequently not

taking their voices and opinions into account is a flaw in the point of view of justice. Nussbaum though points out that persons who are severely disabled, can not directly be included in political choice, but their potential of participation will have to be generously assessed (Nussbaum, 2006).

The second problem Nussbaum points out regarding the social contract tradition is also valuable to consider in my study. The contract models are often only used to construct a single nation, which is believed to be self-sufficient and not interdependent of any other nations. This is not a good starting point when considering social justice in the global situation today. Interdependency between nations is growing, and as Nussbaum (2006) claims, disparities between rich and the poor nations are increasing, and people from or born into less developed nations, have a jeopardised opportunity of basic life chances. Rawls and Kant, however see the necessity of social justice between nations, nevertheless, they claim that new contracts or principles will have to be developed when dealing with one another. This becomes a problem when contract models rely on contracting groups to be "free, equal, and independent". Nussbaum thus questions, which nations are to be included in the contracting groups, to gain mutual advantage and reciprocity, which are the main features of moral thinking in the contract tradition. According to the critical analysis of Nussbaum (2006), it is comparable with the situation of persons with disabilities, who are left out in the first stage of a social contract, stating that:

> It may be doubted whether assuming the independence and rough equality of states make any sense at all in a world in which a powerful global economy makes all economic choices interdependent and often imposes on poorer nations conditions that reinforce the deepen existing inequalities. Moreover, such assumptions entail that nations that are very unequal in power to the dominant nations, especially those whose developmental stage is pre-industrial or partly so, will have to be left out of the initial contracting group (Nussbaum, 2006:19).

As with the situation of persons with disabilities, where political principles are chosen by members of the contracting groups, nations that are not included in a contracting group will only be dealt with later, when basic principles that assumingly will have an immense influence on the lives of its citizens, are already chosen. Nussbaum, points out that the needs of the left out nations will then be addressed out of charity, and as she argues, "not as a part of social justice" (Nussbaum, 2006:19). I would argue that Tanzania may be a country which will be left out of what Nussbaum characterises as the "contracting groups", and thus be dealt

with in a later stage, merely because charity and not of social justice. In other words, the destiny of Tanzania and it its people may not be self determined.

2.3 Capabilities approach

The basis of the capabilities approach is presented in a list of ten entitlements, which Nussbaum characterises as the central human capabilities. So what aims, and for whom is the list counted for? As Nussbaum explains, the list should be regarded as a:

> Philosophical underpinning for an account of core human entitlements that should be respected and implemented by the governments of all nations, as a bare minimum of what respect for human dignity requires. The best approach to this idea of basic social minimum is provided by an approach that focuses on *human capabilities*, that is, what people are actually able to do and to be, in a way informed by an intuitive idea of life that is worthy of the dignity of the human being (Nussbaum,2006:70).

Nussbaum further emphasise three aspects of the capabilities approach:

- *It is a source of political principles for a liberal pluralistic society(specific political goals), presented with absence of metaphysical grounding*
- *The list of capabilities represents goals for each and everyone, where all are treated as an end, and none as simply tools to reach the ends of others*
- *The idea of a threshold level of each capability; no human can truly function beneath the threshold which the list represents, regarded as the ultimate social goal to obtain social justice* (Nussbaum, 2006:71)

Before any further explanation of the capabilities approach, and its application to the unsolved problems of social justice described above, it would be proper to present the list as it is developed to this stage[3].

The Central Human Capabilities

1. *Life.* Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.

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[3] Nussbaum explains that the list itself is open-ended, which over time have undergone modifications, which in the light of criticism also will be done in the future.

2. *Bodily Health.* Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.

3. *Bodily integrity.* Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunity of sexual satisfaction and a choice of matters of reproduction.

4. *Senses, Imagination, and Thought.* Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think and reason-and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experience and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.

5. *Emotions.* Being able to have attachment to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to long, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude and justified anger. Not having once emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development).

6. *Practical Reason.* Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance).

7. *Affiliation.* A) Being able to live with and toward others, to recognise and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech). B) Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provision of non discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin.

8. *Others Species.* Being able to live with concern for and relation to animals, plants and the world of nature.

9. *Play.* Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.

10. *Control over One's Environment.* A) *Political.* Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protection of free speech and association. B) *Material.* Being able to hold property (both land and moveable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.

The capabilities and contractarianism as mentioned earlier have many similarities and, Nussbaum perceive the approach to be a relative to especially Rawlsian ideas. But, Nussbaum also see the capabilities approach as a variety of the international human rights approach. She argues that the list, similar to human rights approaches, can gather a broad cross-cultural agreement. According to Nussbaum the list of capabilities has explicitly been developed for political purposes. In this sense, I would link the capabilities list with one of the most important international instruments on human rights; namely "The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (UN, 1966). The Covenant as like the capabilities approach, and its respect to pluralistic norms, do not reach out to any specific group of the population. The basic idea with the capabilities list, Nussbaum characterises by stating "that a life without capability in question would not be a life worthy of human dignity" (Nussbaum, 2006:78). In the introduction of the Covenant, one can read that it recognises inherent dignity, and equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family to be the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world (UN, 1966). It becomes clear that the two approaches have links to human rights aspects and human dignity. I will argue that also other human rights covenants contribute to strengthen this link. However, since I have chosen to use the capabilities approach, and not the human rights approaches; I will now elaborate further into how Nussbaum see the capabilities approach in connection with disabilities.

2.4 Capabilities and Disabilities

The failure to deal adequately with the needs of citizens with impairments and disabilities is a serious flaw in modern theories that conceive of basic political principles as the result of a contract for mutual advantage. This flaw goes deep, affecting their adequacies of accounts of human justice more generally. A satisfactory account of human justice requires recognising the equal citizenship of people with impairments, including mental impairments, and appropriately supporting the labour of

caring for and educating them, in such way as to address their associated disabilities (Nussbaum, 2006:99).

The capabilities approach sees human beings as individuals who cooperate for various reasons, such as the love for justice itself, and the moralised sympathy for people who require more to live life's which are decent and dignified. Nussbaum (2006) supports her colleague Amartya Sen who argued that Rawls should change his list of primary goods, where resources (income and wealth) are indices of well being. Especially, when thinking of the well being of persons with disabilities, Sen argued that such indices may be unsuitable, giving the example of a person dependent on a wheelchair, which may as well have the same income and wealth as a person not dependent on a wheelchair, and yet be unequal in the capability to move from one place to another. Nussbaum though, argues that the capabilities approach provide a more radical critique of the focus of income and wealth. A list of minimum entitlements as the capabilities represent was not made by Sen, which according to Nussbaum leaves him unable to use capabilities to define a theory of social justice. Subsequently, Nussbaum claims that the capabilities approach offers a conception that more adequately realises the inclusion of persons with disabilities into society (Nussbaum, 2006).

Nussbaum again rises the question of what persons with disabilities are actually able to do and be themselves, wealth as a single measure will not be an adequate capability if it still makes them dependent on others. Nussbaum argues that it is a public responsibility to integrate people with impairments into public space, and to use enough resources to this mean, so that persons with disabilities will be able to function up to an appropriate threshold level presented in the list (Nussbaum, 2006). One can interpret this as rightful public care that needs to be addressed properly if justice is to be obtained. Care in itself is a part of everybody's lives; some will though need to be cared for more than others, as is the case for many persons with disabilities. The capabilities principles does not list care as a specific capability, Nussbaum justifies this by claiming that care is solely not just one thing. If good care is given, it should be incorporated in all the central human capabilities. In other words, all people including those with impairments have needs in the areas covered by the capabilities list; good care Nussbaum claims will address all of these needs.

2.4.1 Capability and function

The capabilities approach refers to capability rather than functioning as the appropriate political aim. As with all rules there are exceptions, for some people it is important to judge the functioning before stating their capability as a proper social goal. Even if a person is capable of doing something, it may not be the right thing to make that person actually do it People with mental disabilities are in many cases not able to judge for themselves the best thing to do in matters of e.g. health and sexual relations. Therefore, Nussbaum argues that in many cases, functioning would be more appropriate than capability as a social goal. What Nussbaum further questions in this case is whether the ideas of thresholds and social goals must be adjusted to meet the needs of persons with cognitive impairments. Shortly, the answer is no. The list of the ten capabilities are all prerequisites for a just life, it is universal and do not count anyone out. We understand this also by looking at Nussbaum's notion of a flourishing human being, claiming that even though the list is a single list, it does not interfere with the thought that there is only one single type of a flourishing human being, however:

> The capabilities can be agreed by reasonable citizens to be important prerequisites of reasonable conceptions of human flourishing, in connection of the political conception of the person as a political animal, both needy and dignified; and thus these are good bases for idea of basic political entitlements in a just society (Nussbaum, 2006:182).

Nussbaum acknowledge that a person who has severe cognitive impairments may never be able to attain the whole list of capabilities on her or his own, however guardians to such a person may help her or him to reach the threshold level of as many capabilities as possible. However, it might be hard to understand why Nussbaum does not impede with any of the thresholds, especially not when thinking of persons with severe mental impairments, where it would make that person actually pass the thresholds so she or he would be regarded as a dignified person. She argues that changing the list or making different thresholds, to achieve appropriate social goals for persons with disabilities is risky. The fact that there are many kinds of cognitive impairments make it important not to interfere with the list or thresholds, because it might just make it easier for people to say that that one can not, or should not meet a goal that would be difficult or very expensive to meet. Nussbaum, thus sees that these nonnegotiable social entitlements is a bare strategy to work determinedly to bring all children and adults with disabilities up to the same threshold level as any other citizen. Because this is perceived as the minimum level of what is required for a dignified human life. Nussbaum, further points out that the situation for people who can not attain all capabilities, is extremely unfortunate, and therefore society must do the utmost to make the capabilities obtainable for

them because "it is good, and indeed important, for a human being to be able to function in these ways" (Nussbaum, 2006:193).

Education plays an essential role in striving to make the capabilities available for school aged children with disabilities. And I would argue that the approach Nussbaum presents points in the direction of what I refer to as inclusive education in this study[4]. As I have stated in chapter 1, inclusive education is now more recognised than ever, however, by looking into policy papers, in for example Tanzania, but also many so-called "developed countries", inclusive education has not yet received a satisfactory status. Nussbaum argues throughout her theory the importance of individuality, focusing on what individuals are able to be and to do. In the matter of education, she underlines the importance of supplying individualised education, not only for people with disabilities, but for all children who receive education, criticising the notion of a "normal" child:

> Children with mental impairments do need special attention, since all school systems are designed for the "normal" child. Still, it would be progress if we could acknowledge that there really is no such thing as "the normal child": instead, there are children, with varying impediments, all of whom need individualised attention as their capabilities are developed (Nussbaum, 2006:210).

The rather vague concept of the "normal" will be discussed further when I examine the enrichment perspective later in this chapter. However, I will first shed some light on the capabilities approach and the second unsolved problem identified by Nussbaum.

2.5 Global inequalities and global responsibility

The inequalities that we see in the world today are according to Nussbaum morally alarming, and the differences between rich and poor nations are ever-increasing. Viciously this fact decides if a child is born in a nation that can or can not provide sufficient life chances. Nussbaum, have offered a list of capabilities that delineate prerequisites, at a minimum level, to gain a worthy and dignified human life. Nussbaum, as described above, utilises ideas from varies theories of social justice, and she also refer to the approach as a species of the human rights approaches. Nussbaum argues that Utilitarian approaches measure well-being in terms

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[4] See chapter 1

of total or average utility and that the contract ideas stress mutual advantage, these are the main ideas of critique in the capabilities approach, stating that:

> The main contention will be that we can not arrive at an adequate account of global justice by envisaging international cooperation as a contract for mutual advantage among parties similarly placed in a state of nature. We can produce such an account only by thinking of what all human beings require to live a richly human life - a set of basic entitlements for all people - and by developing a conception of the purpose of social cooperation that focuses on fellowship as well as on mutual advantage (Nussbaum, 2006:226).

According to Nussbaum, the ideas of the capabilities approach is gradually emerging, however other ideas are still dominating the international debate. Multi-nationals, NGO's and economic bureaus, often engage in business rooted in Utilitarian and/or social contract tradition. Nussbaum further argues, that in the world we witness and live in today, it would be a deception to claim that even with fair terms of cooperation advantageous outcome for all would be given, claiming that it requires sacrifice from rich individuals and nations to give all people the basic opportunities in life (Nussbaum, 2006). So the most important question probably is how the capabilities approach can be put into practice. As we will see, this responsibility rests on many shoulders.

2.5.1 Implementation of capabilities approach

As the capabilities approach is presented for political purposes, one should then ask how the approach can make contributions in developing political principles in today's world. Nussbaum provides ten principles to easier help answer this question. First, the philosophy in itself is naturally important; however it can only express basic political principles at a rather abstract level. Albeit, a philosophy's strength is to provide general thoughts of structure, and provide normative reasoning. To make the principles work in the real world, one must thus rely on partnership across varying disciplines. The world today consists of institutions; where people have wide spread objectives and interests, concerning economy, politics, aid, religion and more. Nussbaum claims that, when it comes to allocation of duties regarding capabilities, all people have the moral duty. However, since people already belong to a structured institution where norms, rules and hierarchy in most cases are well-known, this structure should be utilised when allocating duties to promote the capabilities. It would be very ineffective and unfair; I would argue impossible, if this task was given to each individual to

handle (Nussbaum, 2006). Nussbaum argues that institutions should induce all within their structure to be responsible for capabilities for all in a suitable and fair way. How individuals further spend their time and resources to contribute towards a fairer world is free of choice, unless any other religious or ethical comprehensive doctrines they may be bound to, or members of, require more than what is already determined in the institution. However, as Nussbaum claims, the political task of supporting the capabilities is at first hand an institutional responsibility (Nussbaum, 2006). It is important to notice that Nussbaum link her approach to the "old natural law approach" which states that: "the requirements at world level are moral requirements, not captured fully in any set of coercive political structures" (Nussbaum, 2006:315). In other words no one can oblige the responsibilities of these entitlements, but rather inspire people (institutions) to come them about. Nonetheless, Nussbaum have suggested a list of ten principles[5] which can be helpful when thinking about how human capabilities can be promoted in a world of inequalities. I perceive principle 10 to be the most relevant principle in this study, however also principles 5, 7 and 8 are relevant to this study:

Principle 5: The main structures of global economic order must be designed to be fair to poor and developing countries.

Principle 7: All institutions and (most) individuals should focus on the problems of the disadvantaged in each nation and region.

Principle 8: Care for the ill, elderly, children and the disabled should be a prominent focus of the world community.

Principle 10: All institutions and individuals have a responsibility to support education, as a key to the empowerment of currently disadvantaged people (Nussbaum, 2006:322).

2.6 Critiques

I admire Nussbaum to make an approach which fully presents an alternative theory on social justice that acknowledges people with disabilities, and also the complicated state of justice connected with global inequalities in an increasingly interdependent world. It is difficult to construct a list of principles that specifies a certain threshold for what is to be the minimum level of human dignity, I think Nussbaum admits this when presenting the list of political

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[5] Ten Principles for the Global Structure

principles as temporary and open-ended, leaving it open for criticism and adjustments. I have no intentions of making any outsized critique of this approach; neither do I have sufficient knowledge to make any proper adjustments to the approach. I have presented only the main thoughts of the approach regarding my topic, and a more in-depth analysis would be necessary to make such adjustments. None the less, I would like to make some comments of the approach in regards to my study. I have argued that the approach seems to be connected with some main ideas of inclusive education. I think Nussbaum have made this adequately clear in the text where she describes the approach in the area of education and disability. However, when she talks about the ten principles of global structure, I find it appropriate to criticise her absence of specifically mention the importance of inclusive education. Even though she does not use the term inclusive education, I do understand her approach to have the same ideas. Thus, it would have been appropriate to be more specific on this issue when stating ten principles which have the intention to guide the implementation of the approach. Nussbaum does not reaffirm the importance of inclusiveness in education in the ten principles, especially principle 10 (see above) regarding education. What concerns me, is that she may seem to consider enrolment and full access (which she does mention) to be a more important spectre of education, being more concerned with the actual quantity than the quality of education. I would argue, by not explicitly including the ideas of inclusiveness in education as a part of the 10th principle, in the same way she has done quite thoroughly in chapter 3 of her book "Frontiers of Justice" (2006), people can consequently interpret the idea of inclusiveness as something to be concerned with at a later stage when building educational institutions. In this case it could subsequently jeopardise Nussbaum's claim of providing *adequate education* for all, as stated in principle 4 of the capabilities list, which are all regarded as minimum levels to obtain a dignified human life.

2.7 Summary

The capabilities approach is an alternative approach to what Nussbaum claims to be inadequate theories of justice in three unsolved problems of justice. She regards the approach however to be closely connected with contemporary contractarian thinking, especially John Rawl's Theory of Justice, and have developed her theory to be an extension of Rawlsian thinking in the three unsolved problems of justice, which are not properly dealt with by Rawls or other thinkers in contract tradition. The links to human right approaches are also evident,

and the capabilities approach is considered by Nussbaum to be a human rights approach species. It is however, opposed to Utilitarian thinking. The capabilities list has been developed to formulate political principles for human entitlements, and with the main goal to make all nations and its governments implement these principles which determines minimum thresholds for obtaining human dignity. Nussbaum claims that mutual advantage which is high-moral thinking in contract tradition and contractarian groups who are perceived to be "free, equal and independent" is neither a solid foundation to make justice for persons with disabilities, nor is it adequate thinking if the goal is to make the world we live in more equal. Nussbaum instead focuses her philosophy on people's abilities to be and to do. With regards to education and persons with disabilities, such an approach is more suitable because it can dissolve the many stigmas that are held towards children who are learners with special needs, including the ones who are considered "normal". Being aware of opportunities rather than obstacles the approach suggests, is important when developing educational tools (Nussbaum, 2006). The capabilities approach acknowledges education to be essential in empowering persons that are disadvantaged. In order to make all nations respond properly to this and also other basic entitlements, a strong fiscal basis is vital. Sufficient economical base for all nations will most likely not be achieved if richer nations, its institutions and people continue the already skewed allocation of resources. The capabilities approach in general attempts to make a philosophical underpinning to create a world that is just for all people who are born into it. I find such an attempt difficult to reject.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter the capabilities approach may be linked to Befring's (2001) Enrichment Perspective. I find that the two approaches can be related to my study on inclusive education in Tanzania. Firstly because the two approaches provides thoughts and guidelines that are universally applicable, and secondly because these thoughts and guidelines may be useful for the development of the inclusive school in Tanzania, which is a core issue in this study. With regards to my study and the main research question accounted for at the end of this chapter, which asks about the development of inclusive education in the Tanzanian Primary School. The Enrichment Perspective may be looked upon to be the more pragmatic approach offering a wide range of practical implications to the inclusive school, whilst in contrast the merely philosophical capabilities approach accounted for above emphasises on questions regarding social justice and rights related to persons with disabilities including education. Even though the capabilities approach and the Enrichment Perspective have distinct major objectives, I will argue that the main philosophy recognised in

the approaches are similar. Befring describes the Enrichment Perspective to be a strength and ability-based approach, focusing on what the child can do and also what the schools and community can do (Befring, 2001). As seen above, this is also the underlying philosophy and point of departure in the capabilities approach.

2.8 Enrichment Perspective

Enrichment is a commonly used word when talking about inclusion and inclusive education. One scholar who has used this concept is Edvard Befring who talks about the Enrichment Perspective, which he describes to be a special educational approach to an inclusive school (Befring, 2001). The foundation of Befring's approach is based on three principles of the Nordic welfare state:

1. It is a community responsibility to provide a "security net" for all people to be used when needed
2. It is a community responsibility to enable all its members to develop a "rich" personality and achieve to his or her full potential. Provision of free education is important to achieve these ends, but also free recreation and cultural events.
3. Principles of positive discrimination (provide most to those in most need) should be the base of health and social policies (Befring, Thousand and Nevin, 2000:2).

Befring argues that the Enrichment Perspective represent an alternative to the diagnostic-therapeutic special education model. This model assumes:

> That a diagnosis can be formed on the basis of observations and tests of the individual and that there is a corresponding treatment with a rehabilitating effect… the medical model has led to the focusing of attention of diagnosis with subsequent highlighting of problems and weaknesses in the individual, labelling and stigmatisation, and an over reliance on problem identification rather than teaching and learning (Befring, 2001:51).

The Enrichment Perspective departs from the medical model towards a developmentally oriented educational approach. The approach values the differences of individuals, focusing on the resources of a child, parents or the institutions (e.g. local school), rather than its weaknesses. The Enrichment Perspective is based on four notions:

- All human beings have learned something that can be the foundation for further learning.

- Future learning is based on past learning

- Everyone has an interest or interests on which to focus their attention as a motivation for mastery

- Mastery and motivation go hand in hand in expanding individuals' personal competence (Befring, 2001:54).

Both the challenge and the opportunity entailed in the Enrichment Perspective lie in generating heterogeneous learning contexts in contrast to homogenous ones. In homogeneous learning contexts Befring (2001) argues that sorting out and grouping learners with special needs are common practices. Subsequently, homogeneity enforces exclusive tendencies and accelerates diagnostic activity, which will lead to non-natural segregation of learners. Heterogeneous environments on the other hand promote diverse social interaction, and also slowly enhance acceptance and tolerance to value differences among learners. Heterogeneity in learning environments is therefore important for the pupil's dignity and their preparation for life in societies which are in fact increasingly heterogeneous (Befring, 2001). According to Befring (2001) and Skjørten (2001), such heterogeneous contexts of learning or inclusive learning environments will not only enrich the lives of pupil's with disabilities, but also their peers, teachers, parents, school community and the community as a whole. Consequently, Befring (2001:54) argues that "The social context (heterogeneous) is both the means to the end and the end itself":

> The idea is to enable an individual to socialise and interact with others and in his or her environment, while at the same time creating a social atmosphere and setting that allows for such interactions.

2.8.1 Practical matters and challenges

Befring (2001) names four factors that must be accepted by the school staff in order to successfully implement the Enrichment Perspective. Firstly a critical examination of schooling is required, secondly, the special educator must be considered as a resource

reaching all students, thirdly, the inclusion of metacognitive competence[6] in the curriculum to the good for all students is necessary, and lastly readiness to meet persistence when implementing the approach. If a school community brings in students with disabilities and special educators into the mainstream school, it may according to Befring fruitfully contribute in several ways: *a)* Increase awareness of the potentials and different needs among all children, and thus the need for differentiated instruction. *b)* More focus on relevant learning versus theoretical learning and *c)* Promote the close connected process of an individual child's knowledge and personal life experience and sphere to educators (Befring, 2001:58). When school communities start to value the differences of the pupils, teachers will start to adjust instructional methods, including making use of pupils as instructors and social supports for one another. The belief that this will lead to development in the child is according to Befring (2001) a logical hypothesis of the Enrichment Perspective. When schools adapt this assumption of the Enrichment Perspective, Befring optimistically offers a research promise:

> That the unified, inclusive school driven by the Enrichment Perspective will create a context in which children can learn and care about and take care of one another and that this caring will carry into adulthood, when, as citizens, these graduates of an inclusive school community will work to create more democratic conditions in which the welfare of all is the central concern (Befring; Thousand and Nevin, 2000:571).

There are certain notions that clearly confront the principles identified in the Enrichment Perspective, even though, as Befring (2001) comments it are likely to be multiple sources of resistance. First, there are still widespread beliefs that individuals with disabilities lack the ability to learn (Befring; Thousand and Nevin, 2000). Rye and Wormnæs, (2000) explain that there is a common understanding in many African countries that even people with physical disabilities do not have adequate prerequisites to learn. A second force that counters the Enrichment Perspective is how contemporary educational institutions rely on the notion of competition as an important factor in the process of schooling (Befring; Thousand and Nevin, 2000). Befring uses Kohn's four mythical assumptions which upon competition in schools are based, to conclude that: "Competitive arrangements represent tremendous barriers to a school attempting to promote an inclusionary, unified learning concept" (Befring 1997:82). To end this presentation of the Enrichment Perspective I will quote the Scandinavian scholar Logstrup sited in Befring (1997:86) "We humans depend on each other, and we also have the

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[6] *Metacognitive competence* is to know how one learns and knowing what techniques, strategies, or methods to use in order to control and improve one owns learning and knowledge (Befring; Thousand and Nevin, 2000:570).

power over each other, and we must learn to use our power in such a way that it serves our fellow humans".

2.9 Summary

The Enrichment Perspective was generated with the intention of making a better understanding of how principles of inclusion are an alternative, and a supplement to the medical diagnostic-therapeutic model in special education. With this objective Befring shows the different theoretical and practical implications of the Enrichment Perspective.

Befring (2001) emphasises that awareness of, and subsequently the creation of a heterogeneous environment in schools is educationally benefiting and enriching all children. The school is through this perspective seen as an institution where a unified social context can be developed. The need to welcome and include the various distinct attributes of all children is essential to successfully complete this development (Befring, 1997). Further looking at the enrichment perspective, children who earlier experienced isolation and exclusion from the mainstream schools should now together with their teachers play a central role in these schools. The enrichment perspective should according to Befring (2000) operate as a generator in the struggle of constructing inclusive school environments. To reach the goals of the Enrichment Perspective, special educational traditions of stigmatization, diagnosing, isolation and competition must be considered. Befring (1997; 2001) stresses the need for change in the curriculum of both teachers and children. A main suggestion in revising the curriculum is to include exercises that focus on the care for, and support of others.

The Enrichment Perspective can be considered as a pragmatic tool to reach the thresholds of human dignity, which Martha Nussbaum (2006) presents through the capabilities approach accounted for above. In this approach Nussbaum emphasises the importance of inclusive practices in the process of securing social justice for isolated groups such as children with disabilities.

As a final remark, Befring (1997; 2001) optimistically offers, in my view a short-term and long-term promise as a result of the Enrichment Perspective, the first promise guarantees a learning situation where diversity among children is celebrated and children with disabilities

are eliminated from isolation and exclusion. The second promise and maybe the overall goal of the Enrichment Perspective expresses that graduates of an inclusive school community will work to create more democratic conditions in which the welfare of all is the central concern.

2.10 Dream or reality?

Dr. Dinah Mmbaga fulfilled her doctoral thesis at the institute of international education at Stockholm University in 2002. Her study is entitled "The Inclusive Classroom in Tanzania-Dream or Reality?" The study was conducted under the theme of "Basic Education for All". The key objective of the study was to examine different aspects of how to ensure effective learning in the classroom at primary schools in Tanzania (Mmbaga, 2002). Some important aspects described by Mmbaga in the study are, classroom environment, organisational structures, and home conditions. To further guide her study Mmbaga (2002) also formulated these objectives. Firstly, to examine reforms and policies related to the topic, secondly to identify factors that cause some children to experience learning difficulties, thirdly, examine teachers' interaction in the classroom, and lastly look at classroom spaces in relation to which children were included and which were excluded. With this as the objectives for her thesis Mmbaga (2002) found some interesting results: Organisational structures and policies has according to Mmbaga's findings had a negative impact on the conditions in the classrooms. Furthermore, the study reveals that teachers have to fulfil the requirements of the curriculum, even though there are big classrooms and poor facilities and equipment, this a diminished the teaching quality. The teachers themselves had also according to Mmbaga's study contributed to hamper the quality of the classroom processes, by labelling and categorising pupils into different groups (Mmbaga, 2002).

As a result of the findings Mmbaga (2002) have suggested several criteria which has to be accomplished if effective learning is to take place in the primary school level classrooms in Tanzania:

- Partnership between home and school learning environments is important for providing a link between the two (Home and school). Professional knowledge from the teachers and the parent's knowledge should complement each other.

- Before reforms and other changes are introduced and implemented a thorough presentation is needed so that all stakeholders are aware of their new roles.

- The curriculum is more than content. The link between the curriculum and teaching, and the realities of the communities, available resources and the questions of school-home relationships should also be considered.

Mmbaga concludes that there is a need to redefine "education for all" and to see it more in terms of fruitful individual learning than in terms of enrolment and average achievements in class. In realising this Mmbaga (2002) argues that policies, organisational structures and implementation strategies should also be re-addressed.

2.11 Criteria for inclusion

The theoretical framework of this study constitutes a platform for how my research questions are generated, and it also reflects my understanding of the concept inclusive education. This studies main research question asks about the development of inclusive education in the Primary school level of Tanzania. To investigate this according to my understanding of inclusive education, the theoretical framework has been divided into two main sections. The first part of the framework have taken into account one rational of how I understand inclusive education, which is a human rights approach, or more concrete an approach of social justice which has been developed merely for political philosophical reasons. The second part of the theoretical framework can also arguably be philosophical; however it views inclusive education from a more pragmatic perspective. This latter part then reflects my understanding of some practical principles related to inclusive education. To investigate this, most of my sub-questions intend to find out about practical aspects of inclusive education in the chosen sample schools presented in chapter 3. Further in chapter 4, the results of the findings will be presented in accordance to the research questions. Below I have made a complete list of the criteria which presents a picture of how I perceive inclusive education:

- Inclusive education provides education for all children, regardless of abilities or traits of any kind
- Inclusive education takes place for all children in "regular" or "mainstream" classrooms

- Inclusive education challenges the concept of "normal", and instead emphasises and value differences in a child; it contributes to diminish stigmatisation of marginalised groups, such as people with disabilities.
- Inclusive education focuses on individualised and participatory learning; classroom management and environments must preferably be changed to fit these kinds of learning styles
- The school must adapt to the needs of the child, not vice versa
- Inclusive education improves by collaborating effort between teachers, special teachers other pedagogical professionals, physiotherapists, doctors, psychologist's ergo therapists.
- Inclusive education also improves if there is collaboration between the school staff, parents, community, ministries, and academics
- Inclusive education foster acceptance, understanding and tolerance among peers, in the home, among community members, at working places and in the society at large
- Inclusive education enriches all
- Inclusive education stimulates equity, democracy, and social justice
- Inclusive education build on certain "universal" principles, however its implementation must also be guided by local contexts
- The development of "good" inclusive education involves many stakeholders who are dependent of each other, therefore all who gets involved, at any stage of the this development must be determined of their role in the process, and accept that it may take time.

Below I have presented the research question of this study. The research questions were developed on the background of discussions with peers and my supervisors. The questions are mainly based on, as stated above the theoretical framework, but also international policy documents presented in chapter 1, perhaps with the strongest focus on the Salamanca Statement (1994).

2.12 Research questions

<u>**Main**</u>:

To what extent has inclusive education developed in the Tanzanian primary school?

<u>**Sub**</u>:

  ➢ How is inclusive education understood in Tanzania?

  ➢ What are the main goals towards inclusive education?

  ➢ What is perceived as the main obstacles to accomplish the intended goals?

  ➢ To what extent are the goals achieved?

  ➢ What practical activities have been initiated to make an advance towards an inclusive school?

  ➢ To what extent has practical activities been achieved and what challenges are there which hinders these activities?

  ➢ What is planned in order to move forward and improve the way towards inclusive education?

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

"To understand is hard. Once one understand, action is easy" ***Sun Yat Sen-1860-1925.***
(In Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2003).

In the subsequent sections the methodological applications, or what Nachmias and Nachmias (1982) refers to as system of rules in scientific work will be enlightened. Firstly, I will look at the concept of qualitative methods which is the chosen approach in this study. Furthermore, I will make a reasoning of my choice; look at factors that design this study, describe the process of the fieldwork, discuss and display my sampling, explain the different methods within qualitative approach utilised in the process of collecting data, discuss the concept of trustworthiness, and lastly consider ethical issues.

3.1 The qualitative approach

In a somewhat crude manner Miles and Huberman (1994) describe qualitative data to be sexy. Tempting as this may sound; it was not the reason why I chose to apply this particular approach to my study. I will have to turn back to my research questions and main goal of the study to explain my applied research inquiry. According to Patton (1990) the researcher has to ask several questions; like who, what, how and when the information from your data is useful in order to choose from the research method options and strategies As my research goal and questions required me to enter the field to seek answers, as Walcott puts it (Miles and Huberman, 1994) by watching and asking and also collect documents to examine, the qualitative approach was the most purposeful to this study. Returning to the metaphor of qualitative data being sexy, Miles and Huberman (1994) explain this with the data being sources of well grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts. Qualitative methods further permits the researcher to study selected issues in depth and detail (Patton, 1990; Blanche, Durrheim, 1999) and provide access to unquantifiable facts about the actual people the researcher interacts with. Consequently, qualitative techniques allow researchers to examine how people learn about, and make sense of themselves and others (Berg, 2004).

Bryman (2004) refers to two tenets presented by Lofland and Lofland, which they claim to be the underlying epistemology of qualitative research. These tenets are based on the fact that many qualitative researchers commit themselves to view the events and the social world through the eyes of the people they are studying, claiming that the social world must be interpreted from the perspective of the people being studied, rather than perceiving them as subjects incapable of their own reflections on the social world they live in. The two central tenets identified are (i) …face-to-face interaction is the fullest condition of participating in the mind of another human being, and (ii) …you must participate in the mind of another human being (in sociological terms, "take the role of another") to acquire social knowledge (Bryman, 2004:279).

3.1.1 Purpose of research

When conducting research one must be clear about the purpose of the study. Patton (1990:150) claims that "purpose is the controlling force of research". Determining the purpose of a study should be done as a first step, further decisions on e.g. methodology and design should then flow on the decided purpose (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2003). According to Patton (1990) the researcher can distinguish between five alternative purposes. In this study I will briefly look at what Patton explains to be *formative evaluation*, which I find to clarify the purposes of this study.

One purpose of formative evaluation is to help improve a specific program and the efforts of the people within this specific program or setting, which in this study is inclusive education at primary level in Tanzania. Generalisability beyond this setting is not a task for the formative evaluator, however making the inclusive education in primary schools in Tanzania more effective as a result of the study is a goal where formative evaluation can contribute. To achieve this, a main focus when doing formative evaluation will for me be to determine the strengths and weaknesses in order to find recommendations that will improve the effectiveness of inclusive education in primary schools in Tanzania (Patton, 1990).

3.1.2 Theory of action

Theory of action involves using qualitative inquiry in answering practical question about the real world or to improve programs or models, which in this study relates to inclusive education in primary school in Tanzania. Patton (1990) points out distinct practical applications for these purposes. For the intention of my study which is essentially to find out if the "model" of inclusive education actually does what it is supposed to do, I suggest here that an appropriate qualitative application is the theory of action, which can be used to clarify a program model. Clarifying the theory of action in a program, means to specify how the staff involved in a program gets an understanding of how what they do will actually lead to desirable results (Patton, 1990). In this process Argyris in (Patton, 1990) differentiate the "espoused theories" from the "theories-in-use". The espoused theories refer to what people say they do; it is the official version of the program operation. The theories-in-use on the other hand is what really happens. In this study the espoused theories are revealed through interviewing policy makers and other officials, as well as analysing official documents. Interviewing school staff and pupils, and conducting participant observations has revealed the theories-in-use. Analysing the comparisons of the ideals and actual happenings can help all the concerned to understand the implications of the inconsistencies, which again can lead to a more effective program (Patton, 1990).

3.1.3 Themes of qualitative inquiry

Before describing the data collecting methods utilised in the study, I first want to shortly identify the different themes of qualitative inquiry strategies which this study reflects. I have identified two strategies which are evident in this study, and are characterised by Patton (1990:40) as follows:

- *Naturalistic inquiry:* Studying real-world situations as they unfold; non-manipulative, unobtrusive, and non-controlling; openness to whatever emerges, lack of predetermined constraints on outcome. Patton's description of naturalistic inquire reflects this study in several ways. Firstly, I contacted the participants in their authentic settings, e.g. the classroom. Secondly, I made an effort not to manipulate the participants and their settings, even though just by showing up can be argued to be manipulative. Lastly, it was important at times to show openness to sudden

happenings, e.g. at one school I had to use a teacher for translation instead of one who had joined me for the job, who abruptly had to leave.

- *Qualitative Data:* Detailed, thick description, inquiry in depth; direct quotations capturing people's personal perspectives and experiences. This theme of qualitative inquiry strategy is relevant to this study, and is mainly revealed in the next chapter. Open-ended interviews and observations are methods used to obtain rich descriptions and seize personal experiences from the participants. I have also used several direct quotations from participants which elucidates personal perspectives.

3.2 Piloting the study

In the process of preparing my self for the field work I joined a group of representatives from NFU to a visit in three schools and two Education District Offices. During these visits I got the opportunity to bring along my research questions and observation scheme[7]. I joined the group as they spoke to teachers, parents and the school committees; I also did observations in the classrooms we visited. The test did not result in any change in my research questions; however my observation scheme was further developed as a result of the testing I did in the three schools (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003).
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3.3 Data collection

In the process of collecting data I have utilised three instruments common in qualitative studies; interviews, observation and document analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The interviews were conducted with different identified stakeholders; observations were done in selected classrooms. Lastly, I analysed national and international policy documents together with other relevant documents within the context of the study. In this section I will attempt to explain the different technicalities and implications of the data collection process. But first I will explain the process of my fieldwork and the selected samples of the study.

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[7] See appendix

3.3.1 Fieldwork

Going out in the field of Tanzania and collect data has as much of gaining knowledge on my research topic, been a task of emotional challenges. Coming from Norway, where I have all kind of nets for securing my welfare, it was often difficult to experience that this is not the situation in Tanzania. As this not being my first time in Tanzania I was somehow mentally prepared, and I did not experience any immediate culture shock. However, during my fieldwork sadness and frustration occurred. I learned that it is a fine balance between how to keep professional, and at the same time show sympathy and understanding. Not that the participants asked for this, but just knowing that it should and could have been so much better. I thank all the schools I visited where I was warmly welcomed and kindly taken care of. This, and the hope and will I experienced in some people, especially some of the women I met definitely made me a happier researcher and my tasks in the field easier.

Apart from one trip to Arusha the fieldwork of this study was conducted in different regions of Dar es Salaam, where I stayed for almost 5 month from January to June 2007. During my stay I entered different fields to collect my data, however it was at the primary schools where I met the children, the teachers, parents and schools committees the majority of my data was collected. To get a holistic view, highly valuable data was also collected from various informants such as the Ministry of Education, the University of Dar es Salaam, Patande Special Education College and NGO representatives.

In the process of establishing contact with the mentioned participants of the study and getting access to their respective institutions, an officially granted research clearance was required. I applied for this clearance at the Vice Chancellors Office at the University of Dar es Salaam, who on behalf of the Ministry of Education is given the authorisation to provide such clearances. After some time with administrational problems, which caused a delay in the process I finally received my research clearance.

According to Gall, Gall and Borg (2003) creating positive human relations is a precondition in the process of establishing contacts. In most cases I personally brought a letter of introduction to potential participants, explaining my research purpose, and why their contribution could be useful in my study. In some cases I was advised to initiate contact via email. To get access to the schools I delivered these letters to the district education offices, who further guided me to

schools fitting the frame of my project. Other participants included were a result of advice from my supervisor at the University of Dar es Salaam, and TAMH project coordinator Ms. Evena Massae.

Getting around in Dar is unproblematic, except from now and then being stuck in "foleni's" (traffic jams). My supervisor at the University of Dar es Salaam kindly lent me both her car and kind driver. I also from time to time used my nice taxi driver, Dixon. If not any of these options were available, the dala dala's (bus service) took me to any desired destinations.

As fieldwork is fully dependent of people and their societies, factors that are not controllable for the researcher must be anticipated (Cohen, Louis; Manion, Lawrence; Morrison, Keith, 2003; Biseth, 2005). I experienced this in various ways throughout my research, cultural differences with time was the most striking thing, Tanzanians tend to be late, misunderstanding and not showing up to appointments also occurred several times, unreliable communication like internet and mobile net also made difficulties, I also got sick on my trip to Arusha and was forced to cancel an important meeting. This and other things was a part of forming me as a researcher in the field, I would claim that I am now a more flexible, patient and creative researcher than when I first entered the field.

I began my fieldwork with an initial plan of who to interview and observe, this plan was continuously revised during my stay and generated both positive and negative outcomes. On the one hand I got fruitful interviews with people that I never had thought of initially, on the other hand some anticipated meetings never happened, especially parents and school committees was harder to get hold of than first thought, with all respect, it may have effected the result of my study, however their daily duties at home or work made it difficult for many to meet me.

3.4 Sampling

In this study I decided to apply purposeful sampling methods, firstly because the study has a qualitative nature, and thus I chose samples according to who could provide me with as much information as possible on my topic of research, and my research questions. Sampling is the process of choosing the units of the target population which are to be included in the study.

Sampling methods in qualitative studies is considered to give the researcher a higher level of flexibility (Gall, Gall and Borg 2003).

Purposeful sampling entails a process in which the researcher purposely chooses subjects who in his or her opinion are perceived to be relevant for the study and the questions it is guided by. The aim when choosing a purposeful sampling method is to provide an information rich case, which gives you the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the selected area of research (Patton, 1990; Gall, Gall, Borg, 2003; Bryman, 2004).

3.4.1 Presentation of the included samples in this study

Following purposeful sampling strategy, the criteria of school sampling was based on two main factors, (i) their pre-involvement in inclusive education, (ii) by who the inclusive practices had been initiated.

Table 3.1 Sample schools

SCHOOLS	INCLUSIVE EDUCATION
School 1	NGO initiative: TAMH,NFU
School 2	NO (special unit)
School 3	Government initiative
School 4	Government initiative
School 5	NO (special unit)

To obtain further answers to my research question, having the "espoused theory" in mind (Patton, 1990; Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003), official representatives were also an important source of information. The samples of official representatives consist of educational district officers from the districts of the sampled schools, and also two high positioned representatives from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. Apart from this, there are samples consisting of two additional institutions, first the umbrella organisation Tanzania Education Network and the Patande Special Needs Teachers College in Arusha. I will argue that these mentioned samples of the study were also purposefully selected, as they were all considered to be key informants having rich information to contribute to the study at hand.

One advantage in qualitative research is that new samples may occur and become a part of the study during the process of fieldwork. Initially I did not intend to interview more than one ministry representative, but during my fieldwork I got the opportunity to talk to a second representative from the ministry. This is recognised as *opportunistic sampling* (Patton, 1990; Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003). The interview at the Special Needs Teachers College in Arusha, and when at the end of my fieldwork I got the opportunity to conduct an interview with Tanzania Education Network, were both a result of a opportunistic sampling strategy.

To secure anonymity of the informants in this study, the tables below present the coding of the different informants, which will be used when the data is presented in chapter 4.

Table 3.2 Informants directly connected to the sample schools

Schools		Head Teachers/ Assistant Head Teachers	Teachers/Special EducatedTeachers	District Education Offices	Parents / School Committee
1	→	HT1[8]	T1	DEO1	P1[9]/SC1a,b,c
2	→	HT2	ST2		
3	→	AHT 3	T3	DEO3	
4	→	AHT4	T4 / ST4	DEO3	
5	→	HT5		DEO5	

In the interviews with informants listed in the table below I was less rigid with regards to my research questions. The goal with these interviews was naturally to use the research questions as bases of the discussion; however more importantly I used these interviews to generate a fruitful discussion where they could reflect their knowledge on the topic of my study. Thus, our discussion had a wider aspect focusing more on the main research questions. This is mostly revealed in the interview with R2. Therefore in chapter 4 where I have presented my findings it would be good to keep this in mind.

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[8] E.g. HT1 indicates the head teacher in school 1; ST2 is the special educated teacher in school 2 etc.
[9] A group of <u>five</u> parents from School 1

Table 3.3 Other informants

Ministry Of Education and Vocational Training	**M1** Special Needs Unit	**M2** Department of Primary Education
Patande Special Needs Teachers College	**R1 (representative)**	
Tanzania Education Network	**R2 (representative)**	

In addition I interviewed six children with special educational needs, they will not be given a separate coding because of the problems I experienced in my interviews with these children, and this is further explained in chapter 4.

Above I have presented the acquired informants in this study; however there were also informants who I intended to include in this study, which for various reasons I did not get a hold of. These informants are: The school committees and parents at school 3 and 4, the reason that this was not organised, was to respect their daily duties. This decision was taken with advice from M1 at the Special Needs Unit at the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. I did not either get to interview academic advisors at the education district office in Arusha. It would also have been preferable to interview the head teachers at school 3 and 4, instead of their assistants.

In the following section I will discuss the usefulness of interviews in qualitative research and the interviews methods I have employed in this study.

3.5 The qualitative interview

Before describing the interview strategies utilised in this study, I will first look at different aspects of the qualitative interview. The interview is according to Bryman (2004:319) "probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research". The qualitative interview compared to the more structured nature of quantitative interviews tend to be much more flexible, the interview can freely leave any schedule or guide that is being used, and the aim is to get rich and detailed answers (Bryman, 2004).

The interview as a research method is based on the everyday conversation; however it is also a scientific dialogue, which entails a specific structure and purpose (Kvale, 2004). The purpose according to Kvale (1996:30) is "to obtain descriptions of the lived world of the interviewees with respect to the interpretations of the meaning of the described phenomena". In terms of reciprocity in an interview session, the qualitative research interview can not, according to Kvale (2004) be perceived as a conversation where the power balance between the researcher and the participant is equal. This is because the researcher is the one who controls and defines the situation, as well as deciding the topic of the interview, and lastly critically follows up the answers given by the informant.

Using qualitative research method e.g. interviews is a way of letting people discuss how they create and assess their social reality with the researcher (Patton, 1990). However, Kvale (2004) points out that the qualitative interview often provides the researcher with contradictory information which might not be objective, but subjective in the sense that they depend on the person being interviewed. In Kvale's opinion this is one of the strengths attached to the research method, as it enables the researcher to get hold of the variation in the informants' opinions and perception regarding a certain topic, which gives a picture of a complex and controversial human world (Kvale, 2004).

As noted from above there are different strengths to the qualitative interview. But it also has its limitations. Sarantakos (1998) lists the following as the most commonly mentioned weaknesses:

- Interviews are comparably more time consuming and costly than other methods.
- The interviewer is a factor, with an associated bias which affects the interviews.
- Interviewing is inconvenient compared to other methods, like questionnaires.
- It offers less anonymity to the informants than other methods.

3.5.1 Interview strategies in this study

I found it most purposeful to conduct my interviews in a semi-structured manner (Bryman, 2004). The semi-structured approach allows the researcher to be flexible, which was important to me, because of the varying settings and people that was interviewed. On the

other hand, it was necessary for me to have a list of prepared questions, often referred to as an interview guide (Patton, 1990; Bryman 2004; Kvale 2004). My interview guide (see appendix 1) is based on my research questions listed in chapter two, and in all the interviews, except the interviews of children, they worked as the structured, but flexible list of issues to be addressed during an interview session. The flexibility of the interviews will be revealed in the data analysis chapter.

In some occasions, mainly for practical reasons such as availability and time, some of my interviews were done as focus groups. The few parents and school committees I got in contact with, and also the teachers in the different schools were conducted in groups of two or more. The focus group allowed the participants to discuss freely, and share their ideas on the defined topic of the study (Patton, 1990; Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003; Bryman, 2004) Patton (1990) stresses that the focus group does not have to reach any consensus nor disagreements. An advantage with focus groups is that it allows an increased number of views to appear in one single session. However, on the other hand because of time restraints this may force the researcher to reduce the number of questions (Patton, 1990; Bryman, 2004). I also found the group interviews to be more enjoyable, as they opened up for wider discussion of the topic. A limitation I experienced during some of the group interviews I conducted was that not all participants felt comfortable to share their opinions. Sometimes voices from "keen" speakers dominated the discussions. I tried to resolve this problem by simply including all participants by passing the questions around to different participants. However, encouraging everyone to say something during the sessions and sometimes re phrasing the question to clarify it was also done. Another disadvantage with the group interview, which I only experienced one time, was during an interview I had with eight or ten teachers, I figured out during the interview that I would never have time to go through all the prepared questions. The challenge for me then was to reduce the questions, and only ask the most important ones.

As some of the participants of this study were much more comfortable in their own language Kiswahili, I needed an interpreter in some of the sessions. There are unfortunately many disadvantages with this, especially since I had to use untrained interpreters, it was always an uncertainty of the preciseness of the interpreted answers or even if the questions were asked correctly to the participants. Also the fact that some words and ideas are not possible to translate may have contaminated the interview (Patton, 1990). The need of interpretation was

mainly needed when interviewing teachers and pupils. Teachers at the schools with good English skills were assigned for the job.

3.6 Observation

All though this study has depended greatly on data collection through interviews, the observations I did in various classrooms, has contributed meaningfully for the purpose of providing a broader perspective to the study (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003), even though the observations are not extensive in neither time nor numbers. I will argue that the observations functioned as a supplement of data which helped me to get a more holistic picture and a clearer view of the topic. With exception of my own senses, my main observational tool was a list of key words which guided my observations. The list can be found in appendix #2. The observations gave me an opportunity to experience the situations with my own perceptions, which is fruitful for the study at large.

According to Gall, Gall and Borg (2003) observational data permits the researcher to include their own feelings and experiences when interpreting the observations, in other words the researcher may include their own version of the phenomena observed. This would not be possible only with document analysis and interviews as sources of data. Patton (1990) adds that observation increases the researchers understanding of the social context she or he is studying. In addition observation works as an alternate source of data to verify other methods used for data collection; using observation for this purpose is referred to as triangulation (Patton, 1990; Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003, Golafshani, 2003; Bryman, 2004), which is further explained in section 3.7 below.

Patton (1990) describes five dimensions of observational approaches; all the approaches have different variations, Patton places these variances along a continuum. I will briefly explain the different dimensions offered by Patton, and attempt to describe my position across the continuum in the five dimensions.

(i) *The role of the observer*, this approach describes to what extent the researcher participates in the observed environment. The continuum of participation varies from being a fully participative observer, to partially participative, to being an "onlooker". During my classroom

observations I was never participating in any classroom activities, I placed myself at the back of the classroom, to avoid interference as much as possible, and assumed the role as an "onlooker".

(ii) *Portrayal of the observer role to the others* may have an affect on the validity and reliability of the observational data. On this continuum the overt observation is considered as one extreme, where the observer is known for the participants. This often affects the behaviour of the participants, and thus it makes it more difficult for the observer to capture the features of a normal situation. Consequently, this may jeopardise the reliability and validity of the observation. On the other end of the continuum is the covert observation, in this case the participants are observed unaware of the researcher's presence. The possibility of doing observation where only some participants are made aware of the researcher, divides these two extremes. During my observations, as it had to be done in the classrooms, my presence was both visible for the teachers and pupils, and most likely affected the observation, especially considering the fact that I am a researcher from a foreign country, with different traits.

(iii) *Portrayal of the purpose of the observation to others* has continuum that stretches from fully portrayal of purpose on the one side, while no portrayal on the other end. The variations between are many; deciding who one should disclose observation purpose for, should not be a decision only taken by the researcher (Patton, 1990). Prior to my observations I consulted myself with the involved staff. The purpose was only disclosed to the teachers in the classrooms. The reasons for this decision was based on a few factors, firstly it would have been time demanding to clarify for all the children what the purpose was, secondly, as parts of my observation was to follow the situation of particular children or child I assumed that this could have taken away the focus from the intended observation, subsequently a disturbance of the authentic setting. (iv) *Variations in duration of observations* are much dependent on the time and resources that is available for the researchers. On this continuum Patton differs between the short and long term observations. As I chose not to use observations as my main source of data collection, all my observations was done in a short period. Usually I did not spend more than 20 minutes in each classroom, which I considered to be adequate in order to get an impression of how practises of inclusion were dealt with. The last continuum presented by Patton (1990) concerns the (v) *Focus of the observation,* it refers to how the researcher observes only a few or even a single thing in a setting or if the scope is more holistic in the sense that the researcher tries to capture every detail of what is happening. My observations where predetermined, and my focus was based on two factors, firstly the decorations in the classrooms, like pictures, maps or other displays, and secondly I observed interactions

between the teacher and pupils, with a particular focus on the pupils with special needs and last, peer to peer interaction.

3.7 Trustworthiness

The concepts validity and reliability are in practice criterion for measuring the quality of a research project (Bryman, 2004). In short the validity of a study reflects the accuracy or the truth of a phenomena being studied, whereas reliability of a study represents its repeatability (Blanche and Durrheim, 1999; Silverman, 2005). In other words, one can ask in regards to the quality of a study if the research has reached valid conclusions and employed reliable research methods (Silverman, 2005). Traditionally, the understanding of reliable and valid data has been associated with quantitative research. The discussion of validity and reliability and its application to qualitative research has evidently been approached differently by different scholars (Kvale, 1989; Patton, 1990; Brock Utne, 1996; Golafshani, 2003; Bryman 2004). I have chosen to look at the approach generated by Lincoln and Guba (1985), who have suggested a set of alternative assessing criterion to qualitative research. One of the primary criterions which Lincoln and Guba (1985) have proposed corresponds to the quantitative terms internal validity, external validity and reliability which is referred to as *trustworthiness.* They claim it to be a more applicable criterion when conducting social research because they believe such research to hold more than only one truth. This again is explained with the fact that different people in the same surroundings may, and often do construct and organise these surroundings with different perceptions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). If the trustworthiness can be maximised or tested the more credible and defensible the result will be (Golafshani, 2003). Trustworthiness is made up of four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bryman, 2004).

3.7.1 Credibility

The question of how the researcher has understood the social world in relation to the constructed realities existing in the minds of the respondents is often referred to as credibility (Bryman, 2004). Thus, I can ask as the researcher if I have understood the world of the respondents in order to explain the truth about their world. One way I achieved credibility in this study was by triangulation. *Triangulation* entails using multiple sources of data to

increase the rigor of the study. Denzin (1989) categorises triangulation in four ways; accordingly I have in this study triangulated my data in two ways. Firstly, *methodological triangulation* was achieved by making document analysis and doing observations and interviews. And secondly Denzin (1989) also refers to *data triangulation* which in this study is reflected by the variety of sources I have used to obtain my data: School staff, officials, NGO representatives.

3.7.2 Transferability

How can the study be transferred to another context, and how are findings of a study applicable to different respondents are important questions when dealing with transferability. However transferability set different conditions compared to external validity, which is the corresponding term used in quantitative studies. Bryman (2004) maintain that transferability can only be specified at a later stage in future studies that bases their studies on this or similar studies. Accordingly, Guba and Lincoln (1985) hold that the original investigator has less responsibility of proving his material, than a person who will attempt to make e.g. social research, such as this study elsewhere. So in this study, supplying a thick and rich description of the context studied, which is done in this and the next chapter are the main contribution to create transferability. However, also the use of purposeful sampling in this study may contribute to create transferability because the information that can be obtained from the context is then maximised (Guba and Lincoln, 1985).

3.7.3 Dependability

Dependability parallels reliability in quantitative studies, and entails for example the studies applicability to another time (Bryman, 2004). One way to assure dependability to a study is according to Guba and Lincoln (1985) repeating the study having the same participants in the same context. This will not be entirely possible to achieve in this study, as the respondents are kept anonymous. However, dependability may be assured differently. Bryman (2004) suggest that the researcher keeps track of research processes, like field notes, problem formulations and interview transcripts in an accessible manner which is referred to as a an "auditing approach" (Bryman, 2004:275). An auditor's task will then be to establish how far proper procedures have been followed. In this study this task has mainly rested on the shoulders on

one of my peers, but also my co- supervisors in Tanzania with whom I shared my decision processes and also the progression of the study while I was there.

3.7.4 Confirmability

It is claimed that social research can not be kept totally free of bias (Bryman, 2004). The influence I have had as a researcher with my traits and characteristics makes complete objectivity impossible. Anyhow, can I in someway show that I have acted in good faith by e.g. keeping personal values and theoretical preferences at a distance throughout the conduct of the research. This is according to Guba and Lincoln (1985) another goal that the auditors have as they contribute to ensure the dependability of the study.

3.8 Ethical issues

"Ethical issues can not be ignored in that they relate directly to the integrity of a piece of research and of the disciplines that are involved" (Bryman, 2004:505). When undertaking social research it is important to consider ethical issues at different stages of the project (Bryman, 2004). In accordance with the critical theorists who hold the assumption that all individuals are involved in relationships of power to other individuals, the researcher is put in a position where they have to be aware of this power. The researcher must make a constant effort to avoid or minimise any misuse of their position (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003). Diener and Crandall (1978) sited in Bryman (2004:509) have listed four ethical principles which should be considered in social research:

- Whether there is harm to the participants
- Whether there is a lack of informed consent
- Whether there is an invasion of privacy
- Whether deception is involved

The mentioned principles have been widely discussed and the opinions are many, e.g. the second principle concerning informed consent, Patton (1990) points out the two sides of the continuum in the discussion of overt versus covert observation described above. At the one end Edward Shield (1959) in Patton (1990) holds the position that participants should in any observation be disclosed to the purpose of the research. At the other end Douglas (1976) in

Patton (1990) argues that through his "investigative social research approach" it is acceptable to look for the truth by using covert methods. This indicates that there is no ethical relativism but that ethical decisions can be flexible (Sheyvens, Novak and Sheyvens, 2003). In an interview situation Kvale (2004) emphasises certain ethical principles which correspond much with the above mentioned principles and talks about confidentiality, consequences, together with informed consent.

During my fieldwork the mentioned ethical principles had to be considered. All participants were aware of the purpose of the interview, as I gave a small presentation of the project, and before starting I asked if they had any questions regarding the project and there participation. All the participants that were interviewed were also made aware of their right to withdraw from the interview at any time. None of the participant decided to take advantage of this right. In addition, I asked all the participants if all parts of the interview were non-confidential and if I could quote them freely in my writing. All the participants did agree to this. However, I have chosen to anonymities the participants as revealed in section 3.3.

Another important ethical issue concerns the reciprocity of the research, and raises the question, what will my participants get back from me? Some of the participants did ask me this question. Some of the participants even asked directly for economic assistance. To maintain the role as a researcher, compared to the role as a private person I did not give financial incentives to any of the participants when I was working in the field. However, I gave all the participants a guarantee that they will be able to read my finalised paper, and hopefully in some way or another, this may contribute to their particular institution.

3.9 Limitations and Challenges

One problem I met during the fieldwork was how some of the intended participants did not show up for an appointed interview. This was though often resolved spontaneously by interviewing someone else at the place I visited. Albeit, it constitutes a limitation of this study because the alternative participant in my view, was often less suited to answer my particular questions. However, there were also other reasons to why I did not meet all the people I wanted to speak to. E.g. I would have preferred to talk to the school committee and parents in two more schools, but I was denied this for ethical reasons by the Ministry of Education. I

also got sick during my visit to Arusha and had to cancel the meeting with the local Education District Office. In addition, when I look back at my fieldwork, I have a reason to believe that I should also have interviewed children without disabilities, their voices would have made valuable findings to this study, and thus I see this as another limitation.

Language problems constitute another challenge in the study. Even though English is an official language in Tanzania, it is not fluently spoken by many, this in combination with my poor skills in their mother tongue language Swahili, made the communication sometimes difficult. In several occasions I attempted to get hold of someone to translate my sessions, however unfortunately this never worked out. Instead I had to use untrained translators, often teachers at the schools who I perceived as good English speakers. Despite of their honest effort to translate as direct as possible, I must take into account that a translation may be biased, especially in a case where non-trained persons is assigned to the job. Twin (1997) argues that the influence of using a translator in qualitative studies can be jeopardise the reliability of the study, when for example the target language does not have an equivalent word or expression, the translation will necessarily be biased. It is likely that this happened during some of my interviews, and thus I may consider the use of a translator as a limitation to the study.

4 DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will present the findings of the collected data retrieved from interviews and observations during my fieldwork in Tanzania. In addition national policy documents are analysed. The chapter will be organised into five sections separated as described below. First, in order to provide a picture of the current policies regarding the topic of my study I will examine the national policy documents I have found relevant to the study. In the next and main section of the analysis, which I have separated into three parts, I will firstly present background information from schools 1, 3 and 4 in the sample, which are three schools involved in inclusive educational projects. Secondly, I will examine the data collected from the identified stakeholders at these three sample schools. And thirdly I will present observational data from schools 1, 3 and 4 which are presented on the background of my observational scheme found in appendix #2. This first section will be categorised on the background of the structure in my interview questions, which are mainly based on the research questions presented at the end of chapter 2. The categorisation utilised in the section from schools 1, 3 and 4 will also be utilised in the third section when I present the findings in schools 2 and 5 from my sample, which have had no inclusive educational projects initiated in their schools, but where they have units providing education for children with disabilities. The third section will also present the data collected from the R1 in the sample scheme. In the following section I will explore the answers from key informants M1 and M2, representing the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. In the last section I will present the findings based on the interview with R2 from Tanzania Education Network. The last two sections are categorised more freely, however also based on my research questions as was described in more detail under section 3.4.1

4.1 National policy documents on disability and education

Tanzania has through different ministries and departments formulated various policy documents and key development reports that are important to have a look at in the context of education for persons with disabilities. In addition to different policy papers published by various departments, the Tanzanian Government has developed the Tanzania Development vision 2025 (GoURT, 2000). In this document education is considered to be essential for improving the economical and social condition in the country. The document further

expresses aims in the direction of developing Tanzania into a country that can produce high quality education. In correspondence with the Millenium Goals (UNESCO, 2000) the document states that *all* children shall receive basic education. The document envisions meeting all developmental challenges where education plays a strategic role:

> Education should be treated as a strategic agent for mind set transformation and for the creation of a well educated nation, sufficiently equipped with the knowledge needed to competently and competitively solve the development challenges that face the nation (GoURT, 2000:19).

The document states explicitly that proper education shall be provided for *all*. However, the Tanzania Development vision 2025 does not specifically draw attention to education for persons with disabilities, and subsequently the document may be described as imprecise in pointing out headways for a more inclusive primary school, which was a main issue, especially in the Salamanca documents endorsed and signed by the Tanzanian Government (1994).

In 2001 The Tanzanian Government initiated the Primary Education Developmental Plan (PEDP) as a response to the educational objectives in the Tanzania Development vision 2025 (GoURT, 2001). The Primary Education Developmental Plan gives the highest priority to enrolling *all* children to primary education, emphasising the importance of including children from disadvantaged groups. A special National Education Fund was established in order to reach this goal. The strategy is to provide scholarships to children identified as belonging to disadvantaged groups. The PEDP does not explicitly mention inclusive education as one of the strategies to secure education for children with disabilities

The National Education and Training Policy were first presented in 1992, but were changed in 1995, and are currently known as the Policy of Education and Training. This policy does not either have any specific statements on special needs education. However, persons with disabilities are implicitly recognised in the chapter on "access and equity", stating that:

> Promote and facilitate access to education to disadvantaged social and cultural groups…The Government shall ensure that adequate resources are made available and provided to enhance access and equity in education (GoURT, 1992:18-97).

In the Policy of Education and Training, there is also a statement that compels pre-schools to function as a monitor. The aim with this function is to identify children that are perceived to

need special educational apparatus, because of their special learning abilities or difficulties. Accordingly, the objective will be to take appropriate corrective measures towards these children when they enter primary level education (GoURT, 1992).

The Child Development Policy was implemented by the Ministry of Community Development and Women Affairs and Children in (GoURT, 1996). This policy may be considered as a response to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (UN, 1991), which Tanzania is signatory to. The policy document emphasises that the protection and provision of the rights of the child faces many challenges. One major concern and challenge is the wide spread poverty among Tanzanians. Subsequently the inadequate educational system has affected child development:

> In primary education, problems include the inability to ensure that all children of school going age are registered, poor attendance, dropouts, insufficient teachers, poor quality of education provided, shortage of resources, poor infrastructure and poor supervision and management of schools. In addition, lack of incentives for teachers, lack of refreshers courses, a shortage of housing and an irregular system of school inspection has affected primary education (GoURT, 1996:14).

Since independence and up until 2004, the Tanzanian Government did not have any specific policies for persons with disabilities. However, in the Chief Education Office under the former Ministry of Education and Culture a special education unit was established in 1989. The objective was to supervise and direct special education programs within the Ministry. However, it was not until 2004 the Government introduced The National Policy of Disability (NPD), which was adopted by the Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports. The policy was a result of the Government's many years of consultation among groups of disability stakeholders. The policy gives general guidelines and sets of parameters for services delivery, as well as educational provision. It is pointed out that education is a key factor to develop the potential of children with disabilities. The policy statement declares:

> That the Government, in collaboration with stakeholders shall provide a conducive environment for inclusive education that takes care of children with special needs and disabled children (GoURT, 2004:16).

The Disability Policy acknowledges that the educational provision for persons with disability is extremely low, with an enrolment rate of less that 1% in basic education. It is claimed that

facilities at all levels are inadequate. Further, the policy states that the school and teacher education curriculum is not satisfactory in providing special needs education.

4.2 Three schools with inclusive education

School 1 is part of a project called "Inclusive Education and Youth Development project in Tanzania". The projected was started in 2004 by Tanzania Association for Mentally Handicapped, TAMH. Funding to the project came from the philanthropic organisation Operation Days Work, which has an annual fundraising campaign conducted by youth in Norway (TAMH, 2006). The project also partnered with the Ministry of Education which was involved in the implementing phase. The Norwegian Association for Persons with Developmental Disabilities (NFU), contributed with technical support and monitoring supervision to the project (TAMH, 2006).

Schools 3 and 4 were picked out as pilot schools in the inclusive education project initiated by the Tanzanian Government in 1997. The projects started with support from UNESCO. Today the two schools are involved in the national programme for inclusive education. I chose to look at these two schools in addition to School 1, as it gave me an increased number of comparable samples in order generate a broader picture of the development of inclusive education in Tanzania.

4.2.1 Background information and observation outside the classrooms at schools 1, 3 and 4

School 1 is situated in Kinondoni District in Dar es Salaam which has a total of 131 schools. According to the districts education office the school is one of four schools which are involved in an inclusive educational project in Kinondoni. School 1 has a total of 2026 pupils, out of whom 42 boys and 31 girls are registered with one or more variations of disabilities. The disabilities among the pupils range according to HT1, from pupils who are blind or have reduced sight to deaf pupils, as well as pupils with intellectual impairment and also pupils with different physical disabilities.

School 1 consists of painted cement buildings which are in a fairly good shape. In the rooms I observed from outside there was good ventilation, meaning that there was windows on both

sides. There were also some new buildings under construction at the time of my visit. Some of the buildings were decorated with different illustrations. The condition of the school yard was very rough and uneven; it had for example deep water drains running across the yard. Consequently, the access to classrooms was unsatisfactory especially considering blind pupils and wheelchair users. However, at the time of my visit the premises had started to get improvements in the process of enabling access to classrooms and elsewhere around the yard.

Schools 3 and 4 belong to Temeke District, which is also in the Dar es Salaam region. In Temeke there are today 13 out of 115 schools that are involved in the national programme for inclusive education. Schools 3 and 4 were the first two schools to be involved in the governmental inclusive project; the project was initiated by the government together with UNESCO in 1997. School 3 has a total number of 1200 pupils, of these 45 children are registered with a kind of disability. At school 4 there are a total of 1438 pupils out of whom 32 children are registered with a kind of disability, there were here 9 girls and 23 boys amongst the children with disabilities.

At school 3 the school yard was nice and big with green surroundings. The accessibility for wheelchairs was though very bad with sandy paths, and I did not observe any ramps to the classrooms either. Some of the classrooms had good ventilation with windows on both sides; however other classrooms only had small windows on one side. The cement buildings were decorated only with few illustrations.

At school 4 there were more illustrations decorating the walls of the classroom buildings. All the classrooms had windows on both sides. Some of the buildings were old with cement falling off the walls. The school ground is not very big, but the school has good accessibility for wheelchair users to some classrooms, and also the rest of the yard was satisfactorily built for wheelchair users. The lavatories at both schools 3 and 4 had a primitive standard, with low hygienic conditions and inadequate accessibility.

4.3 How is inclusive education understood in school 1, 3 and 4?

In an interview with HT1, she expressed her understanding of an inclusive school to be "an education that is provided for all pupils, with and without disabilities, which are taught

according to individual needs". This was also the general understanding among the teachers I spoke to at school1. One of the teachers at school 1 added that it would be negative for children with disabilities to continue in special schools, arguing that this would not improve their disability, and that children with special needs would be able to learn more in mainstream classes. AHT3 shared this understanding of inclusive education, however he expressed it slightly different, and said it was a program where children with different abilities are mixed, and by being in the same classroom, his experience was that children with disabilities felt less judged for their disabilities. He added that the process of including children with disabilities to a mainstream class, in most cases had to be dealt with patiently in his school. However, the result in his opinion was that the children with disabilities who were included were gradually accepted by their peers as equals. Three teachers' I spoke to at school 3, expressed their understanding of inclusive education in the same lines, however they expressed it more clear that it was education *for* both disabled and none disabled children happening in the same classroom.

In the interview with AHT4, I asked her what she understood with inclusive education, she said that "inclusion happens after a child is born with a brain damage". She further argued that it would be preferable to provide education for these children in a special school. Her main reason for this was that she often experienced that the children with disabilities were bullied and made shame of, arguing that they would feel "free" in a special school. Her colleague, AHT3, had a different experience from his school, he said that all of the children with disabilities had become "part" of their class and were fully respected by their peers. When I further asked AHT4 about how inclusive education could improve, she restated her view and answered: "as I told you, to have a special school for them".

At school 4 I also met two teachers who I interviewed, one of them had participated in the training provided by the project and the other one had not. The teacher, who had not participated in any training, understood inclusive education to be for those children with "retarded minds". On the other hand the trained teacher was under the impression that inclusive education was education provided for children with and without disabilities, and that they are all equal individuals in class. She further answered, on the contrary to the AHT4 that inclusive education was positive, and by letting children with disabilities learn together with other children gave them confidence. I also interviewed ST4, his opinion was that children with disabilities had an advantage of being included in the classrooms with others, he gave me

an example from one blind child at the school, which he regularly provided assistant for, saying that he experienced her to enjoy school, having friends and also clear goals for her future. He commented that this would not have been the situation if she was segregated in a special school or kept at home.

At school 1 a teacher shared her view on inclusive education in these words:[10]

> Inclusive education is very good, because we avoid stigmatisation, and the pupils seem happier…I have seen a change in attitude among the children, now they help each other in the classroom, and also play with them outside.

At School 1 I met with a group of five parents (P1) who all had children with disabilities, and also three members from the schools committee. First, in the interview with SC1 I spoke with the Chairman SC1a, and two members, SC1b who was responsible for the schools construction work, and SC1c who was a female member. SC1a on his side understood that the project of inclusive education was very important in order to bring children with disabilities to school. SC1c on the other hand provided a more detailed answer, and expressed that inclusive education brought together all children with different abilities into the classroom where learning took place according to the diverse abilities among the pupils. P1 had in general a similar view; one parent commented that the disabled children were placed in mainstream classes in order to improve their disability, and enable them to feel part of the community at home and at school. Altogether, P1 expressed that inclusion in the ordinary school was positive for their children, sensing that their children were generally more satisfied. One parent even told me that his daughter was so eager to go to school that she got mad at him one day when the school was closed for holidays and she could not go.

To sum it up, all except two of the informants in this study had an understanding of inclusive education which does correspond, though in various ways with the principles suggested in the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) presented in chapter 1, and my understanding of inclusive education presented at the end of chapter 2. But evidently, as it is in the academic discourse on inclusive education, there are also different views and understandings of inclusive education among the stakeholders presented above. None the less, in the next sections I will look at what has been done in the three sample schools to prepare the staff for inclusive education, mainly by looking at how the projects have been carried out and also by

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[10] This teacher chose to answer in Swahili, thus the quote has been translated to English.

looking at the different activities and goals within the schools and communities. In addition, I investigate the barriers that the schools have, and subsequently looked at how these barriers have been challenged. This would expectantly give me an indication on the current progress of the projects, and perhaps answers to why there are differences in views and understandings to inclusive education among the stakeholders.

4.3.1 Training and preparation activities initiated for the teachers at school 1, 3 and 4

At School 1 the project as mentioned was initiated in April 2004, however the training seminar for the teachers did not take place before January 2005. According to HT1, training was provided to a group of five selected teachers. The training seminar was based on a UNESCO model; and the seminar manual was developed by a team of specialist drawn from different departments of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. The seminar lasted for eight days having three sessions of two hours per day. The manual was utilised to inform and introduce the basic elements of inclusive education to the group of teachers and colleagues from other schools (TAMH, 2006). The content of the seminar is summed up in the list below:

- Introduction to the field of special needs education
- A rational and methodologies of inclusive education
- Learning about the barriers to inclusion
- Educational assessment, learning about reasons and indicators for disabilities
- Methodology, focusing on teaching strategies and techniques
- Provision for help and support in an inclusive school
- Guidance and evaluation (TAMH, 2006).

The group of teachers (T1) response to the training provided was overall positive, but they said that it was necessary with longer or more training seminars. The teachers also agreed that training *all* teachers would be preferable as most of them did not feel comfortable enough to facilitate their colleagues appropriately. However, one teacher who had not participated in the training commented that they usually could go to one of the trained colleagues for advice, however, when they were absent or busy, this became a problem. At the time of my visit, they

were waiting for a second round with training and they were also planning an in-service seminar.

At schools 3 and 4, where the project started in 1997 there was first held a seminar conducted by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with UNSECO. This seminar lasted for four weeks, the Head Teachers and two teachers from each school were invited to participate. The UNESCO model was also the bases for this seminar; unfortunately I did not obtain any information on the structure and content of the seminar. However, DEO3 said that after the implementation of the program in the schools 3 and 4 there were held seminars at the schools for all the teachers, where they were introduced to inclusive education. According to DEO3, there had been regular in-service training, such as work-shops and seminars up to 2004. The academic officer at DEO3 was unsure of why the seminars had stopped; she also expressed uncertainty of what was being done in the particular schools to replace these seminars. In school 3 the AHT told me that approximately every third month they organised internal meetings in his school. The idea behind the meetings was to make the teachers share experiences with their colleagues. This would give the teachers an opportunity to learn from each other, as well as giving new teachers a chance to obtain important information about the inclusive practices at the school within a short time after their arrival.

ST4 said that in his school the situation was not reacted on. He said that no seminars or other initiatives had been taken after he was employed in 2003. As a special teacher he thought it was peculiar that he had never been asked by the school leadership to share his knowledge and experiences with his colleagues. His main task as a special teacher had been to assist one blind girl. However, he also gave advice to colleagues who asked for it. In his opinion inclusive education would be improved at his school if, as he said: "there must be seminars on inclusive education for all the teachers, because some need the basic knowledge and others need updated information".

4.4 Goals of inclusive education in school, 1, 3 and 4

I found that there were different goals among the staff in the different schools, below follows what they expressed about their goals.

HT1 said that a main goal was to create awareness about inclusive education in the communities (see 4.4.1). Another important goal was to modify the school environment, by improving the classrooms and access, by e.g. building ramps. T1 said that a main goal for them was to improve their teaching skills, focusing on teaching the children according to abilities. Another goal was to learn to use different teaching aids in the classes, especially to the children with special needs.

AHT3 said that the main goal in his school was to positively continue the inclusive education programme. Making the children with disabilities feel that they are equal to other pupils, that they can learn and that they do not feel neglected, neither in school nor in their societies, the AHT3 also saw as important goals. The goal expressed by the T3 was to make the children with disabilities learn faster, and to make them work with their peers and vice versa. A method to reach this goal would according to T3 be to improve speech and communication skills of the pupils.

ATH4 expressed that the goal with inclusive education was "to train them to be as the others" so that after one or two years they will change. T4 said that the goal at their school was to educate the children with special needs to read, write, and also practical teaching such as fetching water for cooking and personal hygiene. Apart from this they did not tell me very much about their goals.

4.4.1 The goal of creating community and parent awareness

To raise awareness at different levels in the community, especially to parents with children with disabilities, was according to the local coordinator of the TAMH project a highly prioritised objective. In order to increase knowledge among the parents, the coordinator pointed out three areas in which the facilitation focused on:

- *Inform parents about the causes of disability*: the main reason for this is that many parents still have traditional superstitious beliefs, such as witch craft and consequently denies acceptance of their own children.

- *Create awareness of their rights*: with a main goal to make the parents appreciate the need for education for children with disabilities.

- *Organisational development*: teach the parents organisational structure, so they can organise themselves in branches, with a goal to use their knowledge to lobby for change in their own communities, e.g. more inclusion in schools to local and national policy makers.

HT1 said that one of the main activities initiated towards inclusion in her school, was that they had been active within the communities belonging to the school, in order to create awareness of the schools openness to *all* children, without any discrimination. She further expressed that an important step to reach the community members, had been done by organising community meetings, and for practical reasons this was often done in connection with religious gatherings. HT1 emphasised that a particular effort had been made to reach the parents of children with disabilities, who from time to time also were invited to information meetings at the school. In addition, meetings at the school, together with teachers and children had been held, with the intention to use them as first hand sources of information within their communities.

In the interview with the school committee, SC1a confirmed that a major task for them had been to convince parents in the surrounding communities to bring the children with disabilities to school. According to the committee almost 80% of children with disabilities belonging to school 1 were now attending school.

In the interview session with P1, they expressed that they experienced the communication with the school staff was good, saying that they today felt less shame when bringing their children to school. All of them also felt that attitudes towards disability was changing in their communities, experiencing that their children were now more included in the everyday life within their communities.

At school 3, the AHT was under the impression that many children with disabilities were still kept at home. The schools effort to bring these children to school was in his opinion rather passive; he said that the teachers were just waiting for the children to be enrolled. This was because according to his knowledge, the parents knew about the inclusive project at this school, explaining that:

> "Even at our gate it is written there about everything we offer, everything is out. And also in the National Label (newspaper) it is always announced that everybody can learn…so this goal is achieved, because as I told you we have been able to pass out the information.

When I visited DEO3, the educational officer told me regarding parent and community awareness, that it was a task for the school committee at the different schools. As I did not get a chance to speak to the school committee at school 3, I can not confirm how much time and effort it is spent on community work.

At school 4 I did not get any answers in my interviews about how they went forth to improve community awareness.

4.5 Barriers and achievements to an inclusive school

At the different schools there were different barriers, when I discussed barriers with the different schools they also sometimes told me what they needed to improve their school towards inclusion. The section below also emphasise to what extent the school staff felt they had achieved their goals.

4.5.1 What are the main barriers in school 1, 3 and 4 and what do they need in order to make their school more inclusive?

As pointed out in the first chapter there are many barriers to inclusion in the South. Most places there is a shortage of resources at all levels; too few schools, few teachers, inadequate facilities, lack of other qualified staff, poor water and sanitation systems and poor infrastructure are some barriers to inclusion. Many of these barriers and other barriers were reflected in the interviews I conducted with the different stakeholders in the three schools and their respective educational offices.

In an interview with the T4, they expressed that there was a general lack of resources, mentioning full classrooms, inadequacies and shortage of learning aids and materials. However, a main concern uttered by T4 was that the children had an unbalanced diet, saying that they wished to supply them with proper and more food, but did not have the money to do so. Also HT1 expressed her concern about the diet to some of the children with intellectual impairments, saying they had to supply them with extra food as they were often hungry, using money from their own pockets.

At schools 3 and 4 the teachers mentioned the need for transport as another difficult obstacle to overcome. Many of the disabled children are dependent on assistance to get to school. They often experienced that children did not show up, sometimes for days, suspecting that the reason often was lack of transport. The teachers at school 1 also had this experience. One of the teachers told me that she sometimes had to give money to some of the children, so they could get home. She told me that they have a vision, to sometime in the future buy a small bus, which could pick up and drive home some selected children. During my discussion with the P1 they confirmed that sometimes it was a problem getting the children to school, and that this in fact was a main concern for them. One parent commented, "Crossing a four lane highway to get to school is not safe when you have low vision or problems walking".

Another barrier towards inclusion expressed in all the schools was the teacher/pupil ratio. Especially at school 1 I observed that the classes were over crowded, in one class I visited there it was more than 80 pupils, including four pupils with special needs and only one teacher. T1 explained to me that it was difficult for them to provide adequate attention to the pupils with special needs. The consequence of this was that they as teachers felt guilty for not doing their job properly T1 agreed to.

AHT3 expressed that they had a teacher/pupils ratio policy at the school which was not to exceed more than 35 children in a classrooms where there were children with special needs, in other classes they allowed to have 50 pupils he said. AHT3 told me that the need for more courses to increase the teachers' knowledge on inclusive education was essential. Additionally, he emphasised the importance of employing teachers with special needs education, saying that at the moment they did not have any. T3 supported AHT3's view, saying that they do not feel qualified to take care of, or educate some of the children with disabilities, and that they needed more training to achieve this.

4.5.2 What goals were achieved in the schools

As revealed in the section above there were numerous barriers to inclusion, which face the three schools I visited. However, there are also examples of goals which had been handled in different ways, for instance at school 1, the awareness campaigns directed towards the communities have had a positive outcome. Also, after the school got involved in the inclusive project, there has according to the SC1 and T1 been a continuous process to improve the infrastructure and environment, including sanitary conditions at the school to make it more friendly and accessible for all the children, especially for the children with disabilities.

At school 3 I asked the teachers about their achievements and reaching of goals towards inclusive education. One of the teachers told me that she felt they had come a short way in reaching goals of satisfactory academic achievements for many of the children with special needs, all though there were positive exceptions. However, goals like creating acceptance in the classrooms towards children with disabilities, and encouraging pupils to play together and help each other was something she felt they had achieved. Also practical training like using the toilet had been successful. At school 4 they had also focused on more pragmatic approaches in their teaching to many of the children with special needs, who for various reasons had difficulties following classes the whole day. Activities like fetching water for cooking, and also gardening work had been successful. Another activity they had experienced to be encouraging for many the children with special needs, was physical education. Some of the pupils had even been abroad to compete one of the teachers told me. T1 said they also saw physical education as an activity which had been valuable for many of the children with disabilities. One reason they argued was that such activities required another form of communication, and consequently it had been an excellent way of getting disabled and none disabled children to mingle.

At school 1, one of the mothers in the group of parents I interviewed expressed satisfaction with the educational development her son had shown after he had started going to school, saying that[11]:

> I have noticed significant progress in my sons leaning, when my son first came here he did know how to write, he did not know read, not even knowing how to pronounce an A or a B. But now he knows most of the letters and numbers; for me this is like a miracle, for the first time he can read and write.

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[11] This parent chose to answer in Swahili, thus the quote has been translated to English.

Furthermore, the mother told me that she had also been very happy with the feedback the school has given her on what they do at school, and also what she can contribute with from home.

4.6 Some observational experiences and interviews of children with disabilities in the three primary schools, 1, 3 and 4

In this section I will present the observational data I collected in the classrooms, at the end I have also commented on the interviews I conducted with the children with disabilities I talked to in the three primary schools. Doing observations in the three schools was important to this study, as pointed out in chapter three, to apply my own point of view, and my own feelings and thoughts on what I experienced in the classrooms. In other words observations were good in terms of applying my own interpretation of the phenomena which is being studied. Observations are also useful in terms of verifying the data collected through other methods.

At school 1 I made observations in three classrooms. First, I visited a pre-school class with six and seven year old children. The class had four included children with disabilities, one girl and three boys who were all intellectually impaired. All the four children with disabilities were older than their peers. The classroom did not have a blackboard or any illustrations on there walls. A math lesson with counting was on the agenda, and the teacher used bottle tops as countable objects. The four children with special needs were asked to participate in the lesson, at first they made an attempt to respond the teacher, but after a short while it appeared to me that they were more concerned with other activities, such as dancing and playing around. All the pupils in the class seemed to loose their concentration very fast, and the teacher gave the impression of having difficulties continuing her counting lesson. After about fifteen minutes many of the pupils were running around, playing and shouting. It looked to me like the teacher had given up keeping order in the classroom. At one stage during my observations, one of the children with disabilities got up and slapped a younger peer quite hard on the head. The teacher did not notice this. According to what I experienced, this class was not an ideal place to learn, even though I think a school day for a six year old should consist of a lot of playing, it is also important, in my view, to separate when to do what. If the situation in this classroom during my observation was representative, I would argue that the challenges to create an inclusive classroom, with an enriching outcome for all were many.

The teachers would in my eyes been in a better position to handle her class if she could have shared the responsibility with a special educated teacher or an assistant teacher.

The second classroom I visited at school 1 belonged to a fourth grade class. In this class there were about 50 pupils, including four children with special needs. One was partly deaf, two had reduced eye sight and one was intellectually impaired. The two with low vision was placed at the front of the class; however the one with hearing loss was placed on row three. He should in my opinion also been placed in the first row as well. The teacher used the blackboard and oranges in his math lesson. The teacher did not interact much with the special needs children during his presentation, however he assisted them later when tasks had been given to solve individually. In my view this class functioned much better than the pre-school class. Although, the conditions are not ideal with fifty students in a small classroom and where there is only one teacher. I believe it would have been a beneficial for everyone if the teacher had an assistant. The children with disabilities appeared to be comfortable and well accepted in the class, during my short time of observation. Nevertheless, the pupil who was intellectually impaired seemed at times to have difficulties to comprehend and concentrate, thus a special educated teacher or an assistant would in my opinion been very helpful for his further academic development.

I also got the opportunity to visit a classroom with seventh grade pupils. In this class there was one pupil with low vision and two with hearing loss, one partly and one fully. The need for a special educated teacher or an assistant was in my opinion also evident in this classroom. I observed that the teacher made a lot effort to include the children with disabilities in his lesson. However, I also observed the effort to assist the children with special needs, subsequently delayed the rest of the class, as there was only one teacher. All together, it appeared to me that the peer to peer interaction came more natural in this classroom.

At school 3 I visited a standard five class with 34 pupils, including two pupils who were intellectually impaired. As in school 1 the classroom only had one teacher present during my observations. In this class the children with disabilities were not participating a lot, however the teacher made an effort to make them participate in the lesson. The two children with disabilities did not receive any assistance from their peers. One of the children with special needs did not seem to follow the class at all; it appeared to me that he felt uninterested. The

other child with special needs seemed during my observation to comprehend slightly more, but at times he also appeared to "fall out" of the lesson.

The classroom felt very hot, the ventilation was bad, because there were only windows on one side of the classroom. There was also a scarcity of learning material, such as books, which there was only a few of and had to be shared among the pupils. The teacher had to draw illustrations from a book on the blackboard, which in my view seemed to be very ineffective. There were also almost no illustrations on the walls in the classroom. In my opinion this class would also have benefited greatly with an extra teacher. However, according to my observation, increased focus on peer to peer interactions could have contributed to a more successful inclusive practice.

When I visited school 3 they had a test day, and therefore I did not get to observe in the classes. However, I got to speak to one of the girls who had been included at the school since standard one and was now finishing standard seven. She told me that she had many friends, and enjoyed school very much; she was actually fond of all the subjects. In the future she explained that she wanted to become a lawyer. She also expressed that she was very happy about living so close to home, because then her peers and family could easily take her to school.

I will not go into further details in any of the interviews I had with the children. I talked to children in all the schools I visited, and my impression from these meetings was that they were all very happy at their schools. They all enjoyed school; some maths, some science, some physical education, and every one said they had friends. However, some of the children were very shy when speaking to me, which sometimes ended with the teachers asking very leading questions. I will argue that the differences in culture and language made these interviews difficult. And that even though I believed in what the pupils told me, I thought that it was never the right setting to talk about more emotional issues with the children with special needs, which could have revealed a different reality. For this reason I do not want to spend more time on these interviews.

4.7 Two schools with units for children with disabilities, and Patande Special Needs Teacher College

As the main focus of this study is inclusive education, the content of this section will be less detailed than the former, I will however emphasise the main aspects I found with respect to my research questions, which was also the basis of my questions asked to all the participants I interviewed in the two schools with units for children with special needs. I chose to add these schools to my sample, because of the fact that they both were schools which had units for children with disabilities, which provides an interesting aspect in order to give a broader picture of the development of inclusive education in Tanzania. One of the two schools I visited was Uhuru Primary School in Arusha. In this school I met with two teachers who worked in a unit for intellectually impaired children; they had both been students at Patande Special Needs Teacher College. So, before looking at the schools with no inclusive education, I will present some of the data I collected at this college, which is the only institution for special needs education in Tanzania. The college's name is Patande Special Needs Teacher College, and is situated right outside the city of Arusha. The reason I chose to visit the college was because I assumed that as it was the only college on special needs education, it played an important role for further development of inclusive education in the Tanzanian primary schools, thus being quite essential for the topic of this study.

4.7.1 Patande Special Needs Teacher College

According to R1 Patande Special Needs Teacher College does not offer a full bachelor degree in special needs education, but diplomas and certificates in special needs education, as a 12 or 18 months supplement to the regular teachers' education. The college was inaugurated in 1996, and since then it has had 956 graduates. R1 provided me with valuable information on the College's views and understandings of inclusive education. R1 uttered an enthusiastic view of the philosophies of inclusive education, which he expressed to be a step in the right direction in the challenge of providing children with disabilities education. However, he expressed concern about the process going very slowly, especially because of the many barriers, such as negative attitudes in many communities towards children with disabilities, and also lack of funds to learning materials, teaching aids and qualified staff. R1 further told me that there was a current focus on inclusive education in the curriculum and the syllabus at

the college. However, in the revision to come later this year, he claimed that inclusive educational focus would expand. What did surprise me a little was that at the primary school, which is linked to the college for the student's practical training, there were three main units where a lot of the students' practical training took place; there was one unit for deaf pupils, one for blind pupils and one for intellectually impaired pupils. When I asked about this, R1 could tell me that inclusion was happening slowly in this school; and that only a few pupils from the units had been included in the mainstream classes. However, he could not give me a concrete answer why inclusive education was not practiced to a higher extent in this demonstration school.

4.7.2 School 2 in Arusha town and school 5 in Kibaha district

School 2 in Arusha, had a total of 1568 pupils according to HT2. The school is situated in the centre of Arusha, only 20 kilometres from Patande Special Needs Teacher College. School 2 had employed seven special educated teachers from the Patande College. All the special educated teachers worked in a unit for pupils who were intellectually impaired. The unit had 40 boys and 18 girls.

The other school with no inclusive practices I visited, school 5 in the sample situated in Kibaha district, about 40 kilometres outside of Dar es Salaam. At school 2 there were according to HT5 approximately 1200 pupils including a unit which had 23 boys and 9 girls with disabilities. The majority of the pupils in the unit were intellectually impaired; however there was one pupil with identified speech problems and two with low vision. In both schools I conducted an interview with the head teacher, in addition I interviewed the districts education office in Kibaha, and in school 2 I conducted a group interview with two of the special educated teachers and one pupil from the unit, who had been partly included in a mainstream class.

At DEO5 I conducted a group interview with three academic advisors. They first expressed uncertainty about the concept inclusive education. The group discussed the concept for a while, and after a short time the group recalled that inclusive education was a type of education that was provided for both children with and without disabilities within the same classroom. The group further told me that the focus on providing education to children with disabilities in their district had been through, what they referred to as "centres". Today they

said that there was one such "centre" in the district providing educational activities for children with special needs, the centre was situated at school 5. I asked them why the place for children with disabilities did not have a status of being a school, but a centre, when it was part of the school. They did not have an answer to this, and after some time they eventually agreed that also the centre or unit should be referred to as a school for children with disabilities. Two of the officers expressed that they were sceptical of implementing inclusive practices in their district, saying that it would be a problem to mix the children at the "centre" with those in the "normal class". One of the officers claimed that it would be better to separate the children with disabilities, from those without disabilities in the mainstream classes. In the "centre" he argued, they would have their own learning materials and their own teachers, consequently they would manage everything with greater ease. One of the academic officers agreed with her colleague, she also believed that it would be better to separate the children with disabilities. She offered me an example to clarify her view, saying that blind children who had to use a braille machine would disturb the class because of the noise from the typing, and therefore it would be better if the children who could read and write were together where there was no such disturbance. The last of the three academic officers told me that she disagreed with her colleagues claiming that the best solution for everyone would be to include the children with disabilities in the classroom. She mentioned especially that this would be good, because in her view the children with disabilities would get more friends, and she was convinced that their peers would help them with school work and other activities during the school hours. However, she suggested that some of the practice in using their teaching aids, e.g. the braille machine for blind children, could be adjusted on their timetable to have a few lessons outside the classroom. Another problem she experienced was that the classrooms and other school buildings were not accessible. She said that in order to construct more accessible school yards, they must emphasise this need in the districts education plan; the main fiscal support for this should be provided by the government she added.

HT5 shared a similar view with the two first academic officers mentioned above. In her view the children in the unit could not be included in the mainstream because as she expressed:

> The mentally retarded, how can they go along with the lessons? The majority of them can't even decide when to go outside, they just play, they don't write, they don't do nothing. They will only disturb the class.

HT5 told me that there was one girl with very low vision who was in the special needs class. I asked her opinion on whether this girl could have been in a mainstream classroom. She was

very uncertain about this, wondering at what level she would fit in, concluding that it would probably be better if she was kept in the special needs class, because they have more practical activities, which all together would suit her better.

During the conversation I had with the HT5, I asked what she saw as the main hinders to initiate inclusive practices at her school. There were especially two factors which concerned her. First, she questioned how one teacher could bare the responsibility of a classroom with both children with and without disabilities; she reflected that a precondition to have "mixed classes" were to use the special teachers in the classroom. But with the current situation this is impossible, she said, because the school only had two special educated teachers who now worked in the unit. Secondly, she raised a concern regarding the attitudes to the parents having children with disabilities. She claimed that: "most of the parents feel that these kids are useless" asking themselves why these children should go to school, "how will they contribute when they grow up", the head teacher stated, referring to the parents. Today she continued, the majority of children with disabilities are still in the villages, because the parents do not think it is necessary for them to go to school, and many are even hidden away.

At the district office the three academic officers shared this concern, and confirmed that presently there are only a few children with disabilities who are enrolled in primary schools within the district. Both the HT5 and at DEO5 they said that they had carried out information meetings in the communities, and in this way they tried to reach parents, and convince them to bring their children with disabilities to school.

I experienced a different situation at school 2. HT2 was clearly positive towards inclusive education practices. He expressed that inclusive education was good idea because the result of bringing all pupils together in the schools, would reflect in the communities where attitudes towards disability would be changing positively. HT2 informed that the school had initiated an "internal project", to include pupils from the unit with intellectual impaired pupils, into the mainstream classroom. At the time of my visit they had according to HT2 succeeded to permanently include three of the pupils from the unit. The main barrier to escalate the process of including pupils from the unit was as he saw it, was the teacher/pupil ratio, claiming that the classrooms had already reached its limits. However, at the same time they were now planning to conduct an in-service course for the entire staff of teachers, in order to provide them with basic special educational knowledge, which then would prepare them to welcome

more of the children from the unit in their classrooms. In the interview ST2 they expressed their agreement with HT2 on inclusive education. And they wished that soon they could include more of the children from the unit to the regular classrooms. They also expressed that they were ready to enrol children with different disabilities, and that they could use their knowledge within the regular classroom. However, they expressed that a lot of preparation, such as modifying the school yard, buildings and classrooms, and also enhancing the knowledge of the entire staff was required to achieve full inclusion at the school. But at the same time they claimed that they had important experience and knowledge, which could contribute fruitfully to this preparation.

4.8 Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

I visited the Special Needs Unit at the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. In M1's view, inclusive education was the best alternative in providing education for children with special needs. He argued that inclusive schools contributed to increase the confidence among children with special needs, consequently making them feel valuable as important players and contributors in their societies. M1 confirmed that inclusive education was initiated together with UNESCO in five pilot schools in 1997. In 2000 the government made an inclusive program, based on the pilot projects, and according to M1 the ministry has today implemented the program in approximately 140 schools in nine regions all over the country. The program aims at training 2 or 3 teachers in each school, together with the head teacher and officers from the district's education office. With regards to supervision and quality check of the program at the different schools, M1 said that the District Offices had this responsibility of monitoring and supplying the ministry with feedback. The feedback that is collected in the schools is mainly based on experiences from the head teachers and other trained teachers. According to M1 there were a couple of barriers to inclusion and thus the development of the program. Firstly, he said there was a problem of ignorant attitudes in the communities, claiming that children with special educational needs suffer because of these negative attitudes. Secondly, was the fact that inclusive education is a new phenomenon; made the community members sceptical and uncertain to the whole idea. M1 argued that one of the main strategies of the programme had been to create awareness within the communities to improve enrolment rates among children with disabilities. Another obstacle M1 drew attention to was that funds set aside to cater for inclusive education is too small, admitting that

more teachers should have been offered the training, however the cost was too high to prioritise this. To move forward M1 mentioned a few things which was on the agenda. Apart from expanding the program to new regions, the Government and the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training were now in the initial phase of planning to incorporate inclusive education as part of the curriculum at the teachers colleges. M1 also said that in the near future the University of Dar es Salaam and a University in Tanga would offer courses in special needs education.

I also conducted an interview at the Department of Primary School at the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. M2 confirmed that the ministry had initiated a program on inclusive education where they trained teachers. According to M2 there was supposed to be 1 inclusive school in each council, which she said was sufficient "because there was not many children with disabilities anyways". M2 added that, she thought there had been guidelines handed out to the different councils, saying that the essence of these guidelines had been to instruct the councils to bring *all* seven year olds to school. M2 further said that an important role for the councils was to provide resources to the schools, and also report in their annual budgets what they were missing, so that the central government could, as she said, "top up with what they need because teaching and learning materials are very expensive". Further, she said regarding to achieved goals that before the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) was finalised; there was a big problem that many parents having children with disabilities did not bring them to school. However, as the "Development Plan" was in place and the guidelines was sent out to the councils, M2 claimed this was now not a problem any more, *all* the children were now sent to school and taken care of in their schools, and also in the budget she added that this was taken care of. With regards to the main barriers towards inclusion in Tanzania, M2 mentioned a few barriers. The cost of the learning and teaching materials was her main concern. However, another obstacle she mentioned was that too few teachers are qualified in the field of special needs. M2 claimed that this was because it was difficult to find teachers who were confident in communicating with children with disabilities.

4.9 Tanzania Education Network and issues concerning the development of inclusive education in Tanzania

Tanzania Education Network/Mtandao wa Elimu Tanzania TENMET[12], is a national network with currently more than 200 members. The members are mainly national community based organisations (CBO's) and NGO's, but also international NGO's and local networks. A common concern among the members of the network is promotion of education in Tanzania. The core objective is to work and link with other actors in the Civil Society Organisations (CSO's), in order to influence the policies on basic education for all in Tanzania in a collective and informed manner. Tanzania Education Network further envisions:

> A Tanzania in which all people, especially children, enjoy access to participatory, meaningful, learning opportunities, in order to realize their fullest potential and to enhance social integration (TenMet, 2007:1).

R2 expressed that inclusive education was not considered by TENMET from the beginning in 1999. However, he stated that disability was considered by the network as an equity issue, and in the network strategy plan for 2004-2007 disability was given considerable attention with regards to equity, access and quality. R2 further said that after he stepped into his position of the network in 2005; he had worked to increase the focus on inclusive education, as this was his main academic field. An important issue according to R2 was to focus disability away from the traditional medical model (see chapter 2), but rather see disability through the social model, which can be compared with the Enrichment Perspective presented in chapter 2. In a revision of the networks strategy plan the social model has now been elaborated upon R2 added. Further, according to R2 inclusive education is crucial because it is the only educational approach where *all* children can be in school, he mentioned for example that segregating children with disabilities in special units, would totally jeopardise the goal of having a school for all. In the work to further promote inclusive education, R2 said that TENMET was now in the process of generating an own network for inclusive education. The process of developing such a network would involve documenting all ideas from individuals, organisations and TENMET members regarding inclusive education, and produce distributional material. The inclusive education network in Tanzania would according to R2 be a loose network within the TENMET structure.

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[12] Mtandao wa Elimu Tanzania is Swahili for Tanzania Education Network

TENMET has also initiated a research project on inclusive education. The research aims to generate *a new index* on inclusion in Tanzania. As R2 would lead this project he told me that the Index will be formed as a result of implementing inclusive education in 8 project schools. The driving force of the research would according to R2 be a whole-school environment and development process, which embeds inclusive practices in all parts of the school system. According to R2 this particular research process capitalises on a national policy regarding school development, which entail that all schools must by law develop a plan for their school. The final objective of the research project will be to have a complete index of inclusion for Tanzania, developed as a result from research in the 8 opted schools, then test the index in additional schools and improve the index to finally use it when implementing inclusive education in schools across the country. In addition to the development of the index, TenMet has also collaborated with the Government, where they have facilitated the process of making a draft of guidelines for inclusion in Tanzania.

As being the core question in this study, I was interested in knowing R2's view of the current development of inclusive education in Tanzania and especially the governments' role, R2 was not impressed, expressing that:

> It has not developed, at least not a coordinated development, development is partly, and I think development is based on project like activities, this despite the fact that the ministry of education claims to be having an inclusive education agenda.

R2 directed particular criticism to the UNESCO special needs resource pack, which the government has used as the main training tool in their inclusive education programme. In his opinion the resource pack was not relevant for Tanzania, even though the government had modified it to fit their programme. Although, R2 organised the first meeting in 1988 to discuss the resource pack, which eventually was accepted by the government five years later, he maintained that it was out dated for Tanzania. In fact, R2 claimed that the resource pack was not applicable in every respect, saying that it lacked flexibility and reflection as a manual for inclusive education.

In the interview with R2 we also discussed the project which had been initiated by TAMH (see section 4.1). He was under the impression that projects like this was positive, as it had an innovative agenda, and with the goal to develop the project to be used in schools all over the

country. But, he expressed concern that this and other similar projects that mainly ran on international funding, would most likely be taken over by the government as the projects was often time limited, thus further funding and development would stagnate without support from the national government. In his opinion this would most likely undermine the initial projects innovative agenda, as the government would implement its regular programme, which R2 characterised as a programme with little in-depth thinking. R2 concluded by asking critically "on what criteria would then a final evaluation be based upon, criteria of the government programme or the TAMH programme"?

We also discussed the challenges to inclusion. One of the major problems R2 had noticed in many of the schools, which he had visited, was that the methodology in the classroom teaching was not participatory; claiming that without participatory teaching there can not be inclusive education. R2 argued that in many classrooms, teaching methods followed the traditional and non participatory banking method. [13]A second problem identified by R2 was the infrastructure in the schools, not only the infrastructure securing accessibility to the classrooms, but also the infrastructure inside classrooms, which according to his understanding needed to be changed in order to create a more participatory setting.

Another problem which I discussed with R2 was the low enrolment rates of children with disabilities. The main understanding of this problem among the stakeholders I interviewed was that parents did not bring their children with disabilities to school mainly because of shame and the notion that children with disabilities can not learn. R2 looked at the problem differently claiming that: "No parents will send their child to a place where he or she will not be helped", subsequently also asking if the children with disabilities are properly accepted and treated as equals in the classroom. In R2's view many teachers have very low expectation of what a child with disability actually can learn. In the research conducted by Mmbaga (2002), it is argued that for many of the children with disabilities there is no use attending class, because often the teacher and peers only focuses on a few who had the capacity to follow the lesson. In a comment on a classroom observation Mmbaga notes that:

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[13] The banking method is a concept that was first used by educational scholar Paulo Freire. Prevalent in this concept of education is that it is very much based on narration. Freire argues that the relationship between teacher and students subsequently becomes one in which the teacher is the telling subject, and the students are the patient listening objects. Moreover, the telling leads the students to memorise mechanically the narrated content (Freire, 1996).

Both the teacher and the pupils were marginalising those children as labelled as having difficulty in learning by limiting their level of participation during the question and answer interaction part of the lesson. Both saw no point allowing time for them to respond, as they did not expect the labelled group to give satisfactory or correct answers (Mmbaga, 2002:189).

According to R2 situations like this are especially evident in classrooms where the banking concept is the common teaching practice. Consequently, parents are not confident that their children are well taken care of and will therefore not send them to school.

5 Summary, Discussion, Recommendations

This part of the study will be divided into three sections. The first section will be a summary of the study at large and the findings. To follow the summary I will discuss my findings. The discussion will be guided by my research questions, the theoretical framework and the related study presented in chapter 2. To end this study I will provide a number of recommendations in relation to the findings and discussion of the study, as well as recommendation for further studies.

5.1 Summary of the study

This study has attempted to investigate the development of inclusive education at the primary school level in Tanzania. To form a picture of the current development of inclusive education in the Tanzanian primary schools, this study has tried to illuminate the topic in different ways. Firstly, I found it was important to look at international policy documents in which Tanzania had committed itself to. With respect to the topic of the study, the commitment Tanzania has made by signing the UNESCO "Framework for Action for Special Needs Education" (UNESCO, 1994) and the United Nation "Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities" (UN, 2007) are particularly important documents. In 1994 the Framework for Action, initiated at the Salamanca Conference, was the first international document to spell out inclusive education as a preferable educational direction for persons with disabilities. At the Conference it was also claimed that inclusive education was to be a key strategy to reach the Education For All goals, which was first presented in Jomtien EFA Conference (UNESCO, 1990) and ten years later through the Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO,2000). The Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is also highly relevant to this study, and a milestone document as it is the first human right convention for persons with disabilities. As expected the convention emphasises on the right to education for people with disabilities, and it specifically calls on all states to ensure an inclusive educational system in all levels. In chapter 1 I have also presented other relevant international documents.

In chapter 1 I also looked at some aspects regarding inclusive education in the South and Tanzania. There have been various projects which have been initiated with foreign support (Savolainen, Matero and Kokkala, 2006). However, questions are asked whether or not this help is applicable in a Tanzanian context or other similar countries in the South. For example

Stubbs (1999) argues that it is not necessary, and for no reason vital to expose and implement systems developed for countries in the North to countries in the South. Dr. Kisanji (1998) has in this discussion pointed to how the indigenous knowledge has been replaced with new practices from the countries in the North. He argues that this can not be favourable when the political, social and economic conditions are so different. Mmbaga (2002) further suggests that agencies and their experts coming from the North must utilise the strengths of existing practices and work with the weaknesses (Mmbaga 2002).

Further in chapter one I looked at the link between disability and poverty. Even though there has not been a systematic exploration on how disability and poverty is linked, sufficient evidence from various sources agree that the two are closely linked, and many argue that on one side disability causes poverty, however on the other side poverty causes disability (Elwan, 1999; DFID, 2007 and WB 2004). It was reported by the UN (2007), that 80% of people with disabilities come from countries in the South. In Tanzania statistics vary from three to ten percent of the population who suffers from one or more disabilities. In countries of the South there are many factors to why these numbers are so high. In Tanzania and other similar countries, poor nutrition, dangerous working and living conditions, limited access to vaccination programmes and to health and maternity care, poor hygiene, bad sanitation and inadequate information about causes of impairments are the main factors causing disability (DFID, 2007). However, also globalisation and structural and cost-sharing programmes have affected people with disabilities negatively, consequently leaving many very poor and into isolated lives (DFID, 2007).

Another important step to illuminate the topic of the study was to investigate the national policy papers and key developmental documents. There are various documents which consider education for all and equity in education, however there are currently not any policies or other documents which has been generated by the Government on inclusive education. According to M1 at the special needs office at the Ministry of Education, a policy on inclusion is under development; however it is only in its initial phase. So currently the only policy which explicitly spells out anything on inclusive education is the disability policy. Further findings in the national policy documents are presented below in section 5.2.

The theoretical framework of this study, presented in chapter two consists of three parts. Firstly, the chapter portrays two distinct, however arguably connected theoretical approaches. One of the approaches is the capabilities approach, which is merely a philosophical political approach (Nussbaum, 2006). The capabilities approach, with respect to this study claims that traditional theories on social justice do not deal adequately with justice to people with disabilities and neither with social justice across boarders in an increasingly interdependent world. The second approach I have investigated is the Enrichment Perspective, which portrays a more pragmatic approach of the framework. The Enrichment Perspective is a special educational approach to an inclusive school (Befring, 2001). The theory chapter also includes a brief presentation of Dinah Mmbaga's work (2002), as a related study.

This study has a qualitative approach, the study utilised different common qualitative data collection tools, such as interviews, observations and document analysis to obtain data from different sources relevant to the study (Patton, 1990, Bryman, 2004). The main arenas for data collection were at five different schools, where I mainly interviewed, but also made observations. I talked to teachers and head teachers, however also children with special educational needs. Also during my fieldwork I was also fortunate to obtain two interviews at the Ministry of Education, as well as academic officers and other representatives from the districts educational offices. Essential data was also collected at the Tanzania Education Network and Patande Special Needs Teacher College. A complete list of informants and samples are presented above in section 3.1.

5.2 Summary of findings

In the first section of the data analysis[14] I presented interviews from various identified stakeholders in three schools that were involved in inclusive education. The analysis implies that the understanding of inclusive education among the school staff varied in the three schools. Especially at school 4 in the sample, the uncertainty of the concept was prevalent. However, most of the staff I interviewed in all the three schools expressed a clearer understanding of inclusive education, which also partly corresponds with my understanding of inclusive education spelled out at the end of chapter 2. However, my findings indicate that the understanding of inclusive education among the staff, parents and school committee was often

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[14] The presentation of the findings in chapter 4 will also be referred to as the analysis or data analysis in this current chapter.

merely connected with the provision of education for children with disabilities, more than the actual individual academic preparations and participative peer activities in the classrooms. Further, the analysis suggests that the various stakeholders had a positive view of inclusive education. However, there was not an entire consensus on this issue. At school 4 for example, some of the respondents claimed that special schools would benefit children with disabilities more.

Two of the schools I visited were part of a Governmental programme on inclusive education, which was initiated in 1997. According to the staff and the district office the training provided by the Government had ended around 2003-04. The analysis show that school 3, compared to school 4 had made a greater effort, such as internal training and knowledge exchange, to substitute this training. In my opinion the program seemed to have partly stagnated in school 4. At school 1, where the inclusive education project was initiated in 2005, the analysis indicates that the group of teachers who had gotten training was pleased. However, longer training hours and training of more teachers was according to them a precondition to improve the inclusive practices at their school.

5.2.1 Goals, barriers and achievements

The analysis reveals that the goals expressed by the stakeholders interviewed in the three schools were different. For example at school 1, the effort made to create community awareness of the inclusive project had been a prioritised goal. Conversely, at school 3 the analysis suggests that community awareness was not a goal in focus. Further the analysis indicates that goals such as improving the academic and social skills of the children with disabilities were deemed important, especially in schools 1 and 3. Improving the schools infrastructure in order to make a more accessible environment was another goal mentioned in schools 1 and 3. Teachers in school 1 also had an important goal of improving their own knowledge about teaching aid materials, such as skills in sign language.

The analysis shows that the three schools faced many of the same barriers. Lack of resources such as teaching aids and books together with an inadequate teacher/pupil ratio was mentioned in all schools as obstacles. But also lack of transport for children needing

assistance to and from school, proper in-school meals and too little training among the staff was pointed out as barriers by stakeholders of the three schools in the analysis.

The analysis implies that achievements were made at different levels in the three schools. At school 1 the analysis suggests that the effort made to increase the knowledge of inclusive education in the surrounding communities had been very successful. However in school 3 analysis indicate that schools had come far in creating acceptance among all peers in the classroom. The analysis also implies that the parents with children with disabilities were content about their children going to a mainstream school and improving their academic skills. The analysis importantly and finally suggests that the children with special needs were happy as pupils in the school.

5.2.2 Schools 2 and 5

The analysis indicates that there were remarkable differences in the two schools not part of an organised inclusive educational program, but had units for children with disabilities. At school 5, the analysis suggests that there were reluctance to the idea of inclusive education. The analysis point out that *1)* too few teachers with competence in special needs, *2)* a perception of higher academic outcome for children with disabilities in special schools and *3)* disturbance in the classrooms were factors contributing to the lack of enthusiasm for an inclusive school among the stakeholders I spoke to. On the other hand the analysis implies that in school 2, inclusion to mainstream classes from the school's unit had already taken place. The analysis indicate that ST2 and HT2 were very positive to inclusive education, however the analysis further suggests that better preparation were necessary in order to create a fully inclusive school.

5.2.3 Special Needs Unit and the Department of Primary Education

The analysis indicates that M1 at the Special Needs Unit had a positive and enthusiastic view of inclusive education, seeing it as the best way of providing education for children with disabilities. The analysis points to that the Ministry had currently managed to implement the inclusive education program to about 140 schools all over the country. The analysis further indicates some positive achievements mentioned by M1, first that inclusive education would be incorporated in the Teachers College curriculum and secondly that Special Needs Education would shortly be offered as courses at two Universities. The analysis also implies

that the response about barriers and achievements towards inclusion by the two representatives were surprisingly different and even contradicting. The analysis suggests for example that the issue of increasing the enrolment rate of children with disabilities was seen as a main challenge by M1; however M2 perceived this as an achieved goal.

5.2.4 Tanzania Education Network

The analysis implies that Tanzania Education Network have increased their focus on inclusive education since 2005. The analysis point out that the Network now attempts to view disability through the social model, rather than the traditional medical/therapeutic model. In addition the analysis indicates that the Tanzania Education Network is currently working with inclusive education in various ways: 1) through establishing an inclusive education network, 2) by developing a new index for inclusion and 3) working on guidelines for inclusion in collaboration with the Government.

The analysis indicates that the Network perceives the development of inclusive education in Tanzania as none existing or partly. Partly because they perceive e.g. the TAMH project as a positive innovation towards inclusion. On the other hand, the analysis suggests that the Governmental initiated program have not developed and the tools that is used in the program are not relevant in a Tanzanian context.

5.2.5 Observations

The analysis of the observations made in the various classrooms revealed both negative and positive aspects of inclusive education in the sample schools. In some classrooms the analysis suggests a positive peer to peer and teacher/pupil interaction. However, most prevalent in all classrooms that were observed was the lack of an assistant teacher and preferably a special needs educated teacher. The analysis further implies that fundamental resources such as books, and necessary teaching aids for the children with disabilities were not available. However, the analysis also shows that in some classrooms the teacher had improvised teaching aids.

In the following section I will discuss my findings with references to the theoretical framework in chapter 2, international policy papers referred to in chapter 1, the research questions and Mmbaga's' study found in chapter 2.

5.3 Discussion

5.3.1 The impact of national policy documents

How has inclusive education developed at the primary school level in Tanzania? I will argue that attacking the question from different angels, one may also reach different conclusions. This study has attempted to approach the question in different ways in order reach its own conclusion. One approach which may indicate to what degree inclusive education has developed in Tanzania is to investigate the coherence between national policy documents and the international policy documents, which has been ratified by the Tanzanian Government. According to my investigation of the national policy documents referred to in this study, there is only one document, which indicates accordance with international documents with respect to inclusive education. This accordance is found in the National Policy of Disability (2004), which declares that the Government has a responsibility to help children with disabilities by providing inclusive education. However, all of the other national policy documents accounted for in this study, deal with inclusive education implicitly compared to for example the explicit statements expressed through the Salamanca Framework for Action (UNESCO, 1994). In the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) (2001), which is a document that portrays political goals and strategies in the primary education sector in Tanzania, as well as in the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (2000), access to education for all is stated as a goal (GoURT, 2000). Nonetheless, neither of the documents point out inclusion in schools as a strategy to reach this goal. In general this suggests that the Government have made little effort to respond properly to the international policy documents they are signatory to, which clearly states inclusive education to have a key role in achieving the Education For All and Millennium Development goals. Apart from this it is in my opinion important to utilise national policy documents to spell out the Governments' strategies and views on inclusive education for two reasons: Firstly, because the Government has inclusive projects all over the country, which was already initiated at the time when both of the mentioned policy documents were released. Secondly, local politicians and other officials use these national documents as

references in their own decision making processes. In the capabilities approach, Nussbaum (2006) stresses the point of individualised education to be an important step to obtain a greater social justice for children with disabilities, but also children without disabilities. Thus, I will argue that emphasising inclusive education more precisely in national policy documents, especially the ones regarding rights and education would benefit *all* children in the primary schools of Tanzania. The notion of individualised education is supported by Mmbaga's in her study "Dream or reality" (2002), she suggests that "education for all" must be redefined and focus more on fruitful individual learning than merely average student achievements and enrolments rates. To achieve this, the policy documents must be readdressed (Mmbaga, 2002).

The lack of elaborating on inclusive education through central policy documents may effect how people who read these documents view inclusive education. For instance DEO2 and HT2 in the sample expressed that inclusive education was now not an option in their region. According to my findings they expressed that units or special schools for children with disabilities would be beneficial for various reasons. However, if it was clearly stated in the policy documents that inclusive education is part of the Governments educational strategy, I will argue that their views could have been influenced by it, and subsequently they could have started to experiment with inclusive practices in school 2. This brings me to another point. According to my findings, school 5 in the sample had on their own initiated inclusive practices, in my opinion this is a consequence of having many special educated teachers in their staff. This can tell us that increasing the institutions that offer a degree in special needs education, may contribute to more inclusive practices in the schools, also the ones which are currently not involved in any inclusive programs which is the situation in school 5. Optimistically my findings point to that the Government is now planning to increase the number of institutions, which offer special needs education. Also the curriculum in teachers colleges will according to M1 in the sample be revised to incorporate subjects dealing with inclusive education. These are positive steps, which in my view could greatly strengthen the Governments current inclusive education program. However to proceed with these actions and other initiatives towards a more inclusive school, the different departments within the Government must have a common understanding of the complex implications related to inclusive education. This concern came to me as M1 and M2 seemed, according to my findings, to have different perceptions of how inclusive education was progressing in

Tanzania, which further suggests that a lack of knowledge on the issue exist among government officials.

5.3.2 Positive tendencies towards successful inclusive education

Another approach that may give an idea of the development of inclusive education in the primary school in Tanzania is how the stakeholders identified in this study responded and reacted to the concept of inclusive education. There were both positive and negative views, attitudes and reactions to inclusive education that is reflected through the interviews and observations conducted in this study. However, the majority of the respondents in the study expressed positive attitudes towards the concept. At school 1 in the sample for example, the parents expressed that they were very happy that their children now could attend school and learn. The high number of children with disabilities that had enrolled the school, as a result of the inclusive program, was according to SC1a and HT1 a consequence of successful effort to create awareness about the program in the surrounding communities. Can this measure the development of inclusive education? The goal to provide all with education has been repeated as an objective in several of the national policy documents accounted for in chapter 4. This goal is also central in all the international documents, which Tanzania has approved. Moreover, emphasise of the importance of this objective can be made in light of the capabilities approach. The capabilities approach states that "being able to use the senses, to imagine, think and reason, and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated *by an adequate education" (individualised)* is a basic human right, and is even perceived by Nussbaum, as a minimum threshold to live a dignified human life (Nussbaum, 2006:64). Anyhow, enrolment rates itself can not measure the development of inclusive education at school 1. But, in light of my understanding of inclusive education, I will argue that it is an indicator that at least shows progress towards inclusion.

Befring stresses the heterogeneous society through his Enrichment Perspective (2001). The tendencies towards more heterogeneous school environments are evident in this study, the findings for example suggests that in school 3, pupils were accepting the children with disabilities, playing with them and helping them. Such heterogeneous settings in school may according to the Enrichment Perspective not only have positive effect on the pupils, but also their parents and communities benefit from it. I experienced this positive synergy in school 1, where I met parents who had children with disabilities who were enrolled. In accordance with

the findings, my impression was that they now felt lesser shame of their children's impairments, and that the communities were increasingly tolerant and accepting towards their situation.

5.3.3 What halts the development of inclusive education in the Tanzanian primary school?

In light of the findings in this study, there are various obstacles that halt the development of inclusive education. In a global context Tanzania is considered to be a developing country, and many of its citizens live in poverty. I have argued in this study that one of the most vulnerable groups to experience poverty is persons with disabilities. It is also suggested that poverty itself may cause disability (Elwan, 1999, DFID, 2000). Poor nutrition, accidents and limited access to health and vaccination programs are common causes to disability (DFID, 2000). Moreover, societal changes resulting from globalisation, cost-sharing and structural programs have led many persons with disabilities into isolated and poor lives (DFID, 2007). Nussbaum (2006) describes the today's interdependent global situation, where the gap between poor and rich nations is increasing, as morally alarming. Especially individuals who are born into a life with poor pre conditions, as for example a disabled person in Tanzania are more likely to live undignified lives. Nussbaum claim that to reach global justice, and diminish the inequalities around the world, one must focus on what all human beings needs, to live a "richly" human life. To reach the goal of social justice, Nussbaum have developed a list of *ten basic entitlements,* which counts for all people, in contrast to utilitarian or social contract thinking, which in different ways excludes someone, and therefore can be seen as a threat to social justice. Nussbaum argues that it is mainly an institutional responsibility to secure these entitlements. The Government in Tanzania has therefore in my view the greatest responsibility in Tanzania to secure these basic entitlements. To be provided with adequate education, which Nussbaum argues to be provided best for in an inclusive setting, based on individualised learning, which entail what a child can do or be, is part of filling the list of basic entitlements (Nussbaum, 2006). The inclusive school in Tanzania and its development stands before immense challenges. In light of the findings presented in this study, I have listed below what I perceive to be main challenges.

- Too few qualified teachers
- Lack of in-service training

- Too many pupils per teacher, often more than a1/50 ratio
- Lack of participatory learning and suiting classroom infrastructure
- Lack of teaching material and teaching aids
- Lack of other resources, like proper food and transport
- Poor sanitation systems
- Scarcely classroom and school facilities
- Sceptical attitudes
- Imprecise policies

For several reasons Tanzania is a poor country, and can be argued to be a direct reason of why too little money and resources is allocated to schools and educational programs, which subsequently causes several of the above mentioned challenges to inclusive education and its development. That lack of several resources is a hinder to the development of inclusive education is clear, but as noted in chapter 1 by Stubbs (2002) it needs not necessarily to be a restriction to the development of inclusive education. Moreover, attitudinal issues concerning inclusion of persons with disabilities perhaps stand as a greater challenge (Stubbs, 2002) which also is indicated in the findings of this study.

Negative attitudes as listed above are another challenge to inclusion. In five of the interviews different informants expressed that parents tend to keep children with disabilities away from the public sphere, such as schools. There are though according the findings different opinions of why this is done. The findings suggests that many believe it is because of the shame associated with having a child with disability, and also the fact that parents perceive their "impaired" child as non-contributively and subsequently a burden to the family. However, as noted by R1 in the sample there may be another reason. He states that in many cases the parents do not want to send their child to school, because the schools can not deliver proper care for the child. This can also be understood in light of Mmbaga's (2002) findings, which suggest that teachers, as well as peers of children with disabilities marginalise these children and hinder their participation in the classroom activities. By looking at two of Befring's (2001) four notions which the Enrichment Perspective is based on, suggesting that 1) all human beings have learned something that can be the foundation for further learning and 2) future learning is based on past learning, I would argue that either way, attitudinal barriers could be minimised if parents, teachers or peers would focus away from the weaknesses of

each other and rather focus on the resources of the child, the parents or the school, and start taking advantages of each others knowledge and experiences.

5.3.4 Final remarks in light of Nussbaum's principles

Through various international declarations and in various national policy documents accounted for in chapter 1 and 4 in this study, the Tanzanian Government has committed itself to take steps in order to meet some of the educational challenges, and with regards to the topic of this study, challenges connected with the provision of education to persons with disability. Education is argued to be particularly important because it plays a key role to economic growth in a country (Inclusion International, 2006), which subsequently may lead to an increased standard of living among the population and lift more people above the line of poverty (GoURT, 2007). The capabilities approach presented in chapter 2 is a political philosophical approach on social justice. The approach is relevant to this study because of its focus on increased social justice to persons with disabilities. Nussbaum have suggested a list which determines a threshold of basic rights in which all human beings must reach to obtain a just and dignified life. The list is referred to by Nussbaum (2006) as "the central human capabilities". In the capabilities approach Nussbaum (2006) have also listed ten principles that can be helpful when thinking about how these central human capabilities, including the provision of basic education, can be promoted in a world of inequalities and for disadvantaged groups, such as persons with disabilities. Four of these principles seem relevant to this study as argued in chapter 2. Principle 10 suggests that institutions and individuals have a great responsibility in every nation to provide or support the provision of education for disadvantaged groups, such as persons with disabilities (Nussbaum, 2006). According to the findings of this study, the Government which naturally is one of the most central institutional bodies in Tanzania has set a perspective based on the national and international policy documents, and made efforts to reach the goal of providing basic education for *all* children as stated explicitly in these various documents. The inclusive education programme organised by Government accounted for in chapter 4 is a sign of this effort. However, the current programme on inclusive education is at a very early stage in Tanzania, and as indicated in the findings of this study the development of the inclusive school has had a slow progress, and have even partly stagnated in schools where programmes was first initiated. Two reasons for this may be that there is still a main focus on enrolling non-disabled children into primary school before marginalised groups, such as children with disabilities, and that the state of

poverty which Tanzania currently are in hinders, in different ways, a faster development of the inclusive school. The Government has in my view the greatest responsibility to change this.

In all nations the Government will have a great responsibility in issues concerning the well being of its people. However, Nussbaum (2006) point out that almost all people in a country has the responsibility to obtain social justice for disadvantaged groups. In an educational context this is shown through principle 10 as stated above, and more generally in principle 8, which states that "all institutions and (most) individuals should focus on the problems of the disadvantaged in each nation and region" (Nussbaum, 2006:322). I will argue based on my findings that there are positive trends where both institutions such as TENMET, and individuals such as the special educated teachers in school 2 has taken responsibility and have achieved goals which goes in the direction of including children with disabilities into schools and their respective communities. Moreover, Nussbaum also suggests in principle 5 and 8 that a great responsibility rests on the shoulders of the global community. In principle 8 Nussbaum states that "care for the ill, elderly, children and the disabled should be a prominent focus of the world community". Vast initiatives like the Salamanca Statement (1994), and smaller charity projects like NFU's involvement in the inclusive project at school 1 in the sample of this study, are examples of how the world community take responsibility and show care for persons with disability. However, if I turn back to the discussion at the end of section 2.2, Nussbaum (2006) claims that social justice can only be achieved if the involved parts are part of the "contracting groups". In other words all voices have to be heard, even if the project is of a charitable character if social justice is to be obtained. In order to achieve this I believe that Nussbaum's principle 5 is essential. Principle 5 states that "the main structures of global economic order must be designed to be fair to poor and developing countries" (Nussbaum, 2006:322). Sen (2002) supports this principle, claiming that a reform within global institutional arrangements is urgently needed to change the trend of contemporary global capitalism that tend to give the poor across the world such limited opportunities. If such reforms are achieved I will optimistically argue that equal rights to education for persons with disabilities stand a chance to become a reality.

5.4 Recommendations

As pointed out earlier in this study, a great deal of responsibility regarding the development of inclusive education in Tanzania rests on the shoulders of the Government. Today there are no policy documents on inclusive education in Tanzania. However, the study indicates that such a policy is under development. Anyhow, the Government should give a higher priority and show more commitment to the task of finalising this document. Also other existing relevant policy documents should be re-addressed in order to declare inclusive education as a government strategy for achieving the Education For All objectives.

The government would be well advised to involve Networks like TENMET, which are referred to in this study. They should have an important role in these policy developing processes, firstly because the network communicate the voices of many people, and secondly because they represent relevant knowledge through academic research.

It is positive as M1 in the sample reveals in this study, that the Government will offer degrees in special education in three additional institutions. Evidently there were too few teachers who were educated in special needs pedagogic in all schools I visited. The lack of teachers obtaining degrees in special needs pedagogic is crucial to the development of inclusive education in Tanzania. For that reason the Government should increase the numbers of institutions offering such degrees as fast as possible.

The study indicates that Patande Special Needs Teacher College uses segregated units for the practical part of the degrees offered there. The practical period offered to the students at Patande and in any future college offering special needs education should be in more inclusive settings. Also it is important to fast forward the implementation of inclusive education in the ordinary teacher's education curriculum.

The Government should show more commitment to schools enrolled in the inclusive education program before they expand the program to include even more schools. Better feedback procedures and follow up seminars are important. Also as pointed out by R2 in the sample, the Government must consider the tools (resource pack) used in the program and preferably develop tools which are more relevant in a Tanzanian context.

At schools where inclusive program already exists, it is important that they are internally active in their further strive towards inclusion. The school leadership, in cooperation with the District Education Offices could organise more in-service seminars where experiences may be shared and knowledge gained. The teachers can also take more responsibility themselves by being self educative, for example getting hold of free material on inclusive education, and discuss experiences with each other can be smart in order to learn more and also feel more secure in the job. In lack of teaching aids, teachers could make an effort to use their creativity and find alternative solutions, for example in one school I visited during my pilot testing a teacher had made braille letters out of carton and nails. Peers can also be useful assistants; teachers are well advised to inspire the children to help each other. At last, all teachers and school staff should be well informed about what inclusive education is, preferably prior to its implementation.

5.5 Recommendations for further studies

As this study indicates, there are signs of stagnation in the Government's inclusive education program. Therefore a study which evaluates the program up to this stage would in my view be important for the development of the program, and subsequently the development of inclusive education in Tanzania.

This study, in accordance with Befring (2001) suggests that inclusive education has a synergetic positive impact on the respect, tolerance, understanding and acceptance towards persons with disabilities. Thus a large scale study of what effect an inclusive school has in the communities and the society at large, based on the mentioned parameters could be very interesting. This study may be expanded to also include a comparative look at communities which are not connected to any inclusive schools.

Furthermore, an in depth study employing qualitative methods investigating the lives of persons with disabilities and their families could also prove rewarding. Such a study could provide useful insight to the lives of these people whose children have been provided with education in an inclusive setting, compared to those who have been provided education through segregate schools and those who have not been provided with education at all.

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Appendices

Appendix #1 – Interview questions

The interview questions are based on the research questions, and were used in all the schools, the district education offices and at the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

- *What is your understanding of the concept inclusive education?*
- *What are your main goals towards inclusive education?*
- *What do you perceive as the main obstacles to accomplish the intended goals?*
- *To what extent have the goals achieved?*
- *What practical activities have been initiated to make an advance towards an inclusive school?*
- *To what extent has practical activities been achieved and what challenges are there which hinders these activities?*
- *What is planned in order to move forward and improve the way towards inclusive education*?

Appendix #2 - Observation scheme

The observation scheme was used as a guide in all the schools listed in the sample

Outside environment

- Schoolyard condition, tracks etc.
- Illustrations on the walls
- Ramps to the building
- Sanitation facilities
- Other facilities

Classroom observation

- Environment-Blackboard, illustrations, maps, table and chairs, windows
- Number of pupils
- Special needs student seating (in the front, at the back?)
- Peer to peer interaction (children with special needs)
- Teacher / student with special needs interaction
- Learning materials
- Teaching aids availability and the use of teaching aids