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BECOMING INCLUSIVE: A DELEUZOGUATTARIAN VIEW OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION POLICY STRUGGLES IN KENYAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on a study into the tensions and struggles between written government policy on inclusion and the reality of living and lived policy in Kenya, taking the experiences of a primary school's attempt to become inclusive as its primary focus. The methodology builds on the metaphorical concepts of a 'rhizome', 'tree', 'line*s* of flight' and 'becoming' as they are espoused by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) in their philosophical writings in the book, *A thousand plateaus*. The contrast between the rhizome and the tree provides the basis for the critique of 'methodolatory' (Chamberlain, 2000: 287) and creates spaces for creative imagination in conducting inclusive research.

The thesis advances a view of IE as a becoming, and draws upon the 'philosophies of difference' to offer new lenses for thinking and acting inclusively within schools (Allan, 2008). Through a rhizoanalytic approach, the relations and connections between written and lived policy are explored in order to consider what sort of educational spaces might be worthy of the inclusion of children and adults. The thesis also examines the wider contexts within which exclusive tendencies are harboured.

Besides the surface view of inclusive education, participant accounts and conceptualisations imply that there is an invisible view of IE which is informed by a much more complex set of understandings. Therefore, teachers in their attempts to teach inclusively are often caught up in these complexities and disciplinary power networks which can be understood if they work closely with policy officials.

The central recommendation of this study is that, there is need for policy officials to engage more deeply with teachers in order to understand their actual experiences. In this way, policy changes can begin to reflect school practices and capture the issues that teachers regard as priorities for promoting inclusive initiatives. This view suggests a change to a bottom-up and rhizomatic approach in the way policy is made and implemented because teachers had a feeling of being left out in making decisions that affect their work. To address issues of inequality, ethnicity should form part of future research in order to create different ways of tackling institutional exclusions and build foundations for citizenship and social cohesion.

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DEDICATION

To my sister Sabina Wanza, grandparents Mr & Mrs Nyagaka, Mr and Mrs Kitau.

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ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ALD	Additional Learning Difficulties
BEd	Bachelor of Education
BWOs	Body without Organs
DRPI	Disability Rights Promotion International
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EFA	Education For All
FOI	Freedom Of Information
FPE	Free Primary Education
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IE	Inclusive Education
KCPE	Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education
KESSP	Kenya Education Sector Support Programme
LD	Learning Disability
MEd	Master of Education
MOEST	Ministry Of Education Science and Technology
MSc	Master of Science
NCST	National Council for Science and Technology
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SEN	Special Education Needs
SNE	Special Needs Education
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UN	United Nations
US	United States

PREFACE

My experience of teaching in Kenyan primary and secondary schools has instilled in me an acknowledgement of the general difficulties students face in schools. However, my becoming thinking began to tilt towards a more inclusive approach to education following my discovery of an abandoned group of pupils. The discovery happened over a three-month placement period in a residential school for deaf pupils in Kenya as part of a research project for my undergraduate degree. The group of pupils confided that they felt unwanted by their parents who often chose not collect them at the end of school terms. As a result, their school had turned into their home and they would spend holidays there. At times when parents were coerced to pick them, the pupils faced a difficult life of having to remain indoors and hardly intermingled with peers as they were considered a shame to their families.

While the above encounter was an isolated case, the possibility of other untold similar conditions of livelihood, cannot be ignored. This rests on the view that, in a society where certain individuals have limited learning and work opportunities, the ordinary population is likely to treat them as less equal and of less economic importance. Furthermore, as Banks (2008) argues, if being a citizen revolves around just being within the nation and not being involved in the *social, political, and civil* processes within that nation, then it may 'result in the treatment of some groups as second-class citizens because [their] group rights are not recognized' or exercised (p. 131). However, if education is premised on an inclusive foundation, then it may become possible for all to learn to live together and appreciate each other's difference.

In pursuit of my becoming intrinsic desire for developing my skills further, I have an aspiration to continue engaging with research within schools with a view of stimulating dialogue and policy formulation that would make learning more fun and inclusive. In the process, I hope to build a strong foundation for inclusive education and 'difference' advocacy in order to promote social justice and inclusion in society. Part of my aspirations, I believe, can be achieved by doing research in schools in order to understand and engage with underlying exclusionary forces especially using philosophies of difference. A Deleuzoguattarian approach is thus seen as one such fruitful way of engaging in exploratory studies because it is laden with philosophical thought. Such thought has the potential to challenge taken for granted assumptions about learning and instead can invoke new possibilities of thinking about inclusive education struggles.

Born in Kenya, I graduated from Maseno University (Kenya) with a BEd (maths and Special Education) in 2000. In 2005, I won a prestigious British Chevening Scholarship to pursue an MEd in Special and Inclusive Education at The University of Manchester (UK) and later an MSc in Educational Research at the same university in 2008. At the end of the MSc, I was awarded a full three-year research studentship to pursue a PhD at the University of Winchester.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1: Introductory [dis]orientation

The aim of this introduction is to highlight my research project and to incorporate a glimpse into inclusive education and the theoretical influences that are part of an overview of the research problem. It also offers an account of preliminary experiences and the interplay between the self in the research as a prelude to the details of the literature review and the methodological perspectives taken. In the process, the centrality of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) ideas in their book *A Thousand Plateaus* is exposed and the struggle I took to incorporate their 'philosophy of difference' in my research in an attempt to forge new possibilities and ways of thinking about inclusive education (Allan, 2008). Throughout the chapter, the purpose of the research is revisited with particular ideas tending to re-appear in subsequent sections and chapters. Contrary to the view that such a tendency for ideas to 'cycle back' is repetitious, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) would see it as 'refrain' (p. xv). This serves the purpose of re-emphasizing the research problem as well as heightening the interplay between concepts to produce some rhythmic melody in the assemblage.

The concluding section outlines the arguments contained in the subsequent chapters of the thesis. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that arguments raised are a true or accurate representation of Deleuze and Guattari's work because 'no such representation exists or is possible' due to their multiplicity of interpretation (Scheurich and McKenzie, 2005: 841). From such a multiplicity of views therefore, my application of Deleuze and Guattari and other allied philosophers might thus be conceived as 'messy, ruptured, often erroneous, broken, discontinuous, originless, and fabricated or even a falsification' (ibid: 841). Therefore, in this thesis, I attempt to engage in an experimental adventure taking a line of flight as my endeavour to create new ways of looking at inclusive education (IE).

1.1.1: Inclusive education at a glance

Although inclusive education (IE) began in the US and Europe as a special education initiative on behalf of students with disabilities, it has gained unprecedented popularity and taken on global dimensions over recent years (Ferguson, 2008; Booth, 1999). This popularity, born out of the need to promote justice and provide education from a human rights perspective is an indicator of human rights violations and a lack of equal opportunities in accessing education (Vlachou, 2004). Through the facilitation by international declarations, statements and conventions (e.g. UN, 1989; UNESCO, 1994, 2000, 2005) and subsequent commitment by several governments, many countries have placed its policy high on their

agendas and diversified its scope to other categories of children (Mitler, 2000). However, due to several controversies and challenges surrounding it, limited progress has been reported to date (Ainscow *et al., 2000).* Although a signatory to international policy declarations on inclusion, Kenya has seen little re-structuring and policy changes to accommodate an inclusive philosophy. Nevertheless, the government in its attempt to provide basic education as a human right introduced compulsory free primary education in 2003 which led to an estimated 1.5 million out-of-school children joining schools (MOEST, 2003–2008). Subsequently, the government laid out a new policy framework in Sessional Paper Number One of 2005 (MOEST, 2005) stipulating the need for IE provision in schools.

Nevertheless, the routes taken to promote the practice have been fraught with complexity especially because of the fragmented IE policy climate within which the country operates in addition to the inconsistencies and limitations identified by the government (MOEST, 2005). Thus, in order to understand the policy tensions and struggles schools go through in their attempts to become inclusive, this thesis explores such struggles through the case study of Hope Primary School, thereafter referred to as Hope School (a pseudonym). International perspectives and the global dimensions taken indicate contradictions both in policy and practice. As a result, it is common for struggles to ensue in the absence of clear definitions of what IE is meant to achieve and the underlying processes. Therefore, I approached the study by looking at the tensions between written IE policy and the reality of living in schools – the lived policy (Clough, 1998a). Such tensions were explored from the resourcefulness of an open policy on admission and the banning of corporal punishment within the climate of the Kenyan government's push for academic standards.

1.1.2: Philosophical and intrinsic motivation

My intrinsic motivation for this project dates back to my earlier years as a maths teacher in a school for deaf children in Kenya. I had observed the various struggles children faced in accessing the curriculum due to communication barriers and wondered how such pupils could benefit by learning in similar settings with hearing counterparts. However, following the impetus set by the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action (UNESCO, 1994), and continued efforts by the government to sensitize teachers on the importance of inclusion, I had a strong conviction that inclusion was the answer. Although my views about inclusion have been diversified since then, my initial intention for studying IE in the UK was to equip myself with a set of solutions to the problems schools were experiencing in order to make

them more inclusive. Following an initial attempt to understand how policy works and the realisation of its complexity in practice through my MSc. project (Kioko, 2008); I began to think deeply about policy and practice. However, since policy is made at all levels, (Fulcher, 1989), my aim was not to find the problems and the associated solutions, but to understand the tensions and struggles between the desire to impose order (through government policy) and the reality of living in schools.

As an exploratory study, I worked within areas of inquiry that would boost my chances of exploring and relating issues to my research objectives:

1. To explore and examine tensions between the potential and reality of inclusive education (IE) in Kenyan primary schools.
2. To investigate the tensions between the conceptualizations of IE among the stakeholders and lived policy.
3. To analyze how teachers and pupils experience these tensions and the processes of inclusion and exclusion.
4. To provide insights and possibilities on the formulation of a comprehensive IE policy framework in Kenya.

In advancing my arguments, theoretical concepts about the rhizome, lines of flight and becoming as espoused by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) in their philosophical writings influenced my thought. Despite an overview of these concepts having been provided in this introduction, a more comprehensive discussion has been incorporated in Chapter Three (see section 3.1). Within this experimentation, my intention was to unpack the concepts as I contemplated how they would work following what Deleuze (1995; pp. 7–8) calls, treating a book like ‘a non-signifying machine’ and then asking the question, ‘does it work, and how does it work?’ for you. Therefore, rather than engage with concepts with a view to identifying the correct meanings, I was more concerned with what they meant to me and what use I could make of them.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) use the rhizome as a model of thought that contrasts hierarchy and an arborescent tree-like structure in favour of a chaotic, multiple-connected structure. An arborescent system of thought support dichotomy in which an idea develops by branching into ones which are identifiable from the branches they emanate from. In describing the structure of a tree, they offer one form of knowledge conception which is

represented as arborescent and hierarchical. To critique this dominant structural approach to thought (the tree logic), they illustrate how a binary logic proceeds from the roots, trunk, branches and leaves in fixed linearity. Instead, they propose a new understanding building on the structure and functioning of a rhizome which proceeds horizontally, making ceaseless connections. Unlike trees which have identifiable structures, rhizomes lack beginnings or ends and have the ability to connect in ways that are chaotic and seemingly impossible. The rhizome grows horizontally (not necessarily in a hierarchical manner) and has the capacity to rapture and sprout differently following lines of flight (ibid.; p. 10).

A 'rhizome always connects to something else; rhizomes are heterogeneous not dichotomous; they are made up of a multiplicity of lines that extend in all directions' (Goodley, 2007b; p. 324). As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) say, rhizomes operate from the middle because this is where things pick up speed. This particular concept finds much use especially in the analysis of findings because schools have a range of practices which are connected and related. Thus, to understand a particular practice, it is necessary to draw a map of the various connected elements. Mapping out these connections involves following different lines of flight because unlike a tree, a rhizome has no points like those found in a structure. 'They are not models but maps with multiple entryways' which 'are in the milieu' (Goodley, 2007b; p. 324). This implies that there are a range of possibilities which can emerge from research findings depending on the extent to which the researcher is able to find practices or influences that are related. Thinking and acting as a rhizome opens up a range of abstract lines whose connection can be said to constitute a multiplicity. Rhizomatic thought is therefore seen as wandering, looking for new possibilities and thus comparable to a 'nomad' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 26).

While the application of these philosophical concepts is wide, it can be useful in thinking about the binaries commonly found in schools especially for categorising children (normal/abnormal; able/disabled). Instead, a rhizomatic model, according to Roy (2003) cited in Allan (2008; p. 60), 'releases us from the false bondage of linear relationships', allowing for new possibilities of thinking and acting. In order to facilitate the growth of a rhizome, lines of flight enter into relations with new multiplicities through a process of becoming; a never ending process of establishing unlimited connections and new forms of subjectivity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

Therefore, inclusion is compared to a process of becoming rather than seeing binaries of children alongside lines of segmentation and rigidity, they are seen as unique beings in a

state of becoming (Goodley, 2007a). Moreover, rather than seeing children as ‘unable’, ‘deviant’ and ‘impaired’, becoming challenges the ‘marketized product of being’ (Goodley, 2007b; p. 325). Consequently, if strategies to include children in learning overcome mentalities of fixation, new forms of learning that are inclusive can emerge. However, such a rhizomatic way of thinking is possible if people desire to move beyond what is fixed in search for novelty. Other concepts such as ‘striated and smooth space’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: xiii) have also been applied in advancing arguments about policy and practice. Written government policy is compared to a ‘striated space’ that is clearly demarcated whereas the continuum of school practices, the lived policy, is comparable to smooth spaces. ‘In a smooth space, one occupies without counting whereas in a striated space, one counts in order to occupy’ (ibid.; p. 477).

In simplistic terms, I see lines of flight as spaces of action. This view permits a definition of the spaces (striated and smooth) in terms of how they permit freedom of action. From this perspective therefore, a striated space is restrictive whereas the opposite is true. In other words, a *smooth space* is an unrestricted space of action which accords freedom to the actor. For instance, nomads are able to move freely in grasslands searching for new pastures. On the other hand, a *striated space* is demarcated and enclosed with boundaries and limited movement. Using the same example of nomads, it would be difficult or impossible to move from one space to the other because of the restrictions a striated space imposes. A *line of flight* is the creative aspect of individuals in their attempts to escape from the limitations of fixed (striated) space in order to release their imaginations. In other words, it is an escape route. For instance the use of rhizoanalysis was considered to be a new approach of dealing with research findings.

Given the new theoretical influence, it was not surprising that there were limited documented policy guideline on how ‘to do’ inclusion. This led to an appreciation of the intertexuality (i.e. a document may have a series of other documents that ought to be read together to understand them) of documents (Harper, 2000). This fragmented and sometimes ‘silent’ nature of education policy meant that I had to diversify my policy focus to the resourcefulness of policy (see Chapter Two, section 2.4.4) in promoting inclusion in other documents like the Children’s Act 2001 which banned corporal punishment. This was partly influenced by my shift in thinking from a structured mind to ‘rhizomatic thought’ following the new philosophical insight. Thus, my approach did not involve a detailed analysis of policy documents with a view to understanding the challenges and associated solutions as

earlier anticipated. Instead, the focus shifted to the rhizomatic relations between the desire to promote inclusion and the reality of school practices; the 'lived' policy through a 'Deleuzoguattarian' lens (I have used Deleuzoguattarian interchangeably with Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) philosophy). Through a rhizoanalytic approach coined from the metaphorical concept of a rhizome, I intended to analyze the connections between written and lived policies (see Chapter Three section 3.3.3 for details). In this endeavour, it was anticipated that new possibilities of thinking and understanding about their struggles in schools would be created. Besides, it would also give an indication as to why the 'repetition of exclusion' in policy documents has become unavoidable (Allan, 2008; see also section 2.3.3). Therefore, the struggle for inclusion was seen as a struggle from the middle because it works from within the context of regular education policy initiatives. Such a position would stimulate my thought to position myself within the middle ground in order to enhance my ability to follow and map out connections. Throughout the thesis, I made attempts to reposition my thoughts in the middle in order to understand the struggles as a becoming researcher. As part of developing the research agenda further, the following section gives a glimpse of the preliminary experiences which exposed my becoming struggle to get to the middle ground.

1.1.3: Struggling to get to the middle ground

Following my solution-based approach in the teaching of mathematics; my thinking had become structured, like a tree with a predictable tracing of my research journey. Besides, experiences from my university studies following specific methodological approaches had reinforced the idea that a tree-like journey that developed by filiations was the best approach. Nevertheless, the first attempt to cross a 'stream' of ethical procedures before embarking on field work was already a struggle. There was even an inevitable methodological river full of rapids that I had to cross, with care, otherwise I risked drowning.

My mind was flooded with trees and then after careful scrutiny, there emerged a different type, with rhizomatic offshoots and tubers! This was akin to the road that Frost (1951) in his famous poem *The Road not Taken* decided to follow when 'Two roads diverged in a yellow wood' (p.105). As Robert Frost describes, he could not travel both roads and decided to travel the road not taken by others, a decision that he claims made a difference. In the same way, I decided to take a different route to cross the river with the hope that it would create a new dawn and possibilities of understanding about inclusion. As a result, my journey turned out to be rhizomatic. It was a journey full of confusion, different lines of flight and

almost irretraceable (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) - (see also section 3.3.1 on gaining access in Chapter Three for a detailed account of the rhizomatic journey).

Contrary to my initial conception of following a hierarchical journey, my thinking was enriched by the metaphorical concept of a rhizome and I began to perceive my research in different light: as a block of becoming taking different lines of flight. In view of Deleuze and Parnet's (1987) argument, the most productive among all lines is a line of flight that cuts thresholds to unknown destinations. Therefore, as a desiring person, my struggle to take a line of flight was inspired by the need to contribute to new ways of understanding about the inclusion project. For instance, other than treating difference as a problem, my nomadic thought enhanced it to be seen as an opportunity for forging new possibilities of teaching and learning. Despite privileging the productivity of nomadic thought over sedentary views, it was still puzzling how to write and represent a rhizomatic world without imposing a methodology.

Nevertheless, the 'revolutionary forces of desire' kept my wings flying throughout the journey (Deleuze and Guattari, 1996: xiv), and I followed Kurt Lewin's inspiration expressed that: 'If you want to truly understand something, try to change it' or do it differently (cited in Maurer, 2006; p. 121). As part of my effort to provide a complete overview of the project, the following section provides further details of how the research agenda was developed giving a flavour of the objectives and the significance of the study.

1.1.4: Developing the agenda

In thinking about the research project, I found myself struggling how to capture peoples' realities. Many theoretical insights were available but I chose to follow Deleuzoguattarian insights because they provided a platform to experiment and acknowledge the 'chaotic' nature and the various lines of flight taken in the daily struggles of education. Furthermore, rhizomatic thought provided an insightful way of thinking about the ways in which policy texts are mediated by life to produce practice. For instance, teachers' attempts to use different practices were akin to following lines of flight in the process of making sense of their teaching lives.

In order to get a clearer picture of how this interplays with other structures within and outside the school, I found myself in a very difficult situation of having to pave the way for the space that would allow an inclusive relation with the researched. Such a becoming relation, which I attempted to establish in order to conduct inclusive research, would help to

avoid being caught up in the ‘branches of trees’ and to allow for the complexities of policy texts and realities to be explored. In this pursuit, I have therefore found myself thinking more about the processes of knowledge production and especially countering exclusionary research and moving towards inclusive research so as to provide knowledge that is likely to be useful.

My initial research focus (challenges of implementing inclusive education (IE) policy) changed after subjecting it to what Clough and Nutbrown (2007) refer to as ‘Russian doll principle’ and the ‘Goldilocks test’ (p. 37). According to these authors, the Russian doll principle involves re-sharpening the research question ‘just as a Russian doll is taken apart to reveal’ a tiny doll at the centre whereas Goldilocks is used as a metaphor for thinking about the suitability of the research question (p. 37). Besides, my initial focus was problem-solution oriented, tree like and the temptation of tracing would become inevitable which could lead to replication of known outcomes. Owing to my new conceptions and taking a new line of flight, the becoming of policy was seen to possess the power to plough the ground for rhizomes to grow.

Instead of taking a solution-based approach that builds on positivist ideas of causality and search for the ‘signifiers and signified’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:73), I committed to creating a new understanding between policy statements and the reality of practice. My purpose thus became that of asking what Slee and Allan (2008) following Foucault call ‘contingent’ rather than causal questions which do not only open up closed truths but also provide opportunities for thinking otherwise (p. 28). This approach contrasts with analysis of policy from a structural orientation in which a strong structure is believed to hold everything together and the mechanisms of their relationships can be discovered (Chia, 1999). Viewed from a critical perspective, absolute causal parities in real life can be problematic because the rhizomatic nature of lived realities is a complex phenomenon. This view, as Rajchman (2000) observes following Deleuze is an attempt to free my thinking from the ‘poisoned gift’ that ‘everything is an imitation of pure forms’ (pp. 52–53). Besides, education as a constituent part of life cannot be fully reduced to structures or defined by policies because life events follow indeterminable and unpredictable paths. Commenting on the ‘metaphysics of change’, which compares the processes taking place in schools, Chia (1999) acknowledges the existence of external fluxing reality but denies ‘the ability to accurately represent such a reality using established symbols, concepts and categories precisely because reality is ever-changing and hence resistant to description in terms of fixed categories’ (p. 210).

All representational attempts, according to this view, are forms of human abstraction emanating from our will to order (Chia, 1999). Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that my new conception is the correct way to follow but emerges from a desire to contribute to a growing research approach using rhizomatics (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). I am also wary of the fact that not all attempts to think or act differently are void of contests. In fact, 'no theory today escapes' the politics of 'the market place' (Adorno, cited in Buchanan, 2000; p. 192). Although policy can either be written, enacted or lived (Fulcher, 1989), I have highlighted written and lived to show the contrast between rhetoric and reality.

Nevertheless, the process of research was not easy because as Ball (1994) writes, 'policy is both contested and changing, always in a state of becoming, of "was" and "'never was'" and 'not quite' ...' (p. 16). Literature highlights also cultivated my insights to dig deeper into policy issues with the hope of creating a new understanding between the desire to include and the reality of schools. This was however fraught with complexity because there were already contests in the country akin to what Ellen Brantlinger writing in America called 'traditionalist[s]' and 'inclusionists' (Brantlinger, 1997:; p. 430). Such contradictory views were evident especially at the ministerial level where officials were either opposed or supported inclusion. According to Brantlinger, traditionalists are pro special education provision in separate schools, whereas inclusionalists are pro-inclusion in mainstream settings. Those opposing, according to Brantlinger, consider inclusion to be politically and ideologically motivated and lacking empirical evidence of its practicality (ibid.). However, further arrays of complexity in the IE project as part of a rationale for the thesis have been explored in Chapter Two under the Kenyan scenario plateau (see sections 2.2, 2.3).

Whilst challenges are many and range from ideology to lack of commitment, the study considered the significance of general education policy from two perspectives: either as a barrier or resource to the process of inclusion (see section 2.4.4 in Chapter Two). This was of particular significance because inclusion as a developing concept was not properly addressed by the Kenyan government since there were no clear policy guidelines to guide IE. Such a situation created a policy dilemma in which tensions and struggles became inevitable. In order to create a new understanding based on these policy struggles, the resources within general policy texts were examined and looked through the perspectives and experiences of key players through the lived reality of schools. The current key concerns considered resourceful were the banning of corporal punishment; open policies on admission; emphasis on 'access, retention, equity, quality and relevance' as well as efficiencies within the

education system (MOEST, 2005; p. 3). These resources were also weighed against government emphasis on better academic standards and rankings equivalent to UK league tables.

Given the limitedness of policy that exists as inclusive (Allan, 2008) and the fact that where it exists it is treated as a separate policy (Vlachou, 2004; Pijl and Meijor, 1991), it became necessary to understand this trend and see how a comprehensive agenda could be forged. In addition, the need for understanding the conceptualisations and experiences of teachers and pupils in schools was necessary. Such conceptualisations would then be connected to those of policy makers, policy statements and the reality of school practice. The intention was to highlight the range of possibilities that emerge as a result of this interaction either to maintain the status quo or take different lines of flight using a rhizoanalytic approach. Within a rhizoanalytic approach, 'routes, connections and fissures' become important as the researcher 'wanders looking for things rather than themes' (Allan, 2008; p. 150). It was anticipated that such an understanding would open up a new space for understanding with the potential to inform practice and incorporate core values in the formulation of comprehensive policies. The following section further sheds light on the rhizomatic struggles as I learned to work from the middle in the absence of clearly defined unities and signifiers.

1.1.5: 'Chaotic order'

Although international policy initiatives may be perceived as 'tree-like' needing a hierarchical approach to their implementation, experiences on the ground may dictate otherwise because of the rhizomatic nature of reality. They intersect at the local arena and form rhizomatic relationships as attempts are made to realise their goals. Besides, Fulcher (1989) highlights the struggles of policy through what she calls 'policy arenas' as practitioners contest and take different lines of flight. On the basis of such thought, IE policy is seen to form a rhizomatic relationship with the reality of living and a substantial amount of effort was put on trying to forge such connections.

My intention to collect documents and analyse them suffered a blow. Initially I had expected to find well documented policies stipulating how schools are run by set policies. In essence, this implied finding a blue print of how things in reality work; just like a tree. Nevertheless, it was not forthcoming because the reality of lived policy is messy and rhizomatic. Policy documents contained isolated pieces of information. Some of them

indirectly implied inclusion but the general education contained clauses that I would regard as resources for IE practice. For instance, special needs education policy, disability policy and sessional papers were meant to catalyse the process. However, the absence and silence of an implementation strategy meant that schools had to devise their own approaches to inclusion.

Therefore, my initial desire to discover the 'tree of inclusion' or impose some order proved rather idealistic. Policy follows different routes before becoming practice and thus can be termed as multi-rhizomatic, chaotic and multi-layered. Within such a policy climate in which the country struggled to become inclusive, I wondered how the current policy guidelines interacted with lived realities to produce change. This struggle within the various arenas was inevitably difficult to capture. My intention therefore was to impose order or to find the tree changed. As I embarked on the research I hoped to find the reality as seen and lived by stakeholders. Nevertheless, I did not take the view of researching to provide solutions to problems but a new way of understanding. Thus, the journey to research was not a straight line craft but one that took different lines of flight in its becoming. It was full of competing struggles and tensions as truths were sought, sometimes forcing me to move in circles. Such a becoming in seeking the truth is reflected in Ralph Waldo Emerson's observation:

> Every action admits of being outdone. Our life is an apprentice to the truth that around every circle another can be drawn that there is no end in nature but every end is a beginning; that there is always another dawn risen on mid-noon and every deep a lower deep opens (Emerson, 2003; p.179).

Thus, the rest of this assemblage orchestrates different multiplicities which in their attempt to attain a smooth space enter into relations that are rhizomatic. Writing the subsequent chapters, which are best considered as plateaus in this assemblage, was not easy. Nomadic thinking invokes a rhizomatic writing style that involves making ceaseless and ongoing connections. Deleuze and Guattari (1987; p. 240) see writing as a becoming that 'is traversed by strange becomings that are not becoming — writer'. In *Essays Critical and Clinical*, Deleuze (1997; p.1) says, 'writing is a question of becoming, always incomplete, always in the midst of being formed, and goes beyond the matter of any livable or lived

experience'. This makes writing a form of 'weaving' which is an inseparable act of becoming (Goodley, 2007b).

As a result, many connections can be found between the plateaus. Although this study is a follow-up of a pilot conducted in north-west England on the methodological appropriateness of researching policy (Kioko, 2008), the breadth has been diversified. Partly due to intrinsic motivation and desire to understand how struggles in policy ensue to exclude or include but also to understand more about IE in Kenya where much of the initiatives were influenced by international organisations.

Even with clear government authoritative power directives, school experiences dictate otherwise. Some of the actions are underground and grow in different directions but have connections which are rhizomatic. The stories emerging from the findings point at struggles and tensions that run within schools and like a 'prairie' interact in their becoming to produce new trends that appear to be offshoots of market forces and other multiplicities (Fullan, 1999: 14).

1.1.6: Arguments outlined

In order to make my research public, I provide a summary of the chapters for readers to make their judgments because '... research is not complete until it finds a public' (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007: 183). Nevertheless it is important to note that my writings are not linear and as they followed different lines of flight, 'they sometimes go unexplained, and they might evoke and sometimes revel in the ambiguity of many meanings' (Gale and Wyatt, 2010; p.5).

Each of the chapters is treated as a plateau that is folded in different ways incorporating various theoretical perspectives that unfold into new concepts that are taken further in subsequent chapters. The fold, according to Deleuze (1993) does not presuppose an interiority and exteriority because the inside is nothing more than a fold of the outside. I have used the term to imply the relationships which emerge as a result of assembling different ideas without necessarily privileging causality. Therefore in engaging with the various theoretical arguments of my research, the various chapters and subsequent sections in this thesis cohere, fold and unfold onto each other. Rather than being viewed as separate parts, 'they divide infinitely into smaller and smaller folds that always retain certain cohesion ... always a fold within a fold' (Deleuze and Strauss 1991; p. 231). This makes the assemblage akin to a complex branching 'labyrinth' which is multiple folded in many ways. (ibid.; p. 228). However from my acknowledgement of the influence of my rhizomatic thinking and

writing, I am not trying to show how the piece has been 'logically orchestrated' but how important driving forces are constituent parts of the assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

In Chapter Two, I provide a detailed background of the Kenyan scenario within which the research was conducted. Using Deleuzoguattarian concepts introduced in Chapter One, an attempt is made to re-introduce and apply them in order to provide the connections between concepts. In this attempt, the concepts are extrapolated and take a different dimension. This sort of 'involution' (involution as used by Deleuze and Guattari is a form of progression that progresses by incorporating a range of multiplicities and give emphasis on the importance of becoming) that is akin to what Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 263) sees as a 'refrain' rather than being repetitious. This highlight provides the conditions under which schooling occurs and exposes some of the exclusionary pressures within schools and the wider society. In order to strip bare the purpose of this research, a substantial effort has been made to highlight the messiness of the education policy and the Kenyan policy highlighting the resourcefulness of promoting IE. The agenda has been developed further by discussing some of the conceptual ideas surrounding policy on inclusion. The chapter culminates by engaging with a discussion of pertinent issues surrounding written and lived policy in relation to the practice of inclusion seen through a Deleuzoguattarian gaze.

In line with Deleuze's (1995) advice of treating a book as 'a non-signifying machine' and reflecting on whether it works and in what ways it does for you, Chapter Three (Becoming Methodology) engages in detail with the metaphorical concept of a rhizome, becoming and their experimentation as well as their centrality to the study. At the same time, it gives a flavour of how the concept was applied in addition to the tensions and dilemmas of experimenting with a new concept. A more reflexive account of carrying out research within this approach is provided engaging with the complexity of forging a suitable analytic tool while at the same time exposing the inherent limitations of research validation and ethical issues.

Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven address the outcomes of the study by exposing the inherent tensions between the desire to impose order and the reality of living in relation to inclusive education. Each of the chapters engages with a particular tension drawing on a wide range of complexities that are subjected to various conceptual machines before immersing them into a Deleuzoguattarian machine. These critical engagements open up new spaces and possibilities for thinking about the struggle to become inclusive.

Chapter Four brings together the tension between disability, difference and exclusion. Teachers' views about the possibility of attending to the needs of children labelled as requiring Special Needs Education (SNE) is examined in relation to the views of policy officials. This examination exposes the struggles between desires to impose order and the complexity of attending to the needs of all. However in an attempt to maintain a rhizomatic approach to writing, the chapter explores three lines of flight. The first line explores *participant conceptualizations* about IE. In the second line, participant views are further re-examined in order to understand how such views are likely to result in fixed notions about *disability and difference*. This finding further engages with the concept of *normalisation* while the interconnection between these three lines of flight gives rise to the fourth — *rhizomatic exclusion* as a related outcome of the whole interaction. Rather than identifying beginnings and ends to the stories told, an attempt is made to create a map by establishing relations and connections in a process that doesn't identify 'signifier and signified' but an orchestration of practices and principles that cut across both the smooth and striated spaces within the school (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 75).

Chapter Five engages with discipline and punishment following a Foucauldian perspective. Drawing attention to how power works through people, the unequal power relations between teachers, parents and pupils which work to marginalise pupils especially from poor backgrounds are exposed. Further, in their attempts to discipline and make pupils 'educable', teachers' various lines of flight are stripped bare. These include policy violations such as the use of corporal punishment and the extortion of tuition fees, akin to running an 'ambulance service of an accident-prone education' (Clough and Corbett, 2000; p. 85). The chapter also engages with the dilemma of teachers' desire to promote inclusive learning within overcrowded classrooms under the pressure of government to perform well in league tables. As a result, government policy silence is questioned especially the open policy on admission where schools are required to admit pupils 'uncritically' even in the absence of adequate space for learning. The chapter points at the importance of resources in the inclusion project although success and teacher effort is compared to the revolutionary forces of desire. The concluding section engages with a critical view of a Foucauldian approach due the multifaceted dimensions in school.

Chapter Six engages with a third tension of the struggles to take an inclusive direction by illuminating the rather 'surprising' effect of ethnicity, politics of the tribe and exclusion. By discussing the inherent issues of ethnicity and general divisiveness in relation to the

school an argument is made on how such divisions have acted to maintain the status quo. Contrary to the popular deficit approach to inclusion in which pupils are seen as lacking and thus needing something to be done to them, the discussion centres on the exclusion of teachers and their daily struggles to be included. Such struggles are discussed from the perspective of the influence of ethnicity in the inclusive project.

Finally, the Conclusion Chapter synthesises the tensions of Chapters Four to Seven and plugs the views through a Deleuzoguattarian machine to shed further light on the complexities and tensions of policies and the reality of living to open up new possibilities of forging a comprehensive policy agenda. It discusses the research experiences in terms of lessons learnt, limitations and suggestions for future research.

Following Deleuzoguattarian concepts and rhizomatic writing, what follows is an assemblage of ideas, stories, and spaces as a Body Without Organs (BWO) (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987)'. In the next chapter, I turn my focus on a review of literature on inclusive education in relation to the Kenyan scenario.

CHAPTER 2: KENYAN SCENARIO

2.1: Introduction

This chapter engages with a review of literature to unravel the inherent tensions and struggles surrounding inclusive education policy and practices. Using the Kenyan scenario as situation, the literature integrates personal experiences in order to illuminate the conditions under which inequalities and exclusions occur. The arguments are subjected to the Deleuzoguattarian machine, to act as a precursor to the ways in which subsequent chapters have been orchestrated. Nevertheless, as a becoming researcher, these views are still subject to 'deterritorialization and reterritorialization' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). The two concepts (reterritorialization and deterritorialization) from a Deleuzoguattarian perspective characterize a continuous process of transformation. Thus, when views deterritorialize, they are moved away from previously established meanings whereas the process of re-establishing them is conceived as reterritorialization which incorporates new power and meanings.

At the same time, my arguments expose the inherent fragmented policy climate within which inclusive education (IE) takes place in Kenyan primary schools. Although the ultimate goals are to facilitate a process of inclusion, such fragmentation creates further confusion that might lead to considerable inequalities (Allan, 2008). In fact, at the time of conducting the study, the Kenyan government did not have a comprehensive policy document that could be termed as inclusion policy although there were texts which could be regarded as being aimed at inclusion (see section 2.4.2 in this chapter). Within such a difficult policy climate, the struggles for schools to become inclusive were seen as offshoots of the resources contained in the general policy document. Therefore, the resourcefulness of policy in promoting inclusive development in schools has also been discussed in relation to the Kenyan situation. I was also keen to understand the intersection between international inclusion policy initiatives in the local arena. This was aimed at uncovering how practice engages with written policy to bring various lines of flight as part of my struggle to take to the middle ground that would enable the forming of alliances and establish connections with the practices of the people I was researching.

Although a study focusing on inclusive education policy would ordinarily be expected to point explicitly at the policy documents used as guidelines for inclusion for school development, Ainscow *et al.* (2006), have emphasized the importance of looking at the resourcefulness of the general policy documents. Such resourcefulness if utilised carefully

could trigger a process of inclusion although they caution that, general education policies can also be a great source of barriers to inclusion (ibid.).

Besides, even in countries with a so-called IE ethos, it is still 'difficult to point at particular texts which exist as inclusion policy' (Allan, 2008; p. 27). Therefore, following my desire to understand the tensions and struggles in order to create an understanding of the spaces necessary for making inclusion a reality in Kenya, I positioned myself in the betweenness of what was available. By attempting to position myself at the middle of discourses on inclusion, I attempted to enter into an engagement that doesn't provide a framework for 'tracing' but for mapping out new connections by getting immersed into the literature. After all, 'the middle is by no means an average ... where things pick up speed [but] does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing to the other and back again' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 25). In my view, this approach, which is synonymous with *literature reviewing literature*, is an attempt to open up the spaces for tapping new possibilities of thinking about inclusion. The purpose of literature in this case does not serve to offer a foundation for logical arborescent, tree-like arguments to develop in which the rationale for inclusive school practices are grounded in policy but to link up the 'things' I come across. In essence, the approach is part of an attempt to resist a tree-like account of research that begins at the ground with 'roots ... [then] branches of theory and method would grow from the solid trunk of "the literature" in order to feed the leaves, flowers and fruit of 'analysis, interpretation and conclusions' (Leafgren, 2007; p.35). Hence, other than reviewing what has been published, my approach attempts to bring new insights by mapping out the ideas with caution to avoid simply tracing which Deleuze and Guattari (1987) compare to copying.

As an exploratory study geared towards hypothesis building and the generation of new ways of thinking, I set off in a multifaceted journey that stimulated my inner faculties to engage in a process of becoming. Engaging in such a voyage required making 'empiricist or pragmatic' connections that privilege 'experimentation over ontology' (Rajchman, 2000; p. 6). Through this experiential journey, in which desiring intensities and thresholds take us to different destinations (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), I tried to place myself in a middle plateau, between IE and special needs education plateaus. Engaging in a nomadic inquiry between these plateaus facilitated a becoming 'imperceptible' journey which Deleuze and Parnet (1987) call 'a curious stationary journey' (p. 127). Such a journey, they say, involves

following different lines of flight in which the desiring person thinks and acts beyond the realms of ordinary expectation.

Nevertheless, it was difficult to position myself rigidly within the middle plateau given the multiplicities in me that have moulded my biography and beliefs about IE and the moral compass which points me to practices that might be good for it (Allan and Slee, 2008). Still, it is this middle positioning that makes a rhizome function more effectively. Inclusion was compared to this middleness and was seen as a process of becoming in which 'learning can be constantly worked at by all concerned and never complete' (Allan, 2008; p. 50). Therefore other than using a hierarchical dichotomy of classifying children into different sides of a binary opposition, the betweeness opens a space for including all. Besides, it opens up new ways of understanding through philosophies of difference in order to illuminate the conditions under which struggles for inclusivity occur.

As a multiply orchestrated assemblage, this chapter is not hierarchically organized but has an overall rhizomatic order in which ideas enter various terrains following different lines of flight. Lines of flight define the abstract lines within a rhizome that change and connect with other multiplicities (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Although this chapter compares to a plateau with a multiplicity of lines, three main lines of flight are noticeable. The first of these lines gives a *background* to the study, exploring the conditions of the struggle for inclusion in Kenyan primary schools and the wider social-political dimensions under which schools function. The second line of flight explores and places these tensions and struggles within policy and *international perspectives* on inclusion in order to open up for a third line (*written* and *lived policy*) that explores IE policy texts and discourses in relation to the lived reality of schools and how 'the repetition of exclusion seems to be irresistible' (Allan, 2008; p. 23).

What follows therefore, is cartography and a genealogy of the theoretical viewpoints which characterize the complexities of policy and practice in an attempt to bring change (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Cartography, from a Deleuzoguattarian sense is a way of creating an assemblage such that building blocks of hierarchies and subjectivity are destroyed 'fostering connections between fields' to produce a map (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 13). However, St. Pierre (1997) warns that, it is inadequate to apply an 'epistemological point of departure in philosophy' because knowledge is 'bound up more with power than with truth' (p. 175). My intention therefore, in presenting this cartography is to map out the various connections in order to open up the space for thinking otherwise. Subsequently, the

conditions under which the study was conducted are *stripped bare* and the purpose of the study (ir)rationalized.

2.2: Background

2.2.1: [*Ir]rationalising the study*

Although IE has been diversified to include more categories of excluded children, the deficit view and emphasis on special needs education continues to influence the development of inclusive initiatives (UNESCO, 2005). This is despite other categories of vulnerable groups accounting for a higher percentage especially of excluded children, 'working children, those belonging to indigenous groups, rural populations and linguistic minorities, nomadic children and those affected by HIV/AIDS' (UNESCO, 2009; p.5). Partly, the deficit view has been propagated following the impetus set by the Salamanca conference on special needs education (UNESCO, 1994) which sought to encourage the education of pupils with special needs in regular schools. However, due to a lag in developments towards inclusion based on my Kenyan experiences, some countries were caught by the inclusion wave while still trying to improve practices of integration.

Thus, integration had to be re-baptized as inclusion, without the accompanying changes that would encompass the philosophies of inclusion. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find that some of inclusion initiatives take an integrative form (for locational or social purposes) leaving out the important element of functionality (Warnock, 1978). According to Warnock, locational, social and functional are three forms of integration in which the latter involves educating the so-called SEN children alongside other peers in mainstream schools. On the other hand, locational integration involves educating children 'with special needs' in separate but on the same site as their mainstream counterparts which affords them an opportunity to socialize. Therefore, in spite of the recent changes enshrined in the various declarations on the provision of IE, I was still sensitive to the possibility of certain integrative forms of education taking place. Such sensitivity was inclined to my view that deficient policy models on inclusion are likely to replicate thought processes in which deficiency is seen as a problem rather than an opportunity for new possibilities.

Given the circumstances in which exclusionary forces make it difficult for disabled learners to access school, it was necessary to explore the school's attempt to become inclusive especially with the advent of an *open door* policy on admission. Furthermore, IE policy in Kenya has a special needs perspective that puts learners with disabilities at the core

of inclusion (MOEST, 2005). In spite of this knowledge base, I did not want to assume that practitioners had similar perceptions. The Ministry of Education, (MOEST, 2004) estimates that 90% of the disabled children of school-going age in Kenya do not have access to school. Accordingly, given the statistical unaccountability of 90% of disabled children, my exploration was an opportune time to find out whether any proportion of the 'excluded' population would be represented in Hope School and what exclusionary forces existed.

Thus, researching the country's policy on inclusion and relating it to the reality in schools would inevitably expose the contradictions and tensions which could set the impetus for the formulation of better policies to guide the practice. Besides, putting policy under the spotlight and combining it with the perceptions of key stake holders is likely to offer critical incentives which can steer the process of inclusion forward. It was also expected that pertinent issues which need addressing would be highlighted in the research. Other than the motivational aspect and intrinsic desire to understand how these two levels of policy operate, I was inspired to create a new understanding with regard to IE. In essence, this is likely to open up questions about and open possibilities for the formulation of comprehensive education policies in an area that has not been explored in the country in addition to the general contribution to knowledge.

Owing to the dilemma surrounding inclusion and in an attempt to understand how the forces of exclusion in society work to marginalize people and the quest to provide insights on the way forward, especially in Kenya, I was inspired to think about the ways in which governments can promote inclusive development; what educational spaces and practices are worth including all people in; and, what ways can be used to trigger a process that can repair and sustain the inclusion movement and move away from the solution-based approaches (e.g. challenges/barriers — solutions). Commenting on the importance of philosophical ideas rather than solution-based guidance, Allan (2008) attributes the imaginative function of philosophy to be the most valuable if we are to move 'to new beginnings' (p. 56). A philosophical orientation necessitates looking at things as if they could be otherwise by breaking away from the 'supposedly fixed and finished' realities, (Greene, 1995; p. 19).

Besides, Deleuze invokes our thought by suggesting that philosophy needs non-philosophical understanding in order to apply it in different contexts (Rajchman, 2000). A key role for philosophy if it is to work on inclusion, Julie Allan says, would involve a complex challenge of making the language stutter:

> It requires overcoming the complacency and lack of reflexivity through which inclusion has come to be understood as a catch for everything and everyone ... a vacuous concept [that] also involves disrupting the special needs empire in a way that has lasting effects. (Allan, 2008; p. 57)

Such convictions were also based on the view that the oversimplification of complex problems in the search for 'evidence-based policy and practice' could lead to the legislation of 'one size fits all formulas' (Lather, 2004; p. 759).

My first attempt to address the above issues was through a pilot project that explored methodological appropriateness for researching written policy in my MSc project (Kioko, 2008). As a result, I have developed an intrinsic desire to engage deeply not only with written IE policies but also lived policies (Clough, 1998a). According to Clough, policies work through people and the way teachers act is a manifestation of policy. In my quest, I sought to understand how their lived experiences contributed to the struggle for inclusion. This quest was further inspired by the lack of consistent or clear policy guidelines for the practice of inclusion despite the unprecedented popularity it has gained (Booth, 1999). Moreover, there is a growing body of literature throwing light on how schools and classrooms can be developed in relation to inclusion (e.g. Rouse and Florian, 1998; Sebba and Sachdev, 1997; Ainscow, 1999). However, only a few studies have considered the importance of having comprehensive policy guidelines that incorporate both general education and inclusive policies (Ainscow and Booth, 2003; Rouse, 1998; Clough, 1998; Alexander, 1997).

The intention of this study was to go beyond the confines of most research within IE that concentrates on analysing written policy with a view of pointing at the barriers and associated solutions. This intention was facilitated by applying 'philosophies of difference' in order to open up new possibilities of understanding IE (Allan, 2008). It is interesting to note that difference exists between policy and practice, and that policy does not always beget its intended outcomes (Fullan, 2007a; Psacharopoulos, 1989). Although such a view may be based on theories of causality, (for instance, *a* produces *b*), rhizomatic thought helped me to see it as a relation of two becoming variables. In the end, new practices and policies are produced. Furthermore, teachers and pupils as living policy in their daily lives follow different lines of flight while attending to their daily activities which may at times compromise the demands of written policy. Therefore, by revolving around the intentions of policy, a new understanding of the interaction of policy at these two levels was sought.

It was expected that the engagement would culminate in forging an understanding for the formulation of a comprehensive policy approach opposed to the separate policy approach which has been criticized in several studies (Pijl and Meijor, 1991; Ainscow *et al.,* 2000; Vlachou, 2004).

For instance, within the competing binaries (abolitionists and conservativists by Rouse and Florian, 1992), (inclusionists and traditionists by Brantlinger, 1997) in the field of inclusion, the appropriateness of having a separate system has been challenged on the basis of creating complex policy dilemmas forcing many countries to operate in what Pijl and Meijor (1991) refer to as two tracks of policies. Similar arguments have critiqued IE policy as a disconnected undertaking from the wider educational context and propose an alternative, transformative approach to inclusion focusing on whole policy approach in the education system (Ainscow *et al.*, 2000; Booth, 1999; Vlachou, 2004).

Further disparities have been observed by Rouse and Florian (1992) who argue that IE confusions are as a result of the inheritance of the paradoxes and contradictions of integration. Other writers (Armstrong, 1999; Slee, 2001; Slee and Allan, 2005) highlight the danger of the inclusive movement remaining at the level of rhetoric. The dissatisfaction in the policies and practices of IE leads to the confusion as to whether it is a linguistic shift or a new policy agenda (Vislie, 2003). Indeed, some of the policies that claim to address inclusive education are integration policies limited to disabled learners or those experiencing learning difficulties. Integration policies are aimed at making the individual fit in the existing school structures while on the contrary the structures which hinder such functioning are the target of inclusion policies (Miles, 2000)

Due to lack of clarity and a universal understanding with regard to what constitutes inclusive education policy, the glaring social inequalities and the ethnic and political tensions in Kenya as highlighted in the contexts of exclusion section (see section 2.2.3); I saw the need for further research that would inform a comprehensive policy approach. Although in this pursuit it would be inadequate to provide a clear understanding without exploring deeply in wider societal issues, the depth of this study could only permit exploration of school matters. My understanding (as expounded in section 2.2.3), was based on the premise that, within a divided society where inequalities are glaring, education may face a lot of challenges particularly if it is to liberate people and promote social equality, fairness and justice. Besides, a study carried out in Kenya examining ethnicity and educational inequalities

suggests placing the notion of ethnicity at the forefront of analyzing educational policies if the goal of inclusive education is to be realized (Alwy and Schech, 2004).

Indeed, if educational reform is to be successful it must articulate with broader processes and struggles for change at different levels (Leon, 2001). Certainly, Clough (1998a) has attempted to show the significance of teachers as living policy but has not explored how their actions contrast or relate to written policy and their rhizomatic connections. Besides, most of the studies that have tackled the issue of policy concentrate on paper changes in a way that ignores the crucial variable of people's input (Fullan, 2007a). Therefore, the importance of understanding the competing discourses and tensions between these levels of policy was deemed necessary. Despite the view that for theory and practice to inform each other they ought not contradict or oppose ways in which theory is executed (Anyon, 1994), practice has the capacity to break walls of policy. Thus by engaging with this project, I also anticipated uncovering the ways in which practice breaks policy walls.

Even though policies might inform practice, implementation may depend on the schools' internal management styles and strategies applied (Alexander, 1997). Policies based on deficit views of children's needs could lead to teachers adapting strategies of paying more attention to the more demanding ones which may lead to the persistent neglect of some children (ibid.). For instance, following Salamanca (UNESCO, 1994), the international scene adopted a special needs policy perspective for inclusion (UNESCO, 2005). Therefore, in spite of recent developments which have seen the notion diversify to other categories, it is still possible for the deficit view to dominate policy developments. Children categorized as 'lacking' and needing something else in order to function 'normally' continue to be the focus. Within such approaches to inclusion, a myriad of other pupils who need attention to maximize their potentials are ignored because they are not considered as lacking. Based on studies of the actual impact of the policy on the problem, rational theorists acknowledge that intentions do not beget results in a straightforward fashion (Fullan, 2001). This view, Fullan says, seems to be rooted in and indicative of a value consensus among the central policymaking group (2007b). Therefore, if the goals of IE are to be realized, it will inevitably require rigorous research on general issues and surrounding factors which can then streamline the gap between written and living policy. As part of my struggle to (ir)rationalize the study, the following section integrates further the literature on inclusion, linking it up with the Kenyan scenario as a way of furthering insight into the background and the setting of the study.

2.2.2: *Milieu*

Given the multiple folded debates surrounding inclusion, tensions and controversies continue to be 'woven into the fabric' of the field making its research a complex undertaking (Apple, 2008a; vii). This can be particularly difficult for novice researchers because as Allan and Slee (2008) observe, little guidance is available for capturing 'what is elusive and complex [and] avoiding or repeating exclusion in research' (p. 1). However, with the inspiration from Deleuze and Guattari (1987) my horizon of thought was widened, prompting me to treat general research texts and insights on inclusion, as middles from which new alliances and ideas could be born. Therefore, as I sought to understand my research better, I engaged with literature on inclusion in order to forge 'a cartography and a genealogy' of the various theoretical perspectives (ibid.). Therefore, further to the discussions in section 2.1, cartography, which Deleuze and Guattari see as a way of mapping such that building blocks of hierarchies and subjectivity are destroyed, was privileged over tracing.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) compare tracing to coping and advocate for mapping because the latter is 'entirely oriented towards experimentation in contact with the real' (p. 12). Further, Mercieca and Mercieca (2010) expose how literature tracing leads to replication of the status quo in disability research. From this perspective of tracing, the assumptions underpinning research are based on what theories on inclusion say, thus data interpretation is seen through the lenses of the same theories. In the same way, research intended to improve the practice of inclusion may lead to the repetition of exclusions in policy documents (Allan, 2008). It was nevertheless difficult to overcome the temptation of tracing because, as a *tree* struggling to grow rhizomatic offshoots, I was still caught up in the branches of a tree mentality.

With such wariness, I engaged in the exploration of the Kenyan scenario with the intention of opening up new possibilities and also to highlight the conditions of my rhizomatic journey. Such a position however, pushed me to the struggle of constant searching for the best way to review literature without tracing. Although my ultimate intention was to plug and play the various theoretical ideas into the Deleuzoguattarian machine in orchestrating this assemblage, at times I could not 'find' Deleuze or Guattari. Such 'troubled and troubling moments ... when things do not go well', when you don't 'get' Deleuze, enables one to 'enter into the struggle of knowing differently' as Davies (2009; p. viii) observes. Following the various lines of flight that opened up, my views intersected with other worlds dissolving into the 'emergence of [new] fields of thought' (Gale and Wyatt,

2009; p. 8). This motivation was sustained by my desire to work as a 'Body Without Organs' (BWO) in order to escape the unbearability of fixed views about inclusion (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 34). From a Deleuzoguattarian angle, a BWO is a means of rhizomatically expressing freedom and releasing the body from the constraints of 'habit, character and affect' (Gale and Wyatt, 2009; p. 7). Furthermore, 'the enemy to the body is not the organs but the organisation of the organs called "organism" that makes us function in fixed and stable ways' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 158). Thus, working as a BWO allowed for an exploration of IE without necessarily constraining myself to what ought to be or how inclusive research should be done.

Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that there is full acceptance of inclusive philosophy since the idea has been criticized for being politically and ideologically motivated and lacking empirical evidence (Brantlinger, 1997). Moreover, the folding of inclusive resources in the general education policy does not always guarantee the development of inclusive ethos in schools due to the complexities of lived reality. Seen from the perspective of what Fullan (2009: 14) calls a 'prairie', many things happen in schools which appear to connect, fold and unfold in a rhizomatic manner (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). As a new and evolving concept, IE is full of controversy and remains heavily contested (Fosters *et al*., 2003; Ainscow *et al*., 2000). Florian (1998) points at several sources of challenges in the inclusive movement but maintains that the most critical is from other education policies that impinge on the development of inclusive schools. The tensions arising from these struggles are indicative of the contestations surrounding inclusion and what it seeks to achieve. Although it would be an understatement to see inclusion in terms of controversies, the revolutionary agendas, philosophical battles and new trajectories emerging are akin to what Deleuze and Parnet (1987) call '... active experimentation, since we do not know in advance which way a line is going to turn' (p. 137).

While some countries have developed better than others in the struggle for inclusivity by committing more funds to support a diverse range of learners, others operate on segmented policy initiatives or lack comprehensive policy agendas to streamline the practice. The latter situation may lead to a policy dilemma in which old practices are maintained but a fashionable rhetoric of undergoing an inclusive revolution takes over. While much blame points at the confusions surrounding IE, some commentators have argued that the portrayal of inclusion as a process makes it a ghostly presence which is 'there and not there' thus giving practitioners the imperative to do otherwise (Slee and Allan, 2005; p. 17).

However, since policy guidelines are sometimes rigid, hierarchical and striated, they dictate conformity and any attempts to follow lines of flight attract contestation.

Deleuze and Guattari (1994) cited in Allan (2008; p.55) attribute this rigidity to our nature because 'we constantly lose our ideas [and] that is why we want to hang on to fixed opinions so much'. As a result, advancing towards inclusive orientation is not easy and there is limited evidence of progress in many countries (Ainscow *et al.*, 2000). Therefore, as the Kenyan government struggled to encompass inclusive philosophy in schools, it was still caught up in these rigidities. Throughout my rhizomatic journey, I became exposed to the inherent tensions between written and lived policies as depicted by the contestations in the discourses surrounding inclusive education. Besides, the uniqueness of the Kenyan scenario implied a different type of struggle as schools strived to become inclusive.

The difference between written and lived policy can be compared to what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) refer to as striated and smooth spaces (see also section 1.1.2 in the Introduction). Movement within the striated space, Massumi (1987: xiii) says 'is confined as by gravity to a horizontal plane, and limited by the order of that plane to preset paths between fixed and identifiable paths'. Therefore, striated spaces are rigid and compare to policy initiatives whose intentions are to impose order unlike smooth ones which are open ended. 'One can rise up at any point and move to any other' (ibid: xiii). By arraying in a smooth space, practitioners find fissures and take different escape routes (creativity) in their attempts to instigate change. These rhizomatic trends counter attempts by schools to establish cultures which Michael Fullan calls 'group think' due to the contemporary unbearability of exclusion propelling practitioners to think creatively in their becoming process (Fullan, 2009). Group think, from Fullan's perspective, results out of a culture that develops within an institution where people think and act in similar way and any attempts to act or think otherwise is resisted. However, given that becoming desires arise from the need to escape something unbearable; desiring individuals can break cultural formations of group think (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). From the perspective of becoming, IE policy statements desire to bring change. However, Allan (2008) says that exclusions are still repeated despite 'well intentioned efforts to develop inclusive policy and legislation' (p. 25). Given the premise in which well-intentioned efforts lead to exclusions, it became necessary to explore how Kenyan schools functioned within a context of struggle in relation to IE policies. Thus the following section gives the specific contexts in which primary schools in Kenya operate which provides a lens through which the struggle for inclusivity can be understood.

2.2.3: *Contexts of exclusion*

Although Booth (1999) maintains that the problems experienced are similar in this IE project, there are other cross-cultural issues that relate to Africa and Kenya in particular which provide the wider context under which exclusionary forces operate. For instance, since historical times, education in Africa has been approached in terms of contribution to national development (Kisanji, 1998). Within the post-colonial education that has denied heterogeneity in local populations, the orientation in education has helped to create glaring social inequalities structured alongside ethnicity, culture, language, religion, gender and class (Dei, 2005). Besides, in Sub–Saharan Africa, post-colonial governments have shown little structural adjustments to reflect changing times and social realities (ibid.). These imbalances in education and distribution of social goods and resources are major challenges that have propagated the exclusion of certain communities and children of poor social-economic backgrounds. Further research maintains that Sub-Saharan Africa has the largest number of politicized ethnic groups which experience economic and political discrimination (Alwy and Schech, 2004). In these political wrangles, national wealth is used to advance inequalities because the political powerful control the distribution of resources (Abagi, 1997; Gibbon, 1994). As a result there is a growing chasm between the haves and the have-nots and a general culture of divisiveness in the society.

The above tensions are particularly evident in Kenya where tribal politics, uneven distribution of social and economic resources and ethnic tensions are glaring (Abagi, 1997). Although part of the divisions is a direct consequence of previously established structures by colonial governments, subsequent governments have done very little to tackle these divisions and instead have taken advantage to advance their personal and political ambitions. However, how institutions respond to crisis can be evaluated from the perspective of their missions which are enshrined in the constitution and educational philosophy. Nevertheless, there is a highly politicized and ethnicized bureaucracy in learning institutions that runs directly counter to these missions (Atieno, 2008).

The fact that schools are unevenly distributed, some are not accessible due to poor infrastructure and lack of transport greatly affects enrolment (Kalabula, 2000). Other issues such as poverty, gender bias, the philosophy of education as the key to success has worked to ensure that only the best survive in the education. In addition, like most African countries, Kenya relies on donor funds and grants to support some of her education projects which

wither upon withdrawal (Kalabula, 2000). There then arises the question of school effectiveness within the competitive school environment. In fact as Abagi (1997) maintains, school effectiveness is looked at from the perspective of performance. As a result, in an attempt for schools to appeal to the public and satisfy school inspectors, great emphasis is placed on academic performance. Given the limited secondary schools places, only the best can manage to survive in schools and the rest either drop out or are forced to repeat classes. From my experience as a teacher within the Kenyan educational system, there are cases where students seen to lower the overall grade of the school are encouraged to register in a 'low' performing school or apply for private candidature.

2.2.4: ***Tensions and struggles***

Most of the available literature on inclusive education reflects research and practices in European and North American Settings. However, due to the global dimensions IE has taken, the underlying concepts are similar especially the human rights discourse (UNESCO, 1994). Despite having much in common (Booth, 1999) there is need for multiplicity in approach to inclusion in which different forms of inclusive practice and organization are sought (Dyson and Millward, 1999). Therefore, despite the limitedness of Kenyan literature, the global nature of the project implies shared ideologies across the board. Moreover, there are similarities in the ways Kenyan schools are run in comparison to Western countries due to political and economic influence from the west. Thus, the education systems are organised in similar ways although economic disadvantage and cultural influences dictate otherwise. To put this study in perspective, I thus engage in a discussion of issues that are unique to Kenya where the research was conducted and how they are likely to affect inclusive initiatives.

Although the Kenyan government claims commitment to an all-inclusive education for all children of school-going age, there are many tensions that surround the education sector (MOEST, 2005). Indeed, despite recent reforms in Kenya's education sector, there has been little emphasis on inclusive education; only cosmetic policy documents to support integration are still in place. For instance, since the inception of free primary education in 2003 when a new government came into power, an estimated 1.5 million more children have joined schools (MOEST, 2003–2008). With the government being committed to financing primary education through increased budgetary allocation and donor funds, there has been little restructuring of the education sector or teacher training colleges to meet the demands of the new diversity of students. This increase in enrolment did not have a corresponding

increase in human capital and resource materials. Since the idea of making primary education free was seen as a political strategy, there was not a clearly defined policy framework on ages of access. Thus, people of all ages joined schools Indeed, the late Mr Kamau entered the Guinness Book of Records for being the oldest man to enrol in Standard One (for six-year-olds) at the age of 85 years to enjoy the fruits of Free Primary Education (FPE).

In addition, FPE facilitated increased enrolment of a diverse range of children previously out of school especially *chokoras* (this is a Kenyan word for street children, meaning to beg for survival). This diverse range of children is a potential challenge to the ordinary classroom teacher. Besides, other administrative duties relating to purchase and management of funds from the government also meant extra pressure on an already overstretched teaching fraternity. As a result, more pupils have had their needs sacrificed as teachers strive to meet the educational needs of the average majority. The effects of increased enrolment as explored by a local daily paper (Daily Nation, 25 January 2007) imply that teachers have little time to concentrate on children at the verge of exclusion.

2.2.5: *Winner takes all*

Teachers work within multiple contexts which range from classrooms to wider political, economic and social life (Greene, 1984). A sense of being surrounded is always present as the hierarchy from schools and outside government as well as the community exert pressure upon the teacher (ibid.). Thus, this section provides the wider socio-economic dimensions within which inequalities and the quest for inclusion operate. As a result, it is possible to situate the tensions between policy and practice in schools within these wider dimensions.

Education policy in Kenya is premised on principles that recognize the importance of quality human resources for economic development as well as the protection of democratic institutions and human rights. Whilst committing to the provision of basic education for all, there is a belief that the realisation of universal access ensures equitable access to education (MOEST, 2005). Nevertheless, there are structural arrangements within and between schools that discriminate against children leading to unequivocal inequalities and widening chasm in society. Inequalities in the country are caused by various factors but the most significant are politics, policy process, geographical factors and the talent and skills factor. This implies that even when two individuals are given equal opportunities, differences in effort and personal endowment can also lead to inequalities. Thus, equity and not equality is seen to play a big

part in the struggle for overcoming these disparities because as Rawls (1972) cited in Slee (1995; p. 38) reminds us, 'equality cannot be advanced by equal treatment of unequals'.

On the other hand, these glaring disparities and inequalities especially in education are partly seen as an inheritance from past colonial regimes in African countries (Dei, 2005). These disparities have been compounded by the failure of existing governments to change in order to reflect changing times and social realities. Thus, imbalances in education and distribution of social goods and resources are the major challenge that has propagated the exclusion of certain communities and children of poor socio-economic backgrounds. Furthermore, most schools are inaccessible due to poor infrastructure and lack of transport. These limitations are further compounded by inaccessible school buildings which hinder movement especially for pupils with physical disabilities. As a result, pupils are already predisposed to exclusions even before joining schools.

Due to high poverty levels in the country and centralisation of opportunities mainly in the urban centres, the rural-urban migration experienced in recent years has been high (Kisanji, 1998). As a result of this movement in search of livelihoods, most parents prefer to send their children to boarding schools, usually far away from their communities. This is quite hard for poor families who cannot afford to take their children to boarding schools. Children with disabilities are in most cases the main casualty in these circumstances and the opportunity for donor funded special schools is more than a welcome idea. This becomes true from the perspective that education is seen as key to success and families invest in the education of their children expecting returns either in terms of helping with the family burden or taking care of the parents upon exhaustion of their resources (ibid.). Through a cost-benefit analysis, parents prioritize children seen to be of more economic benefit. This view point emerges from the fact that education in Africa is approached in terms of the person's contribution to economic and national development (Dei, 2005).

These underlying factors add up to the already existing attitudinal barriers to pupils perceived as different in the country pointing at the significance of radical reforms in communities to the stigma associated with disabilities. Although Kisanji (1998) writing about African countries refutes similar claims, my personal experiences in the country dictate otherwise. Indeed, Arbeiter and Hartley (2002) carried out a study in which they found that teachers attribute their negative attitudes to ignorance and lack of understanding about disabilities. A BBC documentary (20 June 2007) on the African forum held in Kenya, further elaborates that for visually impaired peoples' survival comes first especially among the

Maasai community due to the negative beliefs attached to disability. Furthermore, Munyere (2004) whose blindness resulted from albinism describes how he has lived with the stigma due to his community's lack of understanding of the condition.

The tendency for governments to put in place whatever is seen to raise education standards (Ainsow *et al*., 2006) and the competitive atmosphere created by Education Acts (Feiler and Gibson, 1999) can be a major challenge to inclusion especially if they are rigidly applied. However, due to increased demand for human capital, education institutions function to provide the skills necessary within the market. Having realised this need, pupils on the other hand know that success depends on their academic achievement which gives them choice to make decisions on the careers they want to pursue. Since schools operate within market economies, the forces of supply and demand dictate how schools are run in order to fulfil the promise of markets. Such forces are compounded by the fact that there exists limited opportunities for pupils. It is not surprising given these circumstances that tough competition exists in and between schools

As a result of this competitive nature, schools operate on a 'winner takes it all' situation; only the best get it all and an implied punishment for failure. As education is free at primary level, the effects are particularly evident at the transition from primary to secondary schools. Public secondary schools are ranked according to their quality and status and four categories are noticeable. National schools are best resourced followed by Provincial, District and Harambee schools in a diminishing order of resourcefulness. The best performing students get the best schools and are more likely to perform well and proceed to university. Students and teachers know this trend and engage in competitive learning which negatively impacts on groups already experiencing difficulties. Thus, the so-called SNE children are more likely to drop out of school or even lack opportunities to remain in education because there are few secondary school places to accommodate the large number of primary school candidates. There are about 18,000 public primary schools compared to 4,000 secondary schools (MOEST, 2005). Since secondary education is not free, an additional factor to exclusion is finances. This implies that only the rich can afford to educate their children. This compares to the attention drawn by Marxist researchers to the structural relationship between society and schooling; that schools act as agencies to reproduce social inequalities (Smith, 1999; Oliver, 1997).

Within a society dominated by emphasis on excellence where the winner takes it all, it is a fundamental issue of concern if inclusion is to thrive in such a setting. As a result schools are forced to use strategic behaviours that are seen to benefit the school either by positive publicity and thus attracting the very best, rewards to teachers and opportunities for prosperity. This raises the question of whether we can be equal and excellent too (Gardner, 1995). As teachers are constantly in touch with learners and work within a complex and demanding context and their knowledge of important issues pertaining to learning, it also became questionable whether their views were ever heard. Therefore, as I engaged in my research, a wide array of issues constantly ran through my mind and many questions remained unanswered but were still part of my becoming. For instance, how can inclusion be promoted through a highly selective and exclusionary system? Should such a hierarchical structure be dismantled and replaced with a rhizomatic system? How can a new understanding between policy and reality be promoted to inform policy formulation and lead to better practice given these wider social dimensions?

2.3: International Perspectives

2.3.1: *Wider dimensions*

Despite the dimensions taken to develop my arguments they revolve around the various discourses within the field of inclusion supported by philosophical ideas about education. Therefore, this section engages with the international base upon which thinking on inclusion is premised. Reflecting critically on the stratifications in the society that demarcate people and as a result exclude them reveals the importance of imaginative thinking and alternative arrangements to change fixed realities (Greene, 1995). As a result, pursuit of this project demanded an inquiry into what inclusive education might be especially from the concept of educational inequalities and exclusion. In advancing my arguments, I make attempts to highlight the main issues of concern that are thought to influence IE policy and practice from both ideological and philosophical perspectives. At the same time I incorporate my perceptions and the enrichment of my experiences.

The main issues surrounding IE can be understood from the perspectives advocated by Florian (1998) who categorises them into abolitionists and conservativists which compare to what Brantlinger (1997) in the US calls inclusionalists and traditionalists respectively (see section 1.1.4). Although there are other micro-arrays within these typologies, the arguments raised in this section advance ideas from these perspectives while at the same time

incorporating the human rights perspective of inclusion. In analysing these arguments, an attempt has been made to use philosophical writings about education.

The advocacy for a comprehensive policy approach to IE was crucial to this study and demanded a broad approach to the forces of exclusion that exist beyond the realms of school. Such a perspective is not only likely to illuminate the main issues that have sustained exclusionary practices but also provides an angle for holistic approaches to confront forces of exclusion. However, understanding education from such a perspective demands thinking 'relationally' and situating the school in the unequal power relations in the society and the conflicts generated in the processes of change (Apple, 2008b). From a critical perspective, education policies that seek to overcome societal inequalities establish power relations in ways that promote the voices of some people. In particular, they fail to serve low income and minority students (Imber, 1997). However, critiques of education reforms mainly exist at theoretical and ideological levels which leave educators with limited understanding of how reproduction of inequalities can be overcome (ibid.). As a result, it is a very challenging endeavour that has a lot of promise although no guarantee of advocated outcomes. Furthermore, as Allan (2008) acknowledges, despite the availability of vast literature on inclusive education, little attention has been paid on how to do inclusive education research which opens up avenues for the 'repetition of exclusions' in research (ibid; p. 25). Therefore, looking at discourses from the opposing camps relating to inclusion was challenging and even tempting to identify with one side rather than another.

Some of the arguments advocated for the support of inclusion (for instance, inclusion of children with disabilities), approach it from a child deficit perspective without focusing on the wider societal contexts within which exclusionary pressures exist. Countries that have adopted inclusion from the medical/deficit model ideology see inclusion as a way of accommodating disabled pupils and attempt to fit them within existing school structure. Indeed, 'you don't just do inclusion and then that is it'; teachers need to be continuously 'responsive, reflective ... and willing to adapt' (Corbett, 2000; p. 147). This type of orientation deprives the child of a chance to participate effectively within the school's environment as teachers attempt to fix the problem. This approach does not only attempt to normalize the pupil but also gives a justification of social inequality on the basis of biological difference (Vlachou, 2004). The 'calculable and institutionalized child becomes a subject for ordering according to the institutional norms' (Leafgren, 2007; p. 140). Inclusionalists

aligned to this view will inevitably struggle to sustain this practice as the best cure for the problems.

However, from Dewey's (1966) positive perspective of a child's immaturity, the sense of lacking implies a potential for growth. For Dewey, the idea that immaturity is mere lack is misleading. Instead, children perceived as lacking have a positive force, 'the power to grow' (ibid.; p. 42). His notion of the power to grow compares to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) view of becoming as a constituent aspect of people. Thus, viewing children alongside sedentary lines excludes the important aspect of becoming (Goodley, 2007a). To create opportunities for inclusion requires creative thinking and tapping into imagination and seeing beyond the imaginer's notion of the norm (Greene, 1995). Perhaps, one of the greatest radical changes involves a complete rethink of the spaces within schools that exist as 'ordered, disciplined, predictable' (Leafgren, 2007; p.142). Besides, wider dimensions in approaching inclusion are essential ingredients in confronting discriminatory attitudes in the community. In fact, confronting certain behaviours and an emphasis on community values are fundamental elements in advocating for IE (Corbett, 2000).

Although one of the goals of education is to inculcate values and provide the student with the skills of living in society, much of the current education curriculum has been criticized for its disconnectedness from the reality of life (Vlachou, 2004). As a result, abstract concepts which bear no resemblance to real life situations are taught and used as measures or criterion for success. This makes it difficult for children who experience problems in societies to cope. The sensibility of the contradictions between proposals for reform and the realities and complexities of education on the ground provides major reasons to question how education can make a more serious contribution to social justice (Apple, 2008b). To move the practice forward, Ainscow (1995) advocates learning through meaningful experiences and critical collaboration between teachers in making classroom practices more inclusive. This can be achieved if the school organisation is continually expanding opportunities for all and building its own future (Senge, 1990)

Special needs education has also been a major focus in many of the struggles within IE initiatives. This is inherited from the fact that inclusion emerged from the many injustices that pupils in special schools were predisposed to (Vlachou, 2004). Therefore, in advancing arguments for or against inclusion, a lot of reference is made to special education. However, such an inclination towards Special Needs Education (SEN) in structural readjustments to promote inclusion is unlikely to prosper because SEN is usually associated with disabilities

and accompanying notions of child-deficit (Ainscow, 1999; Booth, 1999). Furthermore, such a discourse is more likely to mask the attitudes and structures which produce and sustain exclusion (Armstrong, 1999). In order to move away from such an orientation, notions of special education are seen to be useful if incorporated in the regular school policy as a way of dealing with difficulties experienced by all (Ainscow, 1995). This is based on the belief that pedagogical and organizational changes made in response to children experiencing difficulties are likely to benefit all (ibid.). Nevertheless, it is unlikely for such a proposition to be incorporated in the current education policies which leaves teachers with the difficult task of overcoming the pressures of inclusion and SEN. Moving away from such demarcations and attempts to normalise children thus invoked the conceptual ideas of rhizomatics as a way of thinking outside the box through a becoming process.

To take a holistic approach that includes all learners demands creative imagination. Such an approach regards children thought as deviating from the norm as resources or silent voices that give an insight into the way things might be if they were otherwise (Ainscow, 1995; Greene, 1995). Additionally, it is insightful to work from the premise of inclusion being a means to an end rather than an end in order to think about how such a means might be utilized to achieve an inclusive and just society. As argued in the background section, the dearth of literature related to Kenyan practices on inclusion meant an application of the insights provided by the international perspectives. After all, just like the tendency in other developing countries, Kenya has tended to 'follow the wind' in relation to international initiatives (Muuya, 2002. p. 230) Thus, the following section offers insights which are fundamental to the understanding of policy developments in Kenya.

2.3.2: *Policy routes*

> *Inclusion is merely a headline for governments, a slogan contradicted by other policy and unscaffolded by structural, financial and legislative supports* (Thomas and Vaughan, 2004; p. 190).

As already argued in the preceding sections of this chapter, inclusive education is a heavily contested issue with a wide array of complexities cutting across various issues. Amongst other constrains, inclusion 'has also been assaulted by special educationists dismissing it as ideological and unproven bandwagon' making it a greater impossibility (Allan, 2008; p. 9).

Equally, IE policy faces similar challenges and is implemented at various levels embracing the different motives and goals (Peters, 2004). As a result, saying IE 'research is characterised by controversies and counterpoints is to demonstrate our mastery of the understatement' (Allan and Slee, 2008; p. 3). Therefore, before embarking on a detailed discussion that exposes the inherent controversies that affect school practices this section provides a short overview of policy route to inclusion. This discussion raises questions about the ways in which inclusion is missed in policy documents 'in search for the calculable and certain' (Allan, 2008; p. 25). However, due to the difference in the ways these policies have evolved, the account is not a homogeneous representation of the whole world. In doing so, I acknowledge the fact that some regions have developed more than others in their efforts towards inclusive policy.

It is important to note that although inclusion is a relatively new term, some of its ideologies have been incorporated in the antecedents, for instance, integration in UK and mainstreaming in North America (Barton, 1997).These predecessors, mainly focused on the provision of education of disabled people in similar settings with their non-disabled counterparts but were mostly guided by medical approaches to disability. As a result, the new notions of SEN created required students to fit into existing systems (Barton and Armstrong, 2007). Therefore, a wide array of support systems and arrangements had been in place to help compensate for their deficiencies.

However, following increasing pressure from civil right movements and emancipatory struggles there was subsequent legislation of education as a basic human right enshrined in the universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) and a new wave of concern was born. This was further reinforced by successive declarations and conventions setting out frameworks for action in relation to the education of all (e.g. UNESCO, 1994, 2000). Thus, the initial idea of disability and SEN provision as a guiding principle of inclusion has been diversified to other groups of people who are at the verge of exclusion. Owing to these developments, a range of issues still remain unresolved and have constantly puzzled practitioners in their pursuit of inclusion. Consequently, various typologies of inclusion have emerged working amidst the resistance of inclusion. These diverse views have resulted in different ideologies guiding policy formulation and the resultant tensions have led to limited progress. Nevertheless, inclusive education still remains an inspirational flagship in its attempts to change communities and cultural practices in schools (Barton and Armstrong, 2007).

These contests in the ways IE is perceived are mainly manifested in the meanings, practices and value systems. When practices and their underlying ideologies constitute unobtrusive clusters of different disciplines (Foucault, 1997), teachers are likely to encounter challenges in their attempts to move towards an inclusive direction. Furthermore, Slee (2001) argues that inclusion seeks to protect the rights of all and thus should not be seen as a technical problem but rather a product of cultural politics. For instance, abolitionists advocate for the total abolition of special schools while conservativists advocate for the preservation of the practice (Florian, 1998). Therefore, the agendas for reform carry with them hidden or unforeseen problems which make the reality of school and classroom practices very complicated. The sensibility of the contradictions between proposals for reform and the realities and complexities of education on the ground thus provides a major reason to question how education can make a more serious contribution to social justice (Apple, 2008b).

As a result, tensions and struggles in school practices arise because of the competing discourses and contradictory ideas in them (Wedell, 2005). In fact, differences in perception are likely to manifest in education and school policies. For instance, before the 1990s, integration dominated the international community and national governments discussed the rights of disabled children in appropriate educational settings. Therefore the unprecedented popularity inclusion has gained meant a change in policy focus to inclusion. However, confusion still remains in some parts of the world where locational integration practices are still in place but have been renamed inclusion. This is due to the fact that there is no full acceptance of inclusion and the new policy shift has inherited the paradoxes and contradictions of integration (Rouse and Florian, 1992). Although old struggles still remain in new policy initiatives (Fulcher, 1989), there should be a deliberate effort for schools and governments to promote the practice. Fullan (2003) highlighting the failure of education reforms in the US, points at the dangers of surface reforms that only reflect linguistic and structural shifts while practices remain unchanged. Thus, efforts for inclusion necessitate ‘intentional imaginative noticing’ and opening up to new possibilities against things taken for granted (Greene, 1995; p. 214). Alternatively, Greene’s view may be better understood in relation to St Pierre’s argument that:

> If we entertain the possibility that all might not be what we have been led to believe — that there might be worlds other than the one described by liberal humanism, then post-structural theories offer opportunities to investigate those worlds by opening up language for redeployment in revitalized social agendas. (St Pierre, 1997; p. 176)

Moreover, while Fulcher (1989) maintains that old struggles still remain even after a new policy initiative, an inclusive philosophy should be guided by value systems, change in attitudes and school structures to accommodate diversity. These changes in values are particularly important because exclusive structures in schools reflect the development of exclusion in teachers' consciousness (Clough, 1999). The theoretical conditions of policy might affect teachers' thinking and consequently influence their practices. Further, we have social mores and standards embodied by social institutions including schools (Corbett, 2000). The shift in policy focus from special education to embracing diversity in common schools for all (Vislie, 2003) has further been guided by a human rights agenda in the provision of education for all (see section 2.3.3 on recurrence of exclusion).

On the other hand, there are fundamental issues that ought to be addressed if a holistic orientation towards inclusion is to be propagated. This holistic orientation should encompass visionary leadership, collaboration between stakeholders and curricular planning (Corbett, 2000). For instance, the questions of whether inclusion is necessary, who benefits from it and how to facilitate it can to be addressed within a human rights perspective and inculcate values for a positive outlook of the practice. From the perspective that goals of inclusion are not limited to the school, inclusive policies should be geared towards promoting social inclusion and cohesion. While change is a complex process that takes time, inclusive development should be compared to Dewey's (1966) concept of growth and a positive conceptualization of immaturity as potential or power to grow. In this process of growth through education, pupils become empowered by continually adding richness and multiplicity to meanings which help them to survive in society (Greene, 1984). Furthermore, Dewey (1966) observes that the society determines its own future by determining the activities of the young since they will at one time compose the society of that period. Therefore, schools have the responsibility of inculcating positive values which are replicated in an inclusive society.

Besides the fundamental reason for inclusion underpinned by a human rights agenda, societal outlook and cohesion should also be a stimulating factor. This is because within an exclusionary society there is a clear division of people for whom dehumanization is a

consequence (Freire, 1996). For Paulo Freire, dehumanization is an historical reality emanating from unjust social orders and manifested in the oppression of people (Lind, 2007). As result of historical injustices, some pupils still 'face fearful obstacles' in education due to inequalities in the society (Greene, 1995; p. 18). People marked as unworthy develop low self-esteem and are unlikely to experience the curriculum as relevant to their being in the world (ibid.). Thus, with an inclusive orientation, rather than looking at individual pupils, institutions should embark on a continuous process of changing school structures and focusing on manifestations of exclusion and marginalization (Freire, 1996). This could involve a 'tapping' of 'untapped' possibilities and exploration of new alternatives (Greene, 1995; p. 18). This is discussed further in section 4.3.1 in Chapter Four.

The above arguments are indicative of the complexities that surround the inclusion project due to cross-cultural differences and value systems between countries which lead to unique challenges in the pursuit for inclusive education. Therefore, this information advanced my awareness of the likely tensions and conflicts that might arise from written policies at the interface with teacher practices. One possibility for such conflicts might result from the lack of uniformity in teacher perceptions about inclusive practices leading to a rhizomatic array of practices within school systems. In the following section, I engage with a discussion that illuminates the recurrence of exclusive practices.

2.3.3: *Recurrence of exclusion*

> *We must learn to live in the middle of things, in the tension of conflict and confusion and possibility; and we must become adept at making do with the messiness of that condition and at finding agency within rather than assuming it in advance of the ambiguity of language and cultural practice.* (St. Pierre, 1997; p. 176)

As countries strive to align themselves within these policy initiatives, frameworks and strategies for implementing them become necessary. However, there is a danger of taking policy initiatives uncritically (Slee and Allan, 2005). This situation is predominant in developing countries where pressures from global organisations influence the way countries formulate their policies; otherwise they lose crucial funding to achieve their education goals (Anyon, 2005). These initiatives are unlikely to be met with much success or wither upon withdrawal of funds (Kalabula, 2000). Such dependency leads to a distortion of national

priorities and imposition of ‘neo-liberal trends’ often leading to the production of labour force to sustain ideas from the North (Armstrong *et al.*, 2010; p. ix). Policy originating this way or taken uncritically fails to acknowledge the fact that schools do not operate as blank slates because from a Deleuzoguattarian perspective, they are always in the middle of something else especially due to external and internal pressures.

Although policy makers assume an automatic transmission during the implementation process, a series of bargains and negotiations occur between the various education actors (De Clercq, 1997). During this top-down approach of policy dissemination, policy makers forget about the inherent complex struggles and contests which take place before an initiative becomes practice (Fulcher, 1989). Therefore, the disciplinary logic of imposing control to produce particular practices through what Foucault (1979) terms docile bodies does not work easily because it is met by resistance. While such resistance involves a degree of what Riseborough (1992, cited in Allan, 2008; p. 29) terms as ‘secondary adjustments’, the coping strategy does not amount to any significant resistance. Implementing bureaucrats put their own interpretations and meanings to policies using their powers to subvert the original policy goals.

This may not necessarily be the case because external power relations may dictate otherwise. As a result, the need for teacher empowerment becomes necessary in their efforts to interpret and reconceptualise policy initiatives. In order to enhance a better understanding, Green (1984), advocates looking at the world strategically and seeing it small in order to open up the possibilities for seeing it big unrestrictedly. However, despite a new instructional order or a policy directive, the classroom state is never ‘clean’ and all the novelties embraced in the policy face the residues of the teachers’ past (Cohen and Ball, 1990).

Coburn (2001) elaborating on sense making theory asserts that school and classroom culture, structure and routines result from micro-momentary actions by teachers and other actors in the school. This implies that their actions are based on interpretations of the information presented which forms routines over time. In the process of interpretation, they place new information on pre-existing cognitive frameworks. Thus new information is interpreted through the lens of their pre-existing practices and world views. Furthermore, the prior experiences which are imminent in the present, affect events and situations in such a way that they integrate past actions (Chia, 1999). This complex process of digesting policy ideas and translating them into practice is never straightforward but a challenging one. Further, it privileges systematic procedures and a hierarchy without considering the nomadic

nature of thought (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). While the intentions of IE continues to attract controversy, achieving them is further complicated as a result of the new demands brought by students' diversity and the changing nature of the learning territory (Corbett, 2000).

Despite the fact that the intention of policy initiatives might be to create a homogenous set of pedagogies in schools, variance in the nature of experiences dictates otherwise. For instance, teachers who have prior experiences teaching blind students are more likely to respond positively to a policy calling for the inclusion of blind and partially-sighted students. Furthermore, Clough (1999) observes that, with the historical roots and ideologies which removed teaching the so-called SEN children from the minds of regular school teachers, there is need to reconceptualise special needs provision. This does not only facilitate inclusion but also encourages regular classroom teachers to regard teaching of so-called SEN pupils as their responsibility (Ainscow, 1999). Relating to IE policies, teachers resist practices or policy guidelines for things they have not experienced. Therefore, despite policy makers believing that they can steer school practices to change outcomes, research evidence suggests they do so weakly and inconsistently (Cohen and Ball, 1990). Indeed, the transformative process that policy goes through results in teachers changing their instructional practices. This process involves conversations with other practitioners in ways that are deeply rooted in the broader, social, professional and organisational contexts (Coburn, 2001).

Therefore, despite the importance of having policies that transform teacher and school practices towards inclusive practices, it is crucial to understand the key drivers of change. From the sense making theory which places policy changes in teacher perceptions and interpretations of the initiatives, the contexts under which these changes are effected is paramount (Coburn, 2001). Thus, uncovering this complex process of change does not only provide clues on the role played by teachers but also the middle points of focus. Even though the importance of teachers in mediating policies cannot be overemphasized (Fulcher, 1989; Clough, 1998a), there is a significant role played by intermediaries who facilitate an understanding of policy goals and strategies of realising them (Honig and Hatch, 2004). Thus, in advocating for inclusiveness in schools, such intermediaries are likely to expound the philosophical aspects and future implications of a new initiative. In that respect, the importance of key arrangements for support in the process of realising inclusive initiatives becomes very important.

Nevertheless, it must be realised that policy change is complex; indeed, policies regarding changing school cultures and norms is not likely to be straight forward. This can be complicated by the task of overcoming notions of norms, beliefs and consciousness. According to Clough (1999), exclusive structures in institutions and societies are reflective of exclusion in our consciousness. This implies that exclusive structures have existed in our schools and societies since time immemorial, our minds have developed a false sense of consciousness that sees exclusion as normal. This unconscious repetition of exclusions even in practice, could also result from our rigid and striated formulations of learning spaces (Allan, 2008). 'In reality, of course, educational contexts are stratified in ways that create organisms rather than bodies without organs (BWOs) and subjects instead of becomings' (Goodley, 2007b; p. 328). After all, we constantly lose our ideas and like hanging on fixed ideas (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994) that are calculable.

As highly 'striated and sedentary spaces', schools mark with 'special status' pupils on whom inclusion is to be practised (Allan, 2008; p. 40). Besides, schools attempt to make learners passive as a means of discipline and to exercise control (ibid.). Striation of space as a state function serves to include and exclude some people through a process of control and has been normalised in various state apparatuses (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Such wariness pointed at the difficulties that might be involved in changing people's mind sets and made me wonder whether current inclusion debates offered any insights of thinking otherwise. Thus, the norms of approaching individual differences from a deficit model, having difficult to teach pupils put in separate settings, the growing chasm between haves and have-nots and the general cultures of divisiveness in society were considered as things needing attention. In breaking such barriers, Greene (1995) in her advocacy for practitioners to release their imagination suggests confronting taken for granted realities as if they could be otherwise through imagination and the tapping of untapped possibilities. In particular, the uncertainties and difficulties facing the inclusive movement demand a great deal of imagination from all stakeholders if we are to achieve the goals of an inclusive society. Although at first this might appear to be an impossible endeavour, the change process is complex and can take time (Fullan, 2007a) but is worth the effort. However, given the fact that we live in an immature society from Dewey's (1966) concept of growth in education, the future society will inevitably rely on our current actions and those of pupils who will form future generations.

From a critical perspective and borrowing the ideas of consciousness from Clough (1999), truly there are obstacles to be overcome in the process of inclusion. Based on the idea

that traditions and cultures within school systems affect the thinking and consequently the practices of teachers, development of inclusive ideologies should attempt to change the structures that have historically facilitated exclusive practices. This necessitates an understanding of the patterns of structural inequality within which attempts to change are located (Dyson, and Millward, 2000). In tapping our imaginative powers, questions such as what can be done to change existing educational and social inequalities and how a curriculum and form of teaching that is socially just can be created become important (Apple, 2008b). However, in most cases blame is placed on teachers and pupils while the structures within which new possibilities can be found remain unchanged and business goes on as usual.

In the process therefore teachers are not only mediating policy and influencing student practices, but also representatives of the new genre of policy, the living policy. Therefore, having explored the process through which teachers internalize new policy initiatives, the following section attempts to open up new ways of looking at policy which formed part of my struggle to create a new way of understanding.

2.4: Written and lived policy

2.4.1: *A Deleuzoguattarian view*

> *The expectations and assumptions embedded in the language of policy, the way it is thought about, talked about, are reworked over time ... policies have trajectories over time and the 'family relationships' they accumulate or evolve are presented and accounted for within evolving policy narratives.* (Ball, 2008; p. 101)

From the perspective of the centrality of teachers in the process of policy change, their actions go a long way in influencing the activities of other units within the school. Hence the sum total of all the school practices including those of pupils amount to living practices; the living policy which over time influences the school culture within the school context by piercing the walls of rigidity. Such a process as Ball (2008) highlights is multifaceted and follows different lines of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Through a process of becoming, practitioners attempt to streamline theoretical precepts of policy with practice in order to achieve a smooth space. However, the striations that policies create by portraying particular children as deficient are not rigid because both the smooth and striated spaces change constantly. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) say that the striated spaces attempt to become

smooth while at the same time the smooth spaces develop striations. Thus, inclusive education and policy if construed as blocks of becoming can help to create an understanding as to why both struggles are not easily won. From a Deleuzoguattarian perspective, for these struggles to be won, the point of imperceptibility which is a mysterious point where 'the blues meet' was seen to be inevitable (Buchanan, 2000; p. 93). IE in this sense was seen to take the form of lines of flight in different trajectories through the actions of becoming practitioners. By resisting formal policy through its becoming, it creates new ways of dealing with the ever changing nature of the territory.

My understanding about the concept of rhizome made me imagine policy as a plough that clears the ground for rhizomes to grow which could then justify a view of IE as rhizomatic. Although policy tends to impose order, education is living and cannot be reduced to structures. Thus, it is irresistible for struggles and tensions to exist between the desire to live and to impose order. It is even worse when the imposed order is exclusionary because it denies some people a chance to live. It can thus be understood why IE having stepped into the mystery tree of policy has been met with controversy. Given a fertile ground for inclusion to flourish, it establishes alliances with formal policy in this process of becoming. Therefore both blocks of becoming involve leaving embedded ideas and deficiencies to go beyond the limits of what is known through a process of becoming. In Greene's view (1995), this would amount to creative imagination.

As a nomadic researcher working between striated and smooth spaces, I was interested in understanding the nature in which struggles for inclusion are experienced from a policy perspective. Viewed from a Deleuzoguattarian perspective, the demarcated spaces that policy allows are resisted in practice as different lines of flight are followed by practitioners in their daily routines. Therefore, weaving inclusion polices in the already established practices may be resisted if they are seen to counteract the smooth spaces of practice. Such resistance has constituted the current struggles in schools because some of the theoretical precepts of inclusion are parallel to those of general education. Commenting on the partial and fragmented relationship between policy and practice and building on the work of Deleuze, Allan (2008) acknowledges that theoretical precepts of policy encounter obstacles, walls and blockages in their attempts to enter proper domains thus needed to be relayed by other types of discourses. Deleuze (1977) saw practice as a set of relays from different theoretical points whereas theory is a relay from different theories. Therefore, the development of IE practices can be an essential way of changing rigid theoretical views on

inclusion. This is because 'no theory can develop without eventually encountering a wall, and practice is necessary for piercing this wall' (ibid., 1977; p. 206)

In situations where policy guidelines on how 'to do' inclusion or an illuminative evaluation of gauging schools' development towards inclusive ethos are lacking, many possibilities may arise. For instance, old practices may be maintained while the fashionable rhetoric of going through an inclusive revolution takes over. However, the intensities within a becoming process drive it to an imaginary point of imperceptibility through a bifurcating and wandering process (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987). This then makes an inclusive process far from being a finished product but one that is characterised by desiring intensities to move away from the various forms of exclusion. In an attempt to conceptualize the underlying philosophical blocks of the practice, challenges become inevitable. While the aforesaid highlight some of the impending complexities, other tensions play as governments devise formulae for weaving policy and practice within the existing mainstream education policy which has served interests of the already established norms.

As a block of becoming, a government's intention is to impose order through a series of policy statements. Every specific aspect of what is to be done is documented and stakeholders are expected to adhere to that. Sometimes, each layer of a policy is articulated such that there is a dependency on successive levels of outcome that compare to the analogy of proportion of the series type, that *a* influences *b* which in turn influences *c* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). However, things happen in between and a direct relationship of output in terms of policy texts and expected outcomes is not a straightforward relation. As a result, different typologies of inclusive practices emerge. These typologies may differ in kind making it difficult to argue for the better one because they denote structural differences guided by different ideologies (ibid.). Typologies that denote inclusion as something done to pupils ignore the important aspect of pupils' growth and the diversity of their needs in their constant process of becoming (Goodley, 2007a).

The assumed fixed pattern through which policy follows in its attempt to instigate change gives the impression of a finished logical approach to change. Each of the layers of policy is seen as an attempt to address an area of need by responding to a problem. This logic relates to what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) see as hierarchical systems that are centrally organized with successive units and corresponding higher levels. While such logic of sense may be a fruitful way of laying the foundation for an inclusive process, it is also likely to close and stratify the complexity of human intensities (Deleuze, 1995). However, in reality

and following the logic of rhizomatics, these views of policy and IE as living are complicated and present themselves as revolutionary blocks of becoming. The demands of policy technologies and 'the unpredictable vagaries of practice' (Gale, 2007; p. 472), meet at the interface of the anomalous and form alliances to produce nothing other than themselves (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). At times, they may deterritorialize or reterritorialize in the 'terrain of complexity, multiplicity and interconnectedness' (Gale, 2007; p. 471).

Within this complex process geared towards producing change, the terrains of policy within the school prairie grow in different directions (Fullan, 2007a). Every line of flight created as a result of this complex process and activities represents attempts to become depending on the interactions within the system. It is not possible to know how the myriad of components interact to create the desired or undesired change. Living policy in an organization is dependent on how journeys and emergent lines of flight are cultivated. Based on Foucault's (1979) notion of the accomplishment of discipline through a process of self-regulation and resistance by individuals, policy demands evolve in different directions. This is because change is what living things do as they grow, adapt, involve and become (Fullan, 1999). Fullan goes on to argue that 'there are no shortcuts or substitutes to living and learning in the rollercoaster of complex change' (p. 14). Therefore, practitioners do not automatically comply with the demands of policy discourses but offer resistance as new cultures develop around schools.

Further to the rationale of this study and against the already explored underlying backdrops, this project sought to examine the complexities of attempting to engage in an inclusive becoming process within the existing mainstream arrangements. Much attention was paid to the resourcefulness of the current education policy within which the fabric of inclusive education had been weaved. The Ministry of Education was also carrying out a review of the existing special education policies to ensure IE matters were adequately addressed within the document rather than coming up with a separate document on inclusive education. Therefore, the scattered policy resources for inclusion within the mainstream education policy were looked at through the lens of their potential to trigger a process of inclusion. This resourcefulness especially on access and participation was further subjected to the Deleuzoguattarian machine to create an understanding of how it reacted with practices in the current school arrangement. The approach did not use a detailed policy analysis but highlighted the key issues in the policy resources and the emerging tensions in schools.

2.4.2: *Kenyan policy and inclusion*

> *Policy strategies, Acts, guidelines and initiatives are often messy, contradictory, confused and unclear.* (Ball, 2008; p. 7)

Although the term inclusion is relatively new in Kenyan education documents, the notion is much older and its growth has been influenced by international trends. The international policy climate on inclusion has particularly been dominated by conventions, declarations and statements with adjoining frameworks for implementation (UNESCO, 2009). However, a human rights perspective is at the core of the IE movement as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNESCO, 1948) and the subsequent Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989) both of which stipulate the right to education for all. In order to achieve the goals of universalizing education, the Jomtien Convention (UNESCO, 1990) set out the vision for Education For All (EFA) goal, moving a step closer to inclusion.

Following the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action (UNESCO, 1994), which set the impetus for inclusion, Kenya committed to the provisions by becoming a signatory as reflected in Sessional Paper Number One (MOEST, 2005). Accordingly, the government in line with the millennium goals of EFA enacted a law (Children's Act, 2001) which stipulates the right to education. Official policy documents are also in line with international policy commitments 'as resolved in world conferences on EFA' (MOEST, 2005; p. 36). Nevertheless, the comprehensiveness of these education policies was either silent or not addressed in policy documents. Despite this lack of comprehensive policy highlights on the commitment to IE, it was clear from the policy framework that the government was committed to inclusion and took a special needs approach to inclusion although it recognizes the limitations associated with access (see also appendix for a summary of the Kenyan policy situation on inclusion).

Despite the criticisms arising from the view that inclusion is an attempt to only address the needs of disabled pupils; historical developments have placed special needs at the core of debates on exclusion (Clough, 1998a). Besides, it was the special needs convention (UNESCO, 1994) that propelled inclusion to its current development in recognizing the importance of EFA goals (UNESCO, 2005). The development of inclusion has however been fraught with complexities because of the underlying financial demands that have seen government budgets stretch. Furthermore, rigidities in teaching, curricular inflexibility and

attitudinal barriers compounded by societal values have led to a slow process with minimal noticeable outcomes.

International policy initiatives usually dictate conformity especially in developing failure when crucial funding is lost (Kalabula, 2000). Just as some centralised policy initiatives are from governments, the implementing strategies are set in advance. However, the implementing bureaucrats encounter challenges as they attempt to implement the imported ideas due to the reality of the world of practice. For instance and from my experience as a teacher for special schools in Kenya, the country was still struggling to achieve its goals of integration at the time inclusion was born. As a result, the Kenyan government became financially overstretched and has had to survive on donor aid especially the World Bank to fund its universal primary education initiative and its quest for inclusion. The popularity of inclusion gained momentum particularly after 2003 when a new government implemented one of its manifestos — making primary education free and accessible to all. This follows the Declaration adopted by the Dakar Framework for Action (2000) to provide education for all by 2015 and identified IE as a clear strategy for achieving this.

Such a move implies the realisation of the importance of improving access as a basic step to inclusion. Prior to the passing of the new law which made education free at primary level, a large number of pupils were out of school. Owing to this situation and from a human rights perspective, it is common for inclusive education to be understood as a means of opening school doors to everyone. Furthermore, access is at the core of inclusive initiatives and contemporary developments though based on human rights perspectives, have emphasized the importance of universalizing education (UN, 1990; UNESCO, 1994; UNESCO, 2000).

Therefore, only a few documents used the terms inclusive education which made it hard to track documents that comprehensively addressed inclusion. Thus, my intention to find a well-organized policy document that adequately mentioned and tackled all issues affecting inclusive education in the country proved futile. Instead, a fragmented array of policy documents lay 'all over' as offshoots of commissions and committee reports as well as taskforces: the mechanisms through which the Kenyan government addresses challenges affecting the education sector (MOEST, 2005). The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) is then mandated to develop policy frameworks for the education sector by coming up with sessional papers. The framework sets a basis for further adjoining

documents to be developed providing a comprehensive approach to the realisation and implementation of the paper.

The (then) current sessional paper (No. 1 of 2005) provided a basis for the provision of education for all as a human right agenda through a KESSP (Kenya Education Sector Support Programme) document. Overall, inclusive education was weaved within the fabric of the document although it was 'comprehensively' addressed within one of 23 KESSP investment programmes implemented by the ministry under special needs education (SNE). Although the purpose of government policy is to impose order, the conditions within which schools operate dictate otherwise because of the struggles involved in policy implementation. The rhetoric, texts and meanings do not always translate into institutional practices due to resistance, mediation, misinterpretation or simply prove unworkable (Ball, 2008). Thus, from a Deleuzoguattarian perspective, policy routes are rhizomatic and are complicated by the reality of living. In fact, Considine (1994) cited in Ball (2008) says:

> In a sense, everything in the policy world is really just process, the movement of people and programs around common problems such as education, transport and employment. None of the initiatives in the fields stays fixed for very long because the problems keep moving and changing. We cannot afford, therefore, to view policy as just a study of decisions or programs. The specific decisions which often interest us are merely important punctuation marks within this flow; not the thing itself. (p. 7)

Thus, it would be partial to see school practices as products of 'big P policy' without considering the in betweens and the processes that lead to 'small p policy' (Ball, 2008; P. 6 - 7). Big P policy as Stephen Ball argues, is a set of guidelines constructed by the government and is usually formal and legislated. However, policy is made and remade in what Fulcher (1989) terms different policy arenas leading to many little p policies within local institutions. Following the processes of these policy initiatives is likely to produce a map of the bifurcating journeys that policy follows and the complexities faced in the attempts to transform it into practice. Practices or lived policies in schools are at best compared to small p policies whereas written policy compares to written government policy. Although these tensions arise from the wider social dimensions within which policy operates, the lived realities in schools follow lines of flights as policy is contested (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). For instance, education policy is seen as an overall strategy of meeting the country's

development agendas through an educated workforce. As a result, other policy documents are produced within the fabric of development and attainment of millennium goals using the rhetoric of IE as a guiding principle. This wider perspective adds to the complexity of looking at inclusion from the dimension of schooling because other than equitable access to education, it provides a springboard for societal cohesion and placing vulnerable groups at the core of economic development.

Therefore, other than the KESSP document, the Ministry also produced policy guideline documents with IE as a driving principle addressing specific issues of enrolment, access and retention. Although not limited to, the documents include: The Strategic Plan 2006-2011; Gender policy in Education 2007; The ECD (Early Childhood Development) policy in education 2007; and Health and Safety Measures guidelines for school 2008. This diversity of policy documents forced me to reconsider my initial intention of engaging with all documents mentioning or using the terms inclusive education because resources for inclusion could still be found in documents without necessarily claiming or mentioning the terms. Therefore, following the country's commitment to the declarations of the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994), UN conventions on the provision of education for all, the subsequent introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Kenya was seen as an important step towards inclusion. Nevertheless and given the complexities surrounding the inclusive project, the associated notions of controls contained in policy can therefore appear illusionary.

However, 'action takes place [from the middle], within a necessarily incomplete and constantly changing situation' which can be understood as a becoming (Radford, 2008; p. 144). Thus as the country struggled to come up with an IE document, I was able to identify potential segmented resources for inclusion in the general education document which are indeed inclusive education policies. This is despite of the view that IE policies constitute legislative frameworks concerning the education of disabled children (Liasidou, 2008).

2.4.3: *International policy contexts*

> *Inclusion 'policy' is as much a mindset as a set of texts. It is recognized as an expectation, and even an imperative, as much as it exists in written form.* (Allan, 2008; p. 26)

This section explores the policy conditions within which IE operates. This in turn predisposes the struggle for IE to the danger of being sacrificed as agendas for academic performance overshadow the work of teachers. Furthermore, policy on inclusion is treated as an add-on to existing mainstream policies and works within conflicting and competing contexts which may counter its objectives. For instance, most education systems are guided by 'explicit policies to raise standards, on one hand, and by policies to promote inclusion, on the other' which provide conflicting value and concept positions about education (Norwich, 2010; p. 115). Even though dilemmas are a constituent part of living, the importance attached to inclusion while minimizing the stigmatization of pupils due to their difference raises a critical dilemma. For instance, Minow (1990) cited in Norwich (2010) wonders:

> When does treating people differently emphasize their differences and stigmatize or hinder them on that basis? And when does treating people the same become insensitive to their difference and likely to stigmatize or hinder them on that basis? (p. 116)

IE policy is thus subject to shifting interpretations by stakeholders making it difficult to follow the particular routes they follow to become practice. Although I am wary of the fact that practice follows different lines of flight (routes) depending on their discursive aspects of texts, the importance of developing policy texts was as important because through legislations, the accompanying legal frameworks and resourcing attached are worked out. Further, the contradictions and debates surrounding inclusion as reflected in written policies predispose the practice to the danger of remaining at the level of rhetoric (Vlachou, 2004). In particular, attempts to change an area of practice towards a certain direction become a piece of rhetoric if not connected to an implementation strategy (Fulcher, 1989). Indeed, some appear very authentic at the abstract level but work in the exact opposite at the classroom level. Despite this difference between policy and practice, the two are integrated in that they inform each other. Theory exemplifies a kind of practice while practice always instantiates a particular theory (Anyon, 1994). Nevertheless, policy discourses on inclusion function on the one hand as 'quasi-philosophical' giving it an aspirational status and on the other hand as a set of 'techniques and skills' (Allan, 2008; p. 29).

While Brantlinger (1997) presents a precaution that inclusive philosophy has not been accepted by all, Feiler and Gibson (1999) maintain that there is an alarming lack of empirical

evidence and many advocates of inclusion do not underpin their arguments with practical evidence. At the same time, Sebba and Ainscow (1996) maintain that the movement towards inclusion has been fuelled by ideological convictions, that debates have taken place at philosophical and sociological level and that research on curricular organisation is limited. These arguments give a glimpse of the policy contexts under which IE operates which can be better understood if viewed as tensions and struggles within education institutions. In my view, effective intervention of IE initiatives demands scrutiny from the policy and practice contexts under which it operates. As Slee (2001) exposes, markets have corrosive effects on schooling and narrow opportunities which may give rise to more marginal youths. Education policy operating within such market contexts thus creates conditions for exclusion that work against IE ethos (ibid).

For instance, the current global trend in the marketization of education encourages competition in schools and greater emphasis is placed on achievement. Nevertheless, the principles underlying the marketization of education and the resulting competitive atmosphere are in direct conflict with IE principles (Armstrong, 1999). Propagating policies that conceive pupils as resources to be shaped in relation to market demands justifies segregation of those lacking something needed in the society (Greene, 1995). Therefore, any commitments to inclusive priorities are likely to be conceived as an extra burden by schools and teachers. In the UK, the standards agenda and emphasis on raising standards has led to a trend in which whatever pushes up the standards is seen as good (Ainscow *et al.*, 2006). This is however likely to obscure the values and relationships underlying educational change (ibid.). In the US, Giroux and Schmidt (2004) assert that some schools have been turned into test- prep centres and tend to be ruthless in their disregard of those students who pose a threat to success.

There is a never-ending stream of new legislation and regulation into public sector organisations aimed at more perfect control of institutional and professional life and these may ‘sap’ the strength and spirit of schools and their communities (Honig and Hatch, 2004). This makes one wonder where such regulations originate from because some appear to be detached from school and teacher practices. Failing to incorporate teachers in decisions that govern their profession is likely to lead to resistance on their side. When practitioners are not empowered, they cannot cope effectively and are prone to resist if they feel threatened (Corbett, 2000). The ideas of Fulcher (1989) that policy is made at all levels, led me to think of the teacher as an object of policy rather than taking a leading role in its development.

To work closely with teachers and other stakeholders could mean addressing real concerns that reflect reality of challenges and solutions. While advocating a similar idea, Slee (1995) maintains that the developments in thinking and practice in schools are better understood by looking at what teachers actually do. As a result, educational planners and policy writers have a great deal to learn from developments and practices on school sites if they are to provide more effective leadership in policy formulation and implementation (ibid.). Teachers as practitioners have much wisdom to share with theorists because they encounter challenges and try strategies for solving them (Corbett, 2000). This does not however underrate the importance of listening to hidden voices of pupils as 'emergent philosophers of difference'. In fact, in a study carried out by Ainscow *et al*. (1999), it was concluded that students represent hidden voices that 'if listened to may assist in making schools and classrooms more inclusive' (p. 139).

In the absence of clear directions or powers of discretion when certain methods fail to work, there lies a danger of adopting exclusive strategies in order to deliver the curriculum. Although such thinking may be misinformed by the logic of series, that *a* produces *b*, it may lead to a situation in which pressures to produce the anticipated changes lead to failure or further alienation of already disadvantaged groups of children. These points are at the middle points of intervention in the quest for inclusive schooling which revolves around the teacher, parents, students, school and classroom — all questioning the existing distance between them and education bureaucracies. In understanding such distances, it becomes clear that the curriculum and those that develop it live in a disconnected world from the reality of classroom behaviour (Apple, 2008b).

Without clear policy guidelines, complexities are likely to emerge; sending mixed messages to stakeholders or having contradicting policy statements (Wedell, 2005). Although some disparities and confusions are partly as a result of the inheritance of the contradictions of integration (Rouse and Florian, 1992), critics point at the disconnectedness of IE policy making from the wider educational context (Ainscow *et al.*, 2000; Booth, 1999; Vlachou, 2004). These complex IE policy dilemmas as exposed by Ball (1994) cited in Allan (2008) make inclusivity becoming in schools difficult because:

> ... the more ideologically abstract any policy is, the less likely it is to be accommodated in unmediated form into the context of practice; it confronts other realities, other circumstances, like poverty, disrupted classrooms, lack of materials, multilingual classes. (p. 27)

However, it is worth noting that government policies are a great source of inclusionary and exclusionary forces in education because they can act as both resources and barriers to inclusion (Ainscow *et al.*, 2006). On the other hand, the way schools are organized and teacher perceptions of these policies determine the school's orientation towards IE and the overall school culture. Looked at from a critical perspective, government and lived practices interact in schools as struggles and may lead to tensions and contradictions as schools strive to reorganize themselves to accommodate diversity. Thus, to streamline these levels of policy, an understanding of the wider societal and political context under which schools operate is necessary.

2.4.4: *Policy resources and barriers*

In their attempt to understand some of the drawbacks to the inclusive movement, Ainscow *et al.* (2006), point at policy as a potential resource or barrier for inclusion. Their arguments which draw on the resourcefulness of education policy as a way of facilitating a process of inclusion become a useful insight when looking at Kenyan policy documents. The fact that inclusion has been a great source of controversy (Foster *et al.*, 2003) is likely to send mixed messages that create a set of pulls and pushes. Therefore policy working within contexts characterised by such confusions is also likely to be conflicting.

Indeed, as observed by Wedell (2005), most struggles and tensions in policy and school practices arise from the competing discourses and contradictory ideas in them. Furthermore, government policy guidelines are a great source of inclusionary and exclusionary forces which influence education. However how teachers manage these confusing policy contexts is very critical in promoting education for all. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that all policies are contradictory because they can be quite resourceful in promoting inclusion agendas. For instance, policies that advocate combating low expectations while attending to vulnerable groups of pupils are an important part of the inclusive movement (Ainscow *et al.*, 2006).

In attending to the needs of all and tackling discriminatory attitudes, a culture within the school is likely to develop that celebrates diversity (Barton, 1997). In particular, this policy initiative when applied positively can lead to innovative ways of dealing with all children. Furthermore, there is a general consensus that inclusion should involve some form of participation in the educational experiences by all pupils (Mitler, 2000). However for these resources to be utilised fruitfully, critical thought and creative imagination is required. Greene (1995) calls for practitioners to release their imagination in order to open up new possibilities. Such an approach does not only confront some of the discriminatory attitudes in schools but also explores new possibilities and alternatives. For instance, imaginative approaches might involve understanding and promoting policy as lived rather than the taken for granted view of policy as a written document imposed on teachers and children.

With such a broad-based approach, structural adjustments could be facilitated to remove barriers that can be found within systems. In fact, scrutiny of the existing structures and policies that create systematic discrimination can provide opportunities to promote inclusion (Booth, 1999; Clough and Corbett, 2000). Arguably, bullying among students has been found to be among the biggest barriers to participation (Ainscow *et al.*, 2006). Therefore, policies tackling bullying behaviours can be a positive step in preparing school to become more inclusive. On the other hand, the abolishment of corporal punishment is also seen as an important step towards tackling exclusionary pressures in schools. The current working document on punishment is The Legal Notice No.56/2001 which outlawed corporal punishment in all learning institutions in Kenya enacted in 2001 following the Children's Act Chapter 586 of 2001 (The Children's Act, 2001).

Further, education at primary school became free in 2003 after failed attempts by preceding governments to sustain free primary education. I saw this new government initiative as a resource for inclusion because it laid out the frameworks for increasing access to vulnerable groups of children. While maintaining an open admission policy to all pupils irrespective of their disabling conditions under the FPE policy, the government increased capitation grants to those with physical disabilities. Additionally, each school was provided with additional grants to kick start the removal of existing barriers within the school. The government appears to take a special needs-based perspective to inclusion and is committed to strengthening identification of SEN children and in-servicing of teachers. While various aspects of support are seen as important towards the realisation of inclusion, the government is silent on many issues leaving teachers open to other possibilities which may hinder or

support inclusion. This study therefore was born out of this policy climate in which a country claims commitment without clear policy guidelines on what should take place in the schools, thus predisposing schools to a dilemma in their attempts to meet the demands of all pupils within the demands of the market economy.

Generally, policies contain positive statements that if explored critically can be influential in promoting the school's orientation towards inclusion of all learners. Reflecting on the ways policies can be resourceful; I began to develop an interest in policy analysis in order to be able to identify these resources. This would not only highlight such resources in policies but also encourage a comprehensive policy approach which has been advocated due to the current disconnection of IE policies from general education (Vlachou, 2004; Florian, 1998). Nevertheless, I was concerned about the possibility of having different tracks of policy (Pijl and Meijor, 1991) because of the conflicting and contradictory nature of policies. These confusions and contradictions that appear to send mixed messages are in complete contrast to the resourcefulness of some policies.

Besides the above policy tensions due to conflicting dimensions and discourses of inclusion, the danger of the market economy in education comes to play. Education is regarded from an economic sense in policy with an increasing side-lining of social purposes in education although rhetoric makes us believe otherwise (Ball, 2008). Ainscow *et al.*, (2006) observe that the current emphasis on raising attainment for all is good although it has brought about other practices which encourage competition. Such competition between pupils and schools creates a situation in which pupils at the verge of exclusion become sacrificial lambs (Kisanji, 1998). Moreover, the principles underlying the marketization of education and the resulting competitive atmosphere are in direct conflict with IE principles (Armstrong, 1999). The 'policy epidemic' brought about by marketization of education has led to a flood of closely interrelated reform ideas across countries to give rise to 'generic global policy ensemble' (Ball, 2008; p. 39). This ensemble, Stephen Ball says, rests on common policy technologies with 'the market, management and performativity' as underlying components (ibid.). The proliferation of policies that conceive pupils as resources to be shaped in relation to market demands acts as a justification for the segregation of those lacking something needed in the society (Greene, 1995).

2.5: Conclusion

My own perceptions and understanding about inclusive education also added to the complexities as highlighted above and it became apparent to me why good initiatives fail to achieve their objectives. As already argued, inclusion has been used in government policies in a way that is conflicting and lacking coherence thus making it difficult to see how these policies can be implemented. Thus, the importance of exploring whether teachers embrace the whole notion of inclusion by paying attention to their conceptualizations cannot be ignored because it involves an enlarged perspective on what constitutes 'policy'. As a result of this illumination, I began to think of how such contradictions could be captured in education policy and school practices. A process of reform within institutions can be difficult to understand without clearly defined concepts because the process of change is complex (Fullan, 2007b). In advancing these arguments, further discussion on the effects policy resources and barriers may have on inclusive development provides clues to the sources of these contradictions and how they might be addressed.

Looking at the above issues surrounding policy led me to think critically of how they could be addressed to avoid impinging on the inclusive movement. I privileged the significance of addressing IE struggles as involving an analysis of experiences and presenting possibilities of thinking and acting. Dyson's (2000) idea that inclusive education threats can be dealt with by scrutinizing their structural manifestations led me to think two-fold: identify how these threats exhibit themselves and the connections that provide insights into addressing them. As a result I decided to look into written and lived policies by examining how these have been accounted for in the education policies and how teacher and school practices struggle to overcome them.

My engagement with literature generated a lot of interest and led me to think critically about the potentials and realities of policies in promoting IE. I began to reflect on my previous experiences and the desire to promote inclusion was re-ignited. This reflection posed several inspirational questions that remain unanswered. For instance, what happens to schools which encounter the challenges of attending to diversity in the context of the demands for standards and performance despite their intentions to become inclusive? Can inclusive values be realized in such ambiguous contexts? And if so, how? While reflecting on how threats to the inclusive movement can be overcome, questions of what educational spaces are worthy of including people and what governments can do to streamline written and lived policy emerged. From a critical perspective, threats to inclusion are either manifested in

written or lived policies. Furthermore, the complexities in promoting inclusive practices can be perceived as struggles and tensions between government and teacher practices.

Although my research is situated within becoming IE perspectives, its approach is multifaceted and integrates various theories that are 'intermeshed and entangled' (Brantlinger, 1997; p. 426). Consequently in striving to achieve my aims, many issues have to be investigated and mapped out to illuminate policy matters. However, due to time limitation, it was practically impossible to engage with all possible relationships. Thus, my study was opened up by drawing upon the voices and experiences of pupils and teachers in classrooms schools alongside the perspectives of policy officials and parents. This way, the study attempted to introduce the insights of young people who I, following Allan (2008), consider to be unrecognised 'philosophers of difference'. In using this approach, my expectation was to create an understanding of the rhizomatic journeys and the struggles schools undergo in their effort to become inclusive.

Using the metaphorical concept of the rhizome and becoming as espoused by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), the methodological approach is explored in the next chapter with a detailed engagement of how the concepts were applied in the research conduct.

CHAPTER 3: A BECOMING METHODOLOGY

3.1: *Introduction*

> *[If] to become is never to imitate, nor to 'do like' nor to conform to a model, whether it's of justice or of truth' [and] 'there is no terminus from which you set out, nor which you arrive at or which you ought to arrive, [then what is it?]* (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987; p. 2).

> *If you knew when you began to write a book [or a dissertation], what you would say at the end, do you think you would have the courage to write it?* (Foucault, 1988; p. 8).

As highlighted in the introduction of this thesis, Deleuzoguattarian concepts about rhizomes were central to my thinking. In an attempt to incorporate them in the assemblage of my research, I had to live with the tensions between the desires to understand the meaning of becoming as Deleuze and Parnet (1987) raise in the above citation while at the same time engaging in a process of becoming. Therefore, this methodology was an attempt to experiment with 'philosophies of difference' in conducting an inclusive research (Allan, 2008). The idea of using a becoming methodology was seen as a fruitful way of facilitating the possibilities of forming alliances with other theories. Nevertheless, it was fraught with complexities and tensions which run through the research as an attempt was made to apply the concept of rhizomatic thought and becoming. In forging and weaving these concepts into the research, I took the role of a becoming researcher in order to accommodate new possibilities. To open up possibilities for other becomings, the research was explored within a rhizomatic approach using areas of inquiry that allowed relations and lines of flight to be followed (Honan, 2007). Rather than cling to a set of questions, my rhizomatic orientation allowed me to work within areas of inquiry and frame questions without losing what was salient to my focus and follow emerging lines of flight that revolved around the research aims (Anyon, 2009).

Before embarking on a detailed discussion of how the methodology was orchestrated to achieve my aims, I will highlight some of the theoretical standpoints as well as my personal tensions that ran through this research. This is not intended to lay down a foundation

from which the rest of the sections follow, but to illuminate some of the key ideas which informed my thinking. Rather than delineating ideas in logical progression, an attempt was made to mix them in what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) saw as an open system of plateaus.

In striving to apply their theoretical ideas, I was keen to unpack them though I struggled to integrate them with others. Thus, the intention was not to analyse and to specify their meanings but to see how they could work in my project. From a Deleuzoguattarian perspective, even when we must ascribe meanings the crucial question should be 'what does it do' other than adhering to concepts like well 'behaved disciples' (Buchanan, 2000; p. 97). Thus, in reading and presenting these ideas, I contemplated how they could work for me rather than being caught up into a 'travesty' and being 'extraordinarily reactionary' in asking what Deleuze means (ibid., p. 6).

Further to the ideas presented in the Introduction (see section 1.1.2), a Deleuzoguattarian approach advocates for multidimensional and diverse productivity in thought which involves making ceaseless and ongoing connections. Mapping out these connections involves following different lines of flight because unlike a tree, a rhizome has no points like those found in a structure. Nevertheless, in contrasting the two forms of logic, they are keen to caution us about the intersection, for this is, 'no dualism, no ontological dualism between here and there, no axiological dualism between good and bad, no blend or American synthesis. There are knots of arborescence in rhizomes and rhizomatic offshoots in roots' (ibid; p. 22).

Wary of the fact that neither all lines of flight are creative nor striated spaces are bad, my attempts to move towards a smooth space do not necessarily provide a better option for understanding. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) use becoming as a process that involves the coupling of two sensations without resemblance which refutes binary divisions and enables further transformations. As a result they claim that beings are relatively stable moments in a flow of becoming life and claim the obstacle to thinking and becoming to be humanism and subjectivism (Colebrook, 2002). Thus, even in advocating for a rhizomatic approach in thinking, I knew that the tree and the rhizome have a co-existing relationship.

In coining their argument, Deleuze and Guattari explicate the basic characteristics of a rhizome in the form of six principles. These principles, as Allan (2008) argues, enable a rhizome to function effectively by doing its destructive work. The principles of *connection* and *heterogeneity* propagate an argument for the ceaseless connections and smooth spaces a rhizome creates. Since a rhizome is anti-hierarchical, no specific points must be connected to

one another. Thus, deciding to choose a rhizomatic approach to conduct this research was seen as a fruitful way of demonstrating how such a system of thought involves making ceaseless and nomadic connections of the various research elements (Honan, 2004). Furthermore, my writing and engagement with arguments within this thesis did not follow a logical order because various chapters and subsections have connections that are anti-hierarchical. For instance, in Chapter Five, a new theoretical knot using Foucault (1977a; 1977b) that was not anticipated emerged due to the over-emphasis on discipline and punishment that surfaced as a key finding. This illuminates the fact that research facets are so intermeshed and entangled that the whole research experience can at best be illustrated using a map. In Deleuzoguattarian terms, 'Any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be … A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, social sciences, and social struggles' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 7).

The principle of *multiplicity* illuminates the fact that there are no points like those found in a tree due to the array of lines and connections within a rhizome. For instance, the policy model within Kenyan education policy is organised in a hierarchical structure so as to provide logical explanations and to establish cause effect-relations. This structure is particularly noticeable within models of policy implementation, where strategies are represented diagrammatically to ensure a logical flow and adequate checks and balances are in place to ensure translation of theory into practice.

Unlike such a logical model, multiplicity insinuates the presence of raptures whenever 'segmentary lines explode' into a line of flight which is still part of the rhizome (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 10). Since 'states of things are neither unities nor totalities but multiplicities', they are composed of sets of lines or dimensions irreducible to one another that form part of everything (Deleuze, 1987; p. iv). Furthermore, within a multiplicity, what matters is not the terms or set of relations but what there is 'between the between, a set of relations' which are inseparable from each other (p. viii). It is within these betweens or middles where multiplicities grow like the blades of grass or the rhizome (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987). For instance, the range of factors which appeared to influence pupils' exclusions from schools had a multiplicity of factors. As expounded in Chapter Six, ethnicity, tribalism and historical colonial factors all had a complex relationship with a related influence on the socio-economic situation of the person. Therefore, in order to promote

inclusion, it would be important to situate a child or a school within this complex web of factors, and then apply a multi-sectoral approach to change current situations.

Multiplicity counteracts the taken for granted cause-effect relations through binary machines in understanding the relations within a system. For instance, in the pursuit of tensions between policy and practice, it emerges that no single element can be attributed to a given tension. This best explicated by Chapter Six where the findings on ethnicity suggested a wider array of issues that affect the conditions under which exclusions occur. Thus, there were attempts in the methodology to allow for the formation of unusual connections between policy texts and the reality of practice creating a new understanding of these relations. In conducting this research, attempts were made to forge relationships that cut across power boundaries in order to occupy a space that would include me in the research process. I did not want to be an outsider looking for objective reality but a player from within cherishing the no value free nature of qualitative research.

As I engage in arguments, I also recognize the multiplicity in me because I have been 'aided, inspired and multiplied' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p 3) as a result of engaging with different theoretical viewpoints. Consequently, at every stage of the research process, I became folded in the multiplicity of view of significant 'others' in the process of creating and delineating new meanings. In writing a book, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) see themselves as a crowd because of the multiplicities in each of them; '... each of us was several, there was already a crowd' (p. 3). Therefore, as a result of engaging with various theoretical views, the horizon of my understanding has been widened, thus affording the articulation of different standpoints in this assemblage.

The fact that a rhizome may be broken or shattered at a given point but start again at old or new lines forms the fourth principle of *asignifying rapture*. As Deleuze and Guattari write:

> A rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines or on new lines ... Every rhizome contain lines of segmentarity according to which it is stratified, territorialized, organized, signified attributed., as well as lines of deterritorialization down which it constantly flees. (Ibid; p. 9)

In my writing, thinking and analysis of this research, there were movements to and from old ideas as the research progressed and new insights were gained. Furthermore, the

whole thesis is an assemblage of a multiplicity of ideas with 'bifurcating, divergent and muddled lines' constituted without having to go from one point to another (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987; p. viii). This characteristic enhanced ideas to be developed and redeveloped in different sections of the thesis. Therefore, other than following a logical sequence, concepts would follow a nomadic path sometimes taking lines of flight to particular plateaus only to re-emerge in others. Looking at a school as a rhizomatic organisation, inclusive education was also seen as a becoming process in which struggle ensued as new policy initiatives were contested. These struggles opened up the possibilities of new practices to emerge or a new line of flight to be taken in an attempt to accommodate diversity.

The fifth and sixth principles of *cartography* and *decalcomania* reinforce the idea that rhizomes work by mapping new or unknown lines without tracing because rhizomes are not amendable 'to any structural or generative model' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 12). This particular principle was fundamental in thinking about how an analytical approach could be applied to map out unusual assemblages in the research outcome. These principles characterize the growth trend of a rhizome as a *becoming*. Inclusive education as a major driving force in this research seemed to befit a becoming definition. As a process of increasing access and creating a welcoming attitude to people, there has not been a consensus on what it actually means because of its diversity and ability to grow in different directions. Becoming as an action through which something continues to become while continuing to be what it is, is revolutionary (Allan, 2008). Since the target of becoming changes in the process of one's becoming, Deleuze and Parnet (1987) say, 'To become is never to imitate nor to 'do like' nor to conform to a model ... of truth. There is no terminus from which you set out, none which you arrive at or which you ought to arrive' (p. 2).

For instance, to orchestrate the findings chapters, I had to look for connections that appeared to connect so as to offer a meaningful insight. In drawing a map for Chapter Four, I connect and relate how conceptualizations about IE may privilege a disabling view of inclusion and in the process attending to pressures for better performance, rhizomatic exclusion emerges.

3.2: Philosophies at work

My becoming was partly inspired by a view expressed by Foucault in an interview reported by Rux (1988). According to him, the desire to become someone else should form our basis for life and work. He further poses a question, 'If you knew when you began to write a book

what you would say at the end, do you think you would have the courage to write it?' (Foucault, 1988; p. 8). His views were not only motivating but also aroused my curiosity to wander as I engaged with research participants. Besides, Foucault's views point at the importance attached to becoming in my project which as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) advise, can be realized by developing thinking from an idea and moving in different directions. Such a stance enables the researcher to form connections and establish relationships by operating from areas of inquiry - the middles. Becoming was expected to open up my mind's eye to alertness and the possibility of reality taking a different line of flight rather than being stable. I was thus forced to forge for an inclusive space with participants by immersing myself into their lives. As described in section 3.3.2 below, the desire to flatten hierarchies led to making interviews conversational in order to invoke dialogue. I have also provided further guiding ideas on my thinking in the generation of findings in Appendix 5.

As Buchanan (2000) argues, nothing happens much for a becoming until a point of imperceptibility is reached. Such a point, in my view enhances one to saturate findings. However, working within what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) would call a categorical difference (written policy) and differentiation (living policy); my nomadic inquiry led me to both the striated and smooth spaces. It was within these spaces that I set limits of my research as I reviewed the relationships between written and lived policy. Besides, following different lines of flight highlighted the messiness of policy struggles and reality of life taking different trajectories. These tensions always opened up the possibilities of different trajectories to emerge. Policy was treated as a block of becoming that interconnects with others outside of school but was limited to how such relationships enhance or prohibit inclusion. As an arena for struggles, policy relationships within schools are sometimes invisible and grow in chaotic directions (Fulcher, 1989). Thus, looking at the school as a prairie (Fullan, 1999) provided grounds for emerging findings to be explored to provide further clues on their interrelationships with written policy. These becomings and interrelationships between the researcher and the researched are further explored as I put the philosophies of difference to work (Allan, 2008).

3.2.1: ***Nomadic (rhizomatic) thought***

> *Nomad thought does not immure itself in the edifice of an ordered interiority; it moves freely in an element of exteriority. It does not repose on identity; it rides difference. It does not respect the artificial division between the three domains of representation, subject, concept and being; it replaces restrictive analogy with conductivity that knows no bounds.* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. xii)

Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) rhizomatic thought opens up new lines of flight which transcends power boundaries and helps to establish meaningful relations (Honan, 2007). Consequently, this can pave the way for a different multi-layered approach in research relationships and the communication of research outcomes. These views led to my inclination towards an inclusive research approach which interconnects ideas from either direction, where the self and the other are connected.

As disclosed in Chapter Six (section 6.3.3), I engaged in teachers' social lives and I was able to learn about how a relatively new teacher was tricked into admitting a pupil whom the administration had declined. Furthermore, I attended social functions and visited the sick with them and eventually attended the funeral of one of the teachers. Such social forums opened up the spaces for interaction through which I was able to gain an insight into the beliefs and experiences of teachers. As a result, doing inclusive research through a 'nomadic' system of inquiry seemed to befit a Deleuzoguattarian theory of rhizomes (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

In using lines of flight, an attempt was made to transgress generic boundaries allowing for the inclusion of the researched and their voice. For instance, rather than adhere to my schedules of observing classes formally, I would attend classes when pupils had their lunch and also interacted with them as they played. During one such encounter, I had the benefit of gaining insights into what pupils considered to be the immediate priorities for change in the school. They raised issues such as overcrowding without fear of teacher surveillance and even disclosed how they ate food without salt. I had a feeling that visualising research as a non-linear and messy undertaking where elements of the various research facets form plateaus with each other and an irretraceable flux of lines connect them, might invoke creative thinking that can break the barriers of exclusive research. Besides, my critical

appraisal of the dangers of 'methodolatory' — for instance undermining the spirit of creativity — has motivated me to creatively imagine new possibilities of researching (Chamberlain, 2000; p. 287). From this perspective, each research facet is seen as a plateau of continuity connected by various lines of flight while the subsections are seen as terrains. Furthermore, in doing a rhizomatic research, 'the researcher, the research and the researched are to be seen in relation to themselves, not in relation to the prescriptive model of research' (Mercieca and Mercieca, 2010; p. 88).

Rather than engaging novice researchers into 'roasting of the other, the transformation of raw materials into a homogenized same', following the different lines of flight within this experimentation, propagates a different approach that disrupts the hierarchical control and 'spreading imperial tentacles ... over the strangled research subject' (Honan, 2007; p. 544). According to Allan (2008, p. 51), such control over novice researchers limits their imagination and engagement with personal values forcing them 'to collude in the repetition of exclusion through their work'. Thus, rhizomatic thought was seen as useful in this approach because it allows for new perspectives of supposed reality and enables us to ask questions or take action. This opens up for alternative views because 'the world perceived from one place is not *the* world' (Greene, 1995; p. 20). The metaphorical concept invoked my thoughts and propelled my imagination to think about conducting research inclusively.

Becoming (desire to think and act beyond the confines of ordinary expectation) was seen to play a leading role in the experimentation due to its ability to follow lines of flight over the transgressions and the binary boundaries that stops us from being of the researched minds. This does not suggest that a rhizomatic network is the only line of thought capable of 'strangling the roots of the infamous tree' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. viii) but in pursuit of a way of resisting the 'ruthless linearity of knowledge production' (St. Pierre, 1997; p. 179). However, my unpacking of Deleuze and Guattari cannot be yours because the option of treating their ideas as 'non signifying machines' and not as 'a box containing something' took me to lines that cannot be replicated (Deleuze, 1995; pp. 7- 8). Just like rhizomes, I realized there was a constant flux of changes in the process of thinking as I connected my experiences, skills and views through following different lines of flight that took me in different directions. Indeed, 'theory does not totalize, it is an instrument for multiplication and it also multiplies itself' (Deleuze, 1977; p. 208).

Thinking rhizomatically and attempting to forge an analytical tool befitting this approach was chaotic and challenging. This was complicated by the process of seeking a

means of validation and new pathways and the disregard for hierarchical approaches. Although validity is seen as an inappropriate means of judging research done in post-structural framework, Allan (2008) points out that validity cannot just be dismissed and suggests other means of validation to be sought. Despite acknowledging the difficulties of validating a rhizomatic inquiry, Lather (1986) offers different ways of validating outcomes (for instance catalytic and rhizomic validity) that appeared to offer insights to this dilemma. In view of the theoretical perspectives taken in this research, rhizomic validity appeared more sufficient and has been discussed in the rhizoanalysis section. As a result my research addressed issues of validity by attempting to follow Lather's rhizomic validity by establishing an 'open-ended proliferation of ideas rather than categories' (Allan, 2008; P. 151).

Further complications arose from a desire to carry out an inclusive research in which dialogue is seen as a fundamental ingredient to meaningful relations and outcomes. As argued under the terrain an epistemology of becoming of this plateau (see section 3.3.5), a desire to counter relational gaps in the process of knowledge production means promoting dialogue in which communication is allowed. However, this threatens to reduce the research process to an 'exchange of ideas' because as research participants engage in a dialogue an inevitable situation of research contamination may arise. Although this seems to be a strong basis for critique, 'a catalytic validity' justifies such an undertaking on the basis of its emancipatory powers and ability to engage people in processes likely to create solutions to their problems (Lather, 1986; p. 67). In formulating my methodology, I tried to make smooth ground but realised the depths I had to get into. Therefore, I often found myself at the border of spaces, the striated (following a hierarchical approach) and the smooth (following creative spaces of desire). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), 'Sedentary space is striated, by walls, enclosures, and roads between enclosures, while nomad space is smooth, marked only by "traits" that are effaced and displaced with the trajectory' (p. 381). Policy as they say operates like a rhizome, 'by variation, expansion, conquest, rapture and offshoots' (p. 21).

This contradictory ground created an illusion and put me in the situation of a becoming researcher trying to find a middle space from which I could establish alliances. Against this background, my understanding of IE began to change. I saw it as a never ending struggle, a becoming for schools and governments as they strive to accommodate diversity in order to promote social justice. Within this chaotic, multi-layered and ever changing struggle, IE becoming was deemed to involve creation, resistance and opportunities for justice.

Furthermore, 'the ultimate aim of all becoming is pushing beyond something unbearable to a new oceanic sensibility and logic' (Buchanan, 2000; p. 93).

Thus, in this becoming process, an attempt to destroy both generality and particularity was made by countering beliefs, attitudes, classes of disabilities and their specific categories (Buchanan, 2000). As a result, a rhizomatic approach allowed for the various lines of flight to be followed as the researcher sought for understandings of people's conceptions. Besides, lines of flight have also been used as a way of escaping from the stratification and standardization of doing qualitative research through imagination (St Pierre, 1997).

Furthermore, from a rhizomatic perspective, a methodology can never be fixed and finished. Instead, it is always becoming. As the researcher interacts with the research, new understandings emerge and new connections are made which might push it in a different direction. Methodological approaches change as the research scenario unfolds. The research can take a different shape especially due to unexpected issues cropping up as well as the changing nature of the self. Thus using a becoming methodology was an attempt to open up opportunities that would allow for diverse ways of seeing in the ongoing research process. Through such a becoming, new spaces are opened up to explore deeply into issues of inclusion through engagement. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue that becoming does not operate on the logic of proportion or filiations, neither is it a matter of establishing corresponding relations. Instead, it operates through a folding activity establishing connections: networks and intertwining that are not evolutionary but *involutionary*. Since becoming is a rhizome that produces nothing other than itself, it is perfectly real and a creative process because 'involution is creative' (ibid; p. 263).

3.3.2: *Including participants*

> *I was of three minds,*
> *Like a tree*
> *In which there are three blackbirds.* (Stevens, 1955; p. 92)

My initial decision of choosing a school for my study was rather difficult. Based on the information contained in the national policy document, it was clear that the IE philosophy was already embedded in policy documents and that schools were already going through a process of inclusion. Besides, my contact with a UK-based organisation that was pioneering

the inclusion of children with disabilities in Kenyan schools had pointed at schools that were already 'inclusive'. However from my understanding of inclusion as a becoming, I resisted the temptation of choosing such schools because of the biases the disability organisation would have brought to the setting. Nind *et al.* (2005) say that, their decisions in choosing a school for a study on IE was based on a combination of recommendation by officers in the local education authority combined with self-identification. Corbett (2001) cited in Nind *et al.* (2005) chose a school known to her to be inclusive through discussion with teachers. Although my decision was similarly based on prior discussion with the head teacher, I also had a personal interest to explore the struggles of becoming inclusive in a well performing school. Besides, the school was already known to me, was proximal and served children in a deprived area with a history of ethnic tensions and thus an ideal place to explore inclusive struggles.

In this experimentation, I remained sceptical about how a rhizomatic approach would work as I resisted the temptation of tracing. As a result, Wallace Stevens' poetry was used as part of imagination to see how it would auger with the Deleuzoguattarian machine. Rather than work from privileged positions that would reinforce particular truths, I became more inclined to work within areas of inquiry rather than research questions without losing what was salient to my focus. The average class size was 70 pupils and the study was conducted within a case study design which did not only allow for in-depth exploration of teacher and pupils' experiences but also permitted a nomadic inquiry. According to Yin (1995), people's experiences are best uncovered through case studies which allow researchers to make connections that would be too complex for other techniques. Moreover, apart from being useful in the study of human behaviour, the case study method has been found to be a direct and satisfying way of adding experience and improving understanding (Stake, 2006).

This approach augers well with my rhizomatic epistemology because it enhanced gaining deeper insights into teachers' lived experiences about the reality of IE and possibilities for further developments which could hold vital clues for mapping out a comprehensive policy agenda. Gathering evidence from different perspectives (Robson, 2002) enabled the mapping out of the rhizomatic journeys of lived experiences and to establish their connections to written policy. Therefore, the multiplicity of policy interpretations and their subsequent influence on lived realities provided useful clues for creating an understanding of the areas of minimal resistance. In this pursuit, the tensions between these two levels were explored to identify the potential and the possibilities of

promoting IE with a view of theorizing a comprehensive policy approach (Clough and Corbett, 2000; Fulcher, 1989). These then become useful in creating an understanding in the formulation of comprehensive policies so that the lines of flight of minimal resistance could be boosted.

In order to provide more evidence and illuminate the tensions between the two levels of policy, an attempt was made to understand the interactive process between national policies and lived experiences in defining school practice. Engagement with the lived experience of individuals' accounts allowed for the elicitation of multiple versions of reality. This enhanced my representation and interpretation of the diverse versions of the struggles for inclusion grounded in real life struggles of teachers, pupils and parents (Slee, 1995). Despite this inclination, Denzin and Lincoln, (2000) warn that representing reality and the experiences of others is complex and messy, requiring a commitment to diversity with due emphasis on process, meaning, and context.

Further to my inclination towards inclusive research, I had a personal desire to include the researched by countering relational gaps. This was due to my concern with participant alienation and critique of maintaining distances in order to see objective reality. In line with my desire to creatively imagine, I plugged and played Steve Wallace's poetry into the Deleuzoguattarian theory to shape thinking on the being and becoming of an inclusive researcher (Buchanan, 2000). As a result, attempts were made to forge relationships that cut across power boundaries in order to occupy a space that would include me in the research process. In following the different lines of flight within this experimentation, a rhizomatic approach was seen to disrupt the hierarchical control of methodology by opening up new spaces for engagement.

Against the above backdrop, Deleuzoguattarian theory offered a fundamental framework for thinking (Honan, 2004). As a result, Wallace Stevens' poetry was seen to play an important role in the conduct of inclusive research and his second stanza was seen differently:

> I was of seventy minds
>
> Like a class
>
> In which there are seventy children (adopted from Stevens, 1955; p. 92)

Our desire to include the other can overcome concepts of obstruction which limit our perception if we form rhizomes with them. However, we can easily be caught up in the school and classroom trees to an extent that our momentum to see deeply is slowed. To avoid being caught up in the branches of such trees, my nomadic thought inspired me into doing research that can bring change by being with rather than acting upon people. The momentum of our desire is more fruitful if we act as a rhizome. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) write that 'whenever desire climbs a tree, internal repercussions trip it up and it falls to its death; the rhizome on the other hand, acts on desire by external, productive outgrowths' (p. 14). Such a desire to include encompassed countering power boundaries and incorporating the values of all.

Despite the important role played by research in education, limited evidence of progress has been reported especially in the inclusive education project (Ainscow *et al.,* 2000). As a result, there have been calls for producing knowledge with the potential to achieve inclusion in practice as highlighted by Allan (2008). Citing Flybjerg (2001), Allan exposes the view of the unjust criteria for judging the efficacy of educational research and its comparison to research in natural science. Her conclusion points at the need for *phronetic* research due to its concern with values and power which suggests an alternative approach to research. Being of 70 minds in class with 70 children reinforces the idea of treating each child as a becoming-person and attempting to look at the world together with them. After all we are reminded that 'there can be no revolutionary actions ... where the relations between people and groups are relations of exclusion and segregation' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1996; p. xxii).

Rather than treating pupils as objects of research, engagements were sought through dialogue to facilitate openness. Each of the pupil's view was treated as a line of flight from the ordinary classroom tree. Being of pupils' minds involved disorientating the powerful space traditionally occupied by researchers and listening to the pupils' voices. In a study conducted by Ainscow *et al.* (1999; p. 139) it was concluded that 'students represent voices which if listened to may assist in making schools and classrooms more inclusive'.

The idea of being of the minds of pupils arises from importance attached to people rising up to their challenges to foster and forge their own inclusion. As a becoming inclusive researcher intending to cognitively empathise with pupils, I struggled to position myself from their perspectives. Such a positioning required entering into the perspectives and worlds of the researched in a process that Deleuze and Guattari (1987) call reterritorialization. I

therefore decided to work within areas of inquiry in order to allow for their perceptions and relationships to be explored. These demanded an attempt to tap their individual experiences rather than seeing them as a structure of three groups (pupils were grouped according to ability into three groups). Seeing subjects along segmentations of binary lines is a key problem to Deleuze and Guattari because it excludes the aspect of becoming (Goodley, 2007a). Instead, pupils are seen not as static categorical beings but always in a process of becoming. It was thus desirable to permeate these categorical boundaries of binary in order to form rhizomes with them.

Although policy tends to impose order, education as a process of living takes different forms and like a rhizome, it is not amendable to any structural or generative model (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). However, this is a characteristic of tensions and struggles between the desire to live and impose order. While such groupings and generalisations make class management easier, research based on such categories maybe unlikely to capture the lived experiences of individual pupils. Furthermore, rigid, striated and hierarchical spaces of school are likely to generate exclusion (Allan, 2008). Thus, methodological lenses using such hierarchies are also likely to reproduce exclusion contrary to the desire for research to lead to better practice. Seeing and acting on the classroom like a tree distracts us from receiving what is happening and flying with the 'birds' in order to understand them. As a result, the young birds are likely to starve to death because if the young bird fails to fly, they will never find food (Burundian proverb). My inclusive research orientation thus acted like a plough and cleared the ground for rhizomes to grow. The classroom tree was seen at the background and our attention focused on the lives of the pupils. Therefore, it was important to 'alter my role from outsider' to a more inclusive one in order to gain insights from both teacher and pupil perspectives (Smagorinsky *et al*., 2006; p. 91).

Radical listening from within allowed for pupils' views to be listened to because as it turned out, pupils began to see me as a pinnacle of hope and an agent of change (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007). For instance, pupils told me about the issues they thought needed to be changed as if they expected me to act and make their learning a better experience. Similarly, I held conversations with the school cooks who complained about their poor working conditions and asked me if there was anything I could do to help. As some were parents, they cautioned me against identifying them to the school administration for fear of dismissal.

From an inclusive education lens, the success of the project can be catalysed by creative imagination and diversity of thought in attending to the needs of all. The beings and

minds of the pupils cannot be controlled but the awakeness and alertness of the inclusive researcher opens up to all the pupils. This dismantles the imposed structures allowing for the formations of alliances, like the tubers of the same rhizome. By so doing, the researcher is not controlled by methodolatory to see but opens up and acts with the pupil to see what there is (Chamberlain, 2000). According to Chamberlain, methodolatory gives 'an overemphasis on locating the correct or proper methods' (p. 287). On the contrary, a radical perspective allows for new pathways to be followed in order to make sense of the issues under investigation. Tierney (1998) observes that 'to seek new epistemological and methodological avenues demands that we chart paths rather than constantly return to well known-worn roads ...' (cited in Clough and Nutbrown, 2007; p. 95).

As a becoming researcher and being of 70 minds allowed me to follow-up the lines of flight that emerged from the class. This required a follow up of critical moments to clarify information and make further observations of some 'birds' outside the class. In so doing, I was able to look at the world with them and become part of the tree that was beginning to grow 'rhizomatic offshoots' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; p. 22). It is imperative as a researcher to form rhizomes with the tree in order to follow the different terrains that emerge. I noticed instances in which some pupils appeared detached from the lesson and could almost feel the pressure pupils were under especially due to overcrowding. I could almost tell that something was wrong with one boy and was tempted to talk to him but was cautious not to disrupt the class. I also wondered whether it was possible for a teacher in such a situation to be of the pupils' minds.

In this situation, it was not long before the class teacher noticed and sent the inattentive pupil outside as punishment. Many possibilities for the teacher's response arise one of which could be seeing her as a disciplinarian. On the other hand, her sending the pupil out of the class could have been a consequence of previous experiences of succeeding to attract pupil attention through such a measure. However, instead of making conclusions on these possibilities based on personal interpretations, the wandering nature of the becoming researcher requires a shift in stance in order to experience from the teacher's point of view. In order to better understand her behaviour, I had to talk to her and attempt to understand establish the relationship between her responses to the pupil's. After talking to the pupil and after reiterating the class scenario, I was able to realise that the pupil was tired due to home responsibilities that meant going to bed late and waking up very early.

Rethinking research in order to see the world with the 'birds' on the tree needed concern for the relational gap. It was especially necessary to counter the power relations in order to 'flatten the hierarchy between the researcher and the researched' (Allan, 2008; p. 148). To overcome such hierarchies, the inclusive researcher requires a nomadic system of thought, an ethical mindfulness. Such an attempt is likely to forge relations that lead to conclusions likely to inform practice. Furthermore, traditional paradigms have not resulted in any marked improvements in practices especially inclusive education (ibid.). This is particularly due to leaving out the voices of the researched by maintaining a distance between the researcher and the 'objects'.

Nevertheless an attempt to maintain objective interpretations opens up methodological gaps leaving out the richness of human interaction and the importance to close the gap. Doing research in this manner is likely to make significant contribution to the researched because it is grounded in the realities of the people to whom change is sought. Although there has been a shift from treating the most researched groups as participants rather than objects (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007), inclusive research is seen here as a step closer to the realisation of this participation. With this understanding, natural rather than contrived empathy was sought through the realisation that meaningful data emerges by treating participants as part of the knowledge you seek to emphasize.

Creating knowledge from within provides the opportunity to understand the dynamic reality of people's lives but also makes the research more inclusive, transparent and allows readers to make their own judgements (Carter and Little, 2007). Within this process, the knower is seen as a participant in the generation of knowledge and truths that are contextual (Hofer and Pintrich, 1997). Such a perspective acknowledges the fact that the researcher cannot be the only one in possession of truths about peoples' social and cultural realities (Osborne *et al*., 2004). Consequently, this perspective allows human participants to be treated as active and becoming contributors. Since knowledge is bound with power and power decides what counts as knowledge (Lind, 2007), becoming an inclusive researcher suggests a shift in thinking to accommodate creativity. Such creativity might need recognising the importance of involving the researched. In his poetry, Wallace Stevens (1955; p. 94), reminds us that:

I know noble accents
And lucid, inescapable rhythms;

But I know, too,
That the blackbird is involved
In what I know.

His writing appeared to invoke creativity by reminding us about the importance of involving the 'blackbird' in our research:

I know you are experts
And masters of research theories;
But I know too
That the researched are involved
In what you know (adopted from Wallace Stevens (1955; p. 94)

Being of the pupils' minds, I trialled the use of focus groups discussions and realised how their freedom to express their views freely was limited. Having looked at its methodological limitedness, I was inspired to adapt some elements of a focused conversation in which conversations rather than a focused interview were centred on particular aspects of the research problem (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007). The becoming nature of the research demanded adjusting methods according to the situation despite the richness and ideas ready methods offered. The intention was to change power arrangements that exist in traditional paradigms and put emphasis on dialogue. Writing earlier, Buber (1958) emphasized the importance of dialogue because meaningful human relationships without bounds exist when we move away from 'I –it' and enter into 'I – Thou' relations. Buber writes that 'dialogue is possible if the people who are genuinely trying to converse listen not only to what is said but also to what is felt without having been expressed in words' (p. 19). As Deleuze and Parnet (1987) say, 'we are always in the middle of something and the boring thing about questions and answers, about interviews, about conversations, is that usually it's a matter of taking stock: the past and the present, the present and the future' (pp. 28-29).

While Buber suggests that researchers should engage in dialogue rather than interviewing participants and taking notes in order to enhance focus and concentration, Deleuze argues that the question-answer style has the effect of forcing thought into a position with nothing to say (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987). Therefore my approach called for a format that stimulated dialogue without an 'external ordering principle' to free up respondent's

thought (ibid; p. ix). Interviews organized in such a way stimulated dialogue to avoid the dualism of question-answer. As apparatuses of power, Deleuze and Parnet (1987) argue, binary machines work to impose choices in particular ways despite our good intentions in interviews. Therefore my approach brought together both interview and conversation allowing for ideas to grow in different directions. This orientation aroused curiosity and I was amazed by pupils' acceptance to participate and contribute to knowledge creation. Attempts were made to clarify what research was and the impact it was likely to have on their lives. Additionally, this attempt to alter research relations exposed issues that were followed up in dialogic interviews (see also appendix 5).

3.3.3: ***Rhizoanalysis***

> *Make a rhizome. But you don't know what you can make a rhizome with, you don't know which subterranean stem is going to make a rhizome or enter a becoming ... so experiment ... that's easy to say?* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 277).

Although there is no agreed upon and a specific formula for analyzing data, much significance is placed on how well the analysis addresses the areas of research and the arguments advanced to support claims. In fact, Hammersley (1993) argues that there are no set of rules or a simple recipe that one can follow which will always be appropriate and guarantee good results. On the other hand, Strauss and Corbin (1997) are explicit on a careful and comprehensive codification of data into categories and subcategories which act as units of synthesis and further interpretation. However, rhizoanalysis as a concept of meaning making contrasts understanding based on tree-like logic in which cause-effect relations are established to the logic of rhizomatics. Within the latter logic, rather than ascribe 'hard facts' to situations, 'multiple and shifting truths' that are open to becoming are described (McNaughton, 2004; p. 92).

Therefore, despite using a systematic approach to analysis based on the logic of linear causality, there is no guarantee for correct meanings. This is because, from a critical perspective, absolute causal relations or parities in the social world can only be impossible. This can render such a structural analysis to the understanding of real life events a complex phenomenon. For instance, policy as a set of interrelated ideas whose effects may not be directly noticeable makes it difficult to point to a direct causal relationship. My intention to

identify and see beyond the data inspired me to explore what Sanger (1994) refers to as research imagination. Such imagination was reworked through the philosophies of difference notably by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) by reconceptualising their biological metaphor of rhizomes and becoming. As already expressed in the section 3.2.1 under nomadic rhizomatic thought, the world is a dynamic place whose events follow different trajectories that are unpredictable. Such events can either deterritorialize or reterritorialize in a reflection of the constant flux of becoming. Therefore, an analysis of events and how they are connected to each other can only reveal the rhizomatic nature and journeys taken by events.

Rhizoanalysis as an analytic tool developed from the metaphorical concept of the rhizome, contrasts the linearity of tree–like logic and offers lateral logic that is characterized by dynamism, flexibility and heterogeneity. In using rhizoanalysis, another form of logic that uses a lateral structure encompassing 'change, complexity and heterogeneity' is presented (McNaughton, 2004; p. 93). This lateral logic of thought reflects the dynamism of change and the associated never-ending process of becoming.

As already described in the introductory section (section 3.1) of the guiding theory, rhizomatic thinking and writing involves making ceaseless and ongoing connections (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Thus rhizoanalysis as an offshoot of the theory explains things in terms of dynamic and ever-changing becoming. Unlike a tree, a rhizome is never finished and has no points like those found in a structure. A rhizoanalytic approach points at the 'fluidity' of interpretations, 'a constantly moving configuration that is ripe with potential for divergent movements' (Leafgren, 2007; p. 106) However, mapping out these ceaseless connections is demanding because it involves following different lines of flight. Besides, its search for validity might lead to a dilemma that could demand a different approach to validity; for instance to set understanding as its goal instead (Wolcott, 1990).

To facilitate my analysis, I entered into the structured world tree, in order to create a map revealing the rhizomatic relations of lived realities. Rather than seeing through the lens of the already established theories and then copying and categorising research outcomes to replicate them, mapping allows for the path of all possible chaotic relations to emerge. Using such an approach was deemed necessary because a school is a structured institution and by submerging into an arborescent and hierarchical structure, it became possible to develop a decisive gaze of how policy and reality interacted. Furthermore, a rhizoanalytic approach opened up new ways of understanding by linking and folding findings with policy texts. This involved looking for all implausible stories that captured lived experiences, then comparing

and contrasting these stories to written policy (Honan, 2004). In using a rhizomatic approach to my study and subsequently analysis, I was no longer a narrator or a listener from a distance but from within. This is because by engaging with research and participants I became part of their rhizome and folded with them.

Thus, my methodological approach demanded a loose structure so as to afford for rhizomes to grow — to see how people's stories formed alliances with the rhetoric of policy. However, to map out these conceptual ideals, I have developed middle positions as starting points on the issues explored in order to achieve my aims. This experimentation predisposed me to the danger of remaining trapped at the branches of the tree as I occupied the productive border of confusion which in Deleuzoguattarian theory would be the anomalous border.

3.3.4: *Living the anomalous border*

> *The anomalous is neither an individual nor a species; it is a phenomenon of bordering. A multiplicity is not defined by the elements that compose but by the lines and dimensions it encompasses in intention.* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 270)

As a *tree*, struggling to grow rhizomatic offshoots and to shed the 'trees in my mind', I found myself living in a border full of tensions. For instance, my attempts to apply rhizomatic thought and writing often suffered occasional blows of rigid frames of tree mentality and what following lines of flight might entail. Consequently, as I paved my way to a smooth space on the other side of the river, I faced the inevitable bridge: structural procedures and criteria for research (methodolatory). Constraints arising from controls within institutions especially for research students 'creates closure' and even where openness in defining meaning of terms is allowed become challenging to the student (Allan, 2008; p. 18). This at times created a crisis with regard to the way to go. As a result, I constantly found myself questioning my own approach but an unstoppable force inside kept inspiring and pushing me forward, just like swirling between a rock and a hard place. As a wandering rhizome, my cyclic movements always brought new dilemmas as I became trapped in a border of tensions. Owing to my nomadic thought, my research journey turned out to be full of confusion, following different lines of flight and almost irretraceable although I cannot dispel the dilemmas of being caught up in the branches of the tree.

Being trapped on the suitable approach to use brought to memory ideas of other analytical tools. I decided to extract ideas and concepts from them and plug into the Deleuzoguattarian machine. Such plugging of Deleuzoguattarian machines to others produce 'assemblages that take us elsewhere' (St Pierre, 2004; p. 287). Besides, it widens our horizon and perspectives to the 'always more' intensities and forces within the research (Mercieca and Mercieca, 2010; p. 86). After collecting evidence, I felt trapped because my analytical approach demanded an application of Deleuze.

I began to compare the complexities between written policy and lived experience to categorical differences and differentiation. Differences in written policy were of the structural type whereas those in lived experiences were more complicated because they represented the outcome of the interplay within 'ideological state apparatuses' in a process of becoming (Mills, 2003; pp. 35-36).

Despite the fact that occupying such a border signifies exceptionally intense multiplicities in the process of becoming, I considered my desires and intensities to have catapulted me to an imaginary productive position. Within such a position, my desire was moving beyond the realms of methodolatory but at the same time exposing me to the illusion of rhizomatic thought. Following the caution by Buchanan (2000) on being Deleuzist rather than Deleuzoguattarian, I was keen to follow the intensities of 'how does it work' as part of my attempts to see how the theory worked for me. This peripheral position though confusing allowed me to form alliances with different methodological viewpoints shifting between their inside and outside (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

It was challenging to forge a new means of validating my research despite the promise of established methodological approaches that provide a recipe which if followed leads to correct knowledge — experimentation with a new approach poses challenges. These approaches provide an underlying series of layers that if adhered to can almost guarantee 'safety and hygiene' as well as a means of validating the research (Mercieca and Mercieca, 2010; p. 81).On the contrary, the rhizomatic outcomes of my research suggest a view of validity that is not fixed but rather in a constant state of movement. In building up a rhizomatic understanding, I faced the challenge of fitting within the already known ways validating findings. As Lather writes, rhizomatic validity dissolves inferences 'by making them as temporary and invested' (Lather, 1994; p. 46) and troubles the single rootedness which positivistic assumptions underpin validities (Grange and Beets, 2005). Owing to the

evolution of validity following the emergence of new knowledge paradigms, philosophers of difference advocate for a new approach to validation (Allan, 2008).

Being a new territory, my analytical approach lacks workable procedure or rules for verifying data. However, as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) advise, I borrowed, refined and played concepts of validity from traditional research into the Deleuzoguattarian machine and set new understanding as a means of validation. Thus, as my nomadic inquiry revolved through the presumed striated spaces of policy texts to the smooth spaces of lived experiences, I was able to see striated spaces from the smooth ones. Such seeing amounted to allowing themes to emerge from research experience although they were subjected to theoretical precepts that I worked with (Allan and Slee, 2008). Therefore, the emerging themes surfaced throughout my rhizomatic journey and became clearer as more experiences were uncovered in the research. These striated spaces were brought by the experience of affecting being affected through my engagement with the researched and form part of the outcome chapters. Generally speaking, as I attempt to forge a cartography of my research findings, I realise the importance I attach to the knowledge I produce. Indeed, I see it as a basis for its own validation. Although I cannot refrain from conventional approaches to research in spite of my commitment to the application of Deleuzoguattarian concepts, Scheurich (1997) explains:

> Even radical researchers who have questioned the deep rules and assumptions in education research still audiotape, systematically code, and do pattern or thematic analysis of data. These latter practices are the practices of reason and they are assumed to accord with a researcher-trained mind. (Cited in St. Pierre and Pillow, 2000; p. 10)

Further to the engagement with the concept of becoming under the section on philosophies at work (see section 3.2*)*, further highlights are provided in the following section that address epistemology as a becoming (section 3.3.5). In this pursuit, I build a foundation for the choice of my methodology and the interplay of the various facets. These arguments expose my dilemmas of choosing stance and developing my arguments following Skegg's (1994) observation that '… our social location, our situatedness in the world will influence how we speak, see, hear and know…' (cited in Armstrong, 2000; p. 35). While such an orientation threatens to provide a stable and absolute viewpoint, I appreciate the fact that as a

becoming, I have been multiplied and my stance is only a middle from which I form alliances with other standpoints to generate knowledge (Goodley, 2007a).

3.3.5: *An epistemology of becoming*

> *What is meant by 'reality'? It would seem to be something very erratic, very undependable — now to be found in a dusty road, now in a scrap of newspaper in the street, now in a daffodil in the sun. It lights up a group in a room and stamps some casual saying. It overwhelms one walking home beneath the stars and makes the silent world more real than the world of speech — and then there it is again in the uproar of Piccadilly. Sometimes, too, it seems to dwell in shapes too far away for us to discern what their nature is.* (Woolf, 1929; p. 110)

Through my engagement with philosophies of difference, my views about truth and reality became challenged as I wondered what knowledge would emerge from my research. I was also unsure of the relevance of an epistemological positioning in conducting research through a nomadic inquiry. However, from my experience, the question of truth and reality has formed a substantial element of arguments in thesis writing. This has been construed as a requirement to show the firm grasps of epistemology in the process of knowledge production.

Despite these observations, I saw my thesis differently, as an epistemology of becoming in which truths as unstable moments in a process of becoming have the potential to explode in different directions. Thus, in engaging with epistemology, my aim is to show the always more aspect of an epistemology of becoming within a research process. Whilst attempting to offer contrasting viewpoints in order to pave the way for my middle position, I am wary of the fact that any theory is an instrument of multiplicity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Furthermore, Buchanan (2000) asserts that concepts or clusters are incapable of standing in a state of affairs because something will always be left in a remainder. Put succinctly, Ian Buchanan cites Theodor Adorno's argument that: 'No theory today escapes the market place. Each is offered as a possibility among competing opinions; all are put up for choice; all are swallowed' (p. 192).

In view of the above, my critical engagement with epistemology was not meant to show how a strong and firm basis upon which knowledge is created but rather its relation to the overall process of articulating knowledge in the whole process. These views are offshoots

of irruptions from previous views held about the processes and nature of knowledge production after engaging with ‘philosophies of difference’ (Allan, 2008). This fundamental tilt began to take shape after reading the philosophies of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and other allied philosophers. Building research based on their metaphorical concept of a rhizome meant opening up my mind’s eyes because as the philosophers propose, nomadic thought transgresses generic boundaries of arborescence.

Within such a philosophy of difference, transgressing boundaries of research implied acknowledging the critiques of ‘methodolatory’ which according to Chamberlain (2000) is ‘an overemphasis on locating the correct or proper methods’ (p. 287). ‘Methodological rule following’ has also been critiqued by Law (2004; p. 5) who claims that methods produce the reality they understand. For John Law, methods passed to us after ‘a century of social science is properly to be understood as a set of fairly specific, determinate, and more or less identifiable processes’ (p. 5). Therefore, I was keen to pave a way for a middle that would allow me to form rhizomes with the researched in a way that minimized the distance to avoid the duality of a subject-object relationship. This was of particular importance because research on inclusion has been critiqued for failing to bring any significant change in practice due to its alignment to positivistic paradigms (Allan, 2008; Oliver, 1992). Thus, my desire to approach the research creatively was premised on the understanding of doing research that is likely to be of benefit to the participants.

Following Deleuze’s (1995) suggestion of treating a book as a non-signifying machine, I was confused how to read, choose and apply these philosophies into the existing epistemological and ontological positions. Despite initial choices of particular stances, their definitive nature was shaken and the possibility of future repositioning became inevitable. Mainly, my thoughts had been caught up in the branches of the tree, between positivist and interpretive research paradigms. My initial conception was that things or issues emerging from my research would be ultimately real and I could only take the role of discovering them. Nevertheless, I began to think more about ethics and how alienating to research participants such a process could be. Deleuzoguattarian concepts added to the contrast between the static scientific world and the rhizomatic becoming nature of the social world. My thinking shifted from positivism to looking at the dynamics of a socially constructed reality.

Although the researcher is in power and controls what to report, the processes used should put the participant at the centre and involve them (Lind, 2007). While an interpretivist epistemology is favoured in qualitative research, critiques cite the relational gap in the

process of knowledge production as a shortcoming (e.g. Oliver, 1997; Osborne *et al.*, 2004,). Further critiques have been highlighted by commentators advocating inclusive research that is likely to generate realistic outcomes and emancipation of the researched (Allan, 2008; Oliver, 1997). For instance, Oliver (1992) asserts that despite the shift from quantitative to qualitative research, the game has not changed. In his view, the social relations of knowledge production have not changed because of the existing distance between the researchers and the researched. This may lead to the question of whether such a distance is necessary if social realities are to be constructed. I am convinced that real meanings of participants' experiences cannot be closely approximated unless an egalitarian participation is permitted. Such an approach may however be criticized on the basis of its limitedness to allow the necessary distance to observe objective social realities.

Nevertheless an attempt to maintain such objective interpretations opens up methodological gaps because it leaves out the space for human interaction which is essential for knowledge creation (Osborne *et al.*, 2004). In advancing their argument for 'a communicative-dialogic' paradigm, they emphasize the importance of communication and dialogue between research and researched making joint interpretations. Besides, it is likely to give voice to the powerless and lead to changes in their mundane lives (Oliver, 1997).Therefore, it became clear that scientific approaches to qualitative research can still be applied. These reflections contributed a lot to my epistemological and ontological views because they helped me to think of how related and positioned I was to my research. Nourishing the idea of a socially constructed reality, my ontological position of relativism was affirmed. However, I have found myself more trapped in an attempt to accommodate the moving aspects of my research in order to set limits and needing to conceptualize a different epistemology.

Within an epistemology of becoming, rather than treat research outcomes as products of one's 'social situatedness', the dynamics of the whole assemblage play vital roles in determining what knowledge is produced (Armstrong, 2000; p. 35) Thus, the rhizomatics of the various becomings involved in the orchestration contributed to the final thesis but not without limitations. For instance, doing research in order to provide new ways of understanding rather than provide solutions to problems become more open to critique because of the difficulty in following new lines of flight. Nevertheless, my positioning as a becoming researcher, made me open to new possibilities as I engaged in the project. Lather (1986) advises that we can move beyond the realms of what appears to be ready made by integrating our imaginative thoughts with other theories. Further, in the translator's foreword

of *A Thousand Plateaus*, Massumi (1987; p. xv) reminds us that Deleuze and Guattari 'steal from other disciplines with glee', and 'are more than happy to return the favour'. Thus, becoming epistemology allowed me to plug and play his theories in others. Such plugging of Deleuzoguattarian machines to others produce 'assemblages that take us elsewhere' (St. Pierre, 2004; p. 287).

From an earlier argument (see section 3.2.1 on nomadic rhizomatic thought) that depicts methodology as flexible and becoming, new understandings emerge and new connections are made which might push it to a different direction. This significant aspect of becoming in a research process presented a dilemma in view of the epistemological and ontological stances. Partly, this dilemma was contributed by the fact that moving aspects may be inappropriately captured by taking definitive stances about the world. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) advocate diverse productivity in thought which is irreducible to a single root representing epistemology grounded on a firm foundation for knowledge. As a result, incorporating such becomings opened up to new possibilities of a rhizomatic stance.

Although the importance of a theoretical approach is deemed necessary in ensuring that all important elements are incorporated, there is a risk of creating a 'closed economy' (Mercieca and Mercieca, 2010; p. 84). Thus, an assumption that certain fundamental building blocks can almost guarantee correct ideas is indicative of the presence of binary machines which may be short of the always more. For instance, epistemology, guiding theories, methodological approach and methods are seen to provide a framework for the design, implementation and evaluation of the research (Crotty, 1998; Carter and Little, 2007). Despite their importance, their mere presence does not authenticate the research without acknowledging their interplay. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) use the logic of proportion in critiquing affects with underlying signifiers in favour of rhizomatic relations which use multiple connections that remain underground and marginal. Such a view does not however disregard the importance of theoretical perspectives regarding the nature of knowledge. Instead, it offers a critical perspective of looking at the interplay between the various research aspects and attempts to draw attention to these relations as rhizomatic and becoming.

Drawing on my influences of post-structural ideas, I saw an epistemology of becoming as opposed to ideas that advocate for the existence of objective reality independent of the knower (Mertens, 1998). Such a view advances arguments for collection of facts and studying their relationships and subjecting them to scientific instruments to yield quantifiable and generalisable conclusions. Subsequently, a focus on abstraction and prediction of reality

is deemed necessary. This process of knowing does not shape or frame what is known because a positivist epistemology claims to mirror reality (Scheurich, 1997). However, within a social world truths can be very dynamic and dependent on the researcher's relation within the process. Commenting on the issue of objectivity, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue that natural reality is that which reflects dynamism and any method of trying to create such understanding should be reflective of world dynamics.

As a becoming inclusive researcher, imagination extends the mind's eyes; sometimes closing them in order to see well. Nevertheless, the type of lens worn by the researcher can determine how well the mind's eyes can see. Consider for instance a methodological lens that puts emphasis on particular distances in order to see. Such a technological lens entrenches the duality of subject-object relationships in order to see objective reality (D'Cruz, 2001). Heather D'Cruz considers socially constructed reality to be a no-value free science and argues for egalitarian relationships in research through 'fractured lenses'. She uses the fractured lens as a metaphor for alternatives to mainstream methodology that '... allows for multiple ... ways of seeing fractured reality ...' (p. 26). Such a reality can be captured by applying the concept of becoming in research.

Therefore in this experimentation I considered the use of a rhizomatic epistemology as a possibility for allowing imagination to be refracted on participants. By looking at the present situation in the prevailing research context and interacting with the participants, data are generated to provide a basis for the construction of knowledge. Such a belief rests on the premise that having a becoming epistemology allows for alternative options to be explored throughout the process of research. The becoming researcher then takes a middle ground where things pick up speed in order to connect with other multiplicities to form a rhizome (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Throughout the process, the researcher seeks to develop relationships, take participants seriously, treat them ethically and remain open to multiple ways of seeing reality (Carter and Little, 2007). Unlike physical objects, human behaviour can be understood better by looking at the meanings and purposes attached to it (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Besides, there are no aspects of knowledge from the external world that are devoid of human construction (Stake, 2006).

Inspired by the ideas of Yin (2003), I became convinced that within case study design, it was still possible to make rhizomatic connections that may be too complex for other approaches. The detailed exploration of phenomenon in its real life situation generates rich data which helps to understand the situation under investigation. In spite of my orientation

towards a becoming constructive paradigm, I am wary of the critics of such an approach. For instance, Barnes (1996) cited in Oliver (1997; p .16) advises that the researcher 'cannot be independent in research oppression' and has to choose whether to be 'on the side of the oppressor or the oppressed'. For instance, reflections on my own experiences, life histories and the constant flux and changes in my thinking as well as perceptions due to interactions with people of different cultural backgrounds has led to particular opinions and views about inclusive education. These ideas and perceptions acted as a reflective mirror upon which views of others are subjected and scrutinized in an attempt to make sense of them. As a result of the developed understanding about inclusive education, I did not approach the research as a *tabula rasa*.

My orientation towards a becoming constructivist view attracted a tilt towards the processes of knowledge creation. I felt that without countering relational gaps, what might count as knowledge could not necessarily be grounded in people's reality because we are in power and decide what to report. Based on these perspectives and with a desire to carry out an inclusive research, I worked an integrated version (unbounded) of the interpretive paradigm using a rhizomatic epistemology. Within this modified version, elements of both emancipatory and communicative-dialogic paradigms were incorporated (Osborne *et al.*, 2004; Oliver, 1992). This involved an attempt to change the power relations which exist in traditional designs and put emphasis on dialogue.

Being a creator of knowledge in this continuous manner does not only provide an opportunity to understand the dynamic reality of people's views but also makes the research more inclusive, transparent and allows readers to make their own judgements (Carter and Little, 2007). Within this process the knower is seen as a participant in the generation of knowledge and truths that are contextual (Hofer and Pintrich, 1997). Despite such a stance being prone to criticism from other approaches, especially due to a lack of concrete rules that constrain how to conduct or validate findings, case studies are not concerned with generating generalisable conclusions because truths are rhizomatic and are constructed differently in different contexts. Consequently, this perspective allows human participants to be treated as active contributors of the research process but not as objects of inquiry. I considered approaches that were more interactive, context driven and liberating as the best and likely to empower participants to feel part of the research. Indeed, Clough and Barton (1995) assert that quality data emerges when real rather than artificial empathy is present and participants are not seen as objects for manipulation.

3.3: Ethics: a rhizomatic dilemma?

> *Once one ventures outside what's familiar and reassuring, once one has to invent new concepts for unknown lands, then methods and moral systems break down.* (Deleuze, 1995; p. 322)

Contrary to the orderliness merited by a procedural approach in the conduct of research, real life situations are messy and may demand a reconsideration of one's approach to research by applying morals and ethical values in action. Ethical and moral principles may be stipulated as a set of codes and procedures that ought to be adhered to in order to guarantee 'safety and hygiene' (Mercieca and Mercieca, 2010; p. 8) in research conduct. Therefore, 'any ethical implications seem to be viewed as having been "dealt with" if these principles are adhered to' (ibid.; p. 81). However, the fact that dilemmas lurk in all directions in the field implies that the researcher constantly encounters situations that demand value judgements and to follow lines of flight in order to accommodate the changing research situations. From a Deleuzoguattarian perspective, the researcher is able to avoid being caught up in 'a vicious circle' because of the ability to invent 'new concepts and articulating new values contingent on the dynamics of experience' as elaborated in the Winding up Rocky Paths section (3.3.1) (Semetsky, 2004; p. 322) .

Although a rhizomatic approach is anti-hierarchical, particular circumstances demanded hierarchical approaches to be applied as part of the research clearance process. Therefore, in spite of the messiness suggested by a rhizomatic approach, there were particular points in the research journey that demanded procedural ethical aspects to be followed in series. This compares to what Deleuze and Guattari (1987; p. 22) called 'knots of arborescence in rhizomes and rhizomatic offshoots in roots'. I was however inspired by the desire to ensure that access and conduct of research premises followed an ethical protocol to ensure the protection of participants from harm. Therefore, serious thought to ethical issues and morals of conduct was vital in order to conform to mandatory ethical principles. While morals are concerned with right or wrong, ethics addresses general issues of what ought to be done (Robson, 1993).

Deleuze sees morality as a set of 'constraining' rules for making judgements in relation to universal values whereas ethics constitutes a set of 'facilitative' rules for evaluating what we do (Deleuze, 1997; p. xiv). Therefore, the fundamental question of ethics

becomes that of ‘what can I do’ in a given situation rather than ‘what must I do’ (ibid.; p. xiv). As a result, ethical principles then compare to what Usher and Simmons (2000) consider as the guiding procedures of conducting research in and after the field. From that perspective, ethical research can be construed as that which involves careful and precautionary approaches in research and portrayal of good conduct with a purpose to safeguard the rights of participants. As a precautionary and prerequisite measure, it was essential to take note of ethical issues in readiness for the confrontation of any dilemmas that could arise in the course of research. This was done by visiting Hope school and engaging in a conversation with the headmistress and subsequently talking to potential policy official participants in order to asses any potential ethical issues. Being ethically mindful and the desire to carry out an inclusive research thus necessitated an attempt to minimise the demands and inconveniences imposed on the participants (Taber, 2002). It was also important to apply ethical principles and avoid research alienation in which the researcher becomes the prime beneficiary while the ‘hosts’ get very little in return (Cassell, 1991; p. 271).

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) compare the path followed by a nomad to a rhizome because it is irretraceable. Therefore as a nomadic researcher, my intention to engage and follow a rhizomatic journey was not easy and sometimes I ‘lost’ Deleuze making it impossible to uproot the tree. This meant following the presumed striated spaces to streamline my research. Despite this challenge, my desires propelled me to look for new possibilities especially when caught between the rock and a hard place. Furthermore, dilemmas lurk in any direction when dealing with people; at times demanding value or moral judgements (Robson, 1993). Therefore, despite the sensitivity of a rhizomatic approach, I had middle spaces that revolved around four main issues: whether there is harm to participants; lack of informed consent; invasion of privacy; or if an aspect of deception was involved (Diener and Crandall, 1978). Nevertheless and in recognition of the dynamics of ethics in the research process, it was essential to maintain openness and to be ethically mindful throughout the process (West, 2004). Although this awareness of research ethics depicts an expert and purist approach to the project, there were incidents where I had to work ‘between the betweens’ of the stipulated guidelines due to the becoming nature of the research (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987; p. viii). These incidents were reflective of the outsides of thought or theoretical limits of ethical theories; the always remaining bits of theories (Buchanan, 2000). Although my study did not have any known risks or threats it required readiness to face any uncertainties through ethical mindfulness (West, 2002).This is because rules cannot cover all

possible situations likely to emerge in the research process and thus the need to develop the capacity for making ethical decisions (Pring, 2001) as discussed under the section Winding up Rocky Roads. Furthermore, ethics is no longer transcendental and clearly defined in advance for everyone in every situation. Rather, ethics explodes anew in every circumstance, demands a specific reinscription, and hounds praxis unmercifully' (St. Pierre, 1997; p. 176).

Despite the rhizomatic nature of my research approach, different codes of regulations for carrying out particular kinds of research had to be followed. Furthermore, research institutions and countries have their general ethical procedures which have to be adhered to before research clearance. Within the University of Winchester for instance, there was a set of ethical guidelines which had to be adhered to before my research application could be approved. This partly involved identification of any ethical issues in the conduct of my research and details of gaining access to the research premises as well as participants. Therefore the initial steps involved addressing 'procedural' aspects of ethics and readiness to deal with ethics in action especially during 'ethically important moments' (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004; p. 262). Following these codes did not necessarily imply smooth access to research institutions because there were other aspects that emerged in the field which demanded value judgements and actions to be taken.

Further to the illumination provided in Winding up Rocky Roads (see section 3.3.1), my nomadic inquiry took me to various places which at times were presumed striated. In spite of the speeds (thoughts and confusions driven by desire) I had picked in the becoming approach, I constantly found it impossible to avoid the tree as it appeared to be the shortest distance to travel. However, I always found the intensities to work between these structures opening up possibilities for the formation of rhizomatic offshoots. Although the description of the procedural aspects appears logical, much happened in between and have been explored further in Chapters Four to Six. For instance, gaining access to the selected schools required some prerequisites to be followed though they never worked out in series as stipulated. Initial attempts to liaise and get the necessary information by telephone proved unsuccessful forcing me to travel to Kenya to apply for research authorisation. The application was made to the National Council for Science and Technology (NCST), a body that authorises any research conducted in the country, providing details of the research proposal in collaboration with my supervisors. While the research permit application was underway, I started to negotiate access directly with the head teachers of the chosen schools and provided details of my research to them. Subsequently, introduction letters were supplied after direct consultation with the head

of policy planning and development in the Ministry of Education and the heads of the schools involved for permission to review policy documents. The experiences of getting permission to conduct the research have further been explored in the section below.

3.3.1: Winding up rocky paths

> *Victor, all you need is to dress up officially in a nice suit and tie. When you arrive ask to talk to the boss and I am sure the letter will be drafted.* (A conversation with an office clerk.)

It wasn't easy to cross the initial procedurals aspects of my research. As part of gaining access, the ethical boundaries that I had to cross were many which included meeting ethical criteria for the university and having to negotiate access in Kenya. The Kenyan government required that every researcher applies for a permit through the National Council for Science and Technology (NCST). Further requirements were also in place before accessing schools and even ministry departments depending on the research location. Some of these procedural aspects were not accessible in advance and only come to be learnt in the field. Furthermore, the fact that information was not freely available to the public via a website meant that access to official government documents from the UK was limited. I had to make many calls to government offices and ask friends to send copies to me. However, as more demands arose due to bureaucratic protocols, I was forced to travel to the country three months before data collection to make the application and identify schools.

The application process took about a month. Within this period, I was required to look for an affiliating institution and a contact professor to certify their willingness to collaborate with me while in the country. Given that I did not intend to use my collaborators as additional supervisors, less importance was attached to whoever agreed. After all, this was a formality in the application process. Nevertheless, several attempts were denied as the professors either demanded written requests from my UK supervisors, that I should have studied in that institution or they were not experts in my field of research. Certainly, I could have opted to affiliate with my former university in the country but resisted the temptation of having to make a return journey of about a thousand kilometres. This rhizomatic exclusion as a result of meeting the powerful products of power was frustrating.

Through an indeterminable journey, I was able to find a willing collaborator who worked with me until the permit was processed. These preliminary encounters clearly indicate the high bureaucracies which run in institutions of power to include or exclude people. However, they do not take determinable patterns but different lines of flight depending on 'who you are' to the people you encounter. For instance, my encounter with a professor known to me hastened the permit application because I did not have to travel to my former university. The space occupied by the researcher determines the journeys travelled most of which are rhizomatic. This highlight does not constitute a tracing because many other processes took place sending me back and forth. Every encounter was a constituent part of my becoming researcher and the road was rocky sometimes forcing me to move in circles.

There were even other processes at ministerial level that almost replicated a whole cycle of obtaining a permit. For instance, before obtaining a permit, a director in one of the departments of education refused to honour my request for official documents insisting that they remained 'tight lipped' until all procedural aspects of gaining access had been met. During this period of running up and down, in and between ministries and municipal council, I learned a lot about the messiness and interconnectedness of policy texts and functioning of these institutions.

Further developments before starting the actual data collection suggested uneven and intermittent application of guidelines. In my becoming research, contacts with people suggested other schools that were in the process of becoming inclusive. This required a change of my initial research permit in order to diversify my venture. Despite changing my permit with ease, my attempts to access Mseto Primary (a different school) were futile because I had to present an additional letter not included in my permit. It was during the process of obtaining this letter that I met another form of exclusion. The department required another cycle of application and payment of a fee despite presenting evidence of research authorisation from a national body. Perhaps, my previous experiences of easier access to schools within a UK setting as a student had affected my thinking and perception of the whole process.

As a southern rhizome (from a country in the southern hemisphere), my becomings had pushed me almost to the anomalous, the boundary of thinking otherwise whilst retaining my pack mode (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Nevertheless, I was not ready to give in without a fight because I was already conducting research in a school that was under the same department. The criteria was very strict and officials demanded that I comply otherwise I

risked being refused. As I waited confused ready to take a lift, an officer from my tribe who had been quietly studying my permit documents emerged and advised that I dress officially in a nice tie and face the director. That is how I managed to get the letter and from that time I learnt how to survive in the research. Like a rhizome, sometimes I would form alliances by taking subterranean space while at times I grew rhizomatic offshoots to work well within the government tree of bureaucracy.

From my personal experience as a research student and a research subject, participants, especially young people may enter into research contracts because they feel obliged to do so and do not even understand its implication. As a result, most researchers have pointed at informed consent from participants and confidentiality which offers protection and reassurance as essential prerequisites to research (e.g. Yin, 2003; Robson, 1993; Snow, 2001). Participants were identified through the school heads and head of policy planning and then approached directly with details of the research project. Besides institutional consent, participants were invited to sign a consent form outlining the research, their rights, benefits and anonymity of information they provide. In order to safeguard the rights of participants and to facilitate informed consent, communication of research objectives clearly and giving directions on how information is was necessary. In obtaining informed consent, participant confidentiality and anonymity was facilitated by providing a letter outlining the purpose of my research, a consent form to sign as well as verbal assurances of the academic nature of the project (Greig, 1999). To address participant confidentiality and anonymity, all identifiable data was password protected and stored securely awaiting disposal after expiry of the PhD project. Moreover, all participants and schools were given pseudonyms to conceal their identity and any information that could identify them was changed. Nevertheless, it was still possible to identify them through NCST since I was required to submit two copies of my report to them.

While some adult participants were acquainted with these rules and were invited to participate after signing consent forms, pupils' consent was negotiated between the head teachers, teachers, parents, guardians and the pupils themselves by thorough briefing. However, my inclusive orientation and a desire to flatten power hierarchies opened up my intensity to do something more. Moreover, my experiences point at the importance of creating an awareness of researcher actions and how they might affect the lives of the researched. For instance, by interacting with pupils, I realised that many of them hardly understood what research meant. Therefore, in addition to the introduction made by class

teachers about researchers, I took the initiative of elaborating the meaning of research highlighting its benefits and the implications to their participation.

3.4: *Introducing the participants*

In writing the chapters, I cannot deny the inseparability of the dominant voices used to orchestrate it from the many silent and internalized voices drawn from the research experience. This view is demonstrated by the fact that a range of participant voices recur throughout the finding chapters as they connect and relate in different ways. Despite having several participants in the whole research journey I have relied mostly on the voices of three policy officials, five teachers, two parents and two focused group interviews of six pupils each. The voices considered to be dominant have been used in making connections for the main arguments/themes of each chapter. However, considering the multiplicities in each of the voices and the multiplying effect the voices have on me and on prospective readers, each chapter is an account of a myriad of voices. This follows the Deleuzoguattarian notion discussed in section 3.1 that, in writing *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) constituted a crowd. Apart from the voices of pupils in focused group discussions, I have also used the names of three pupils mostly to articulate arguments in Chapter Four. However, a short summary of some of the key participants mentioned in the findings chapters is provided in the table below:

CATEGORY	Description
Pupils	
Mutua	Pupil – 'bigger than the rest of the pupils'
Awino	Pupil – 'HIV related health problems'
Kamau	Former street boy reportedly abused by his uncle
Teachers	
Jane	Class teacher (also a deputy head teacher) trained in SNE
Mary	A class teacher (also a deputy) trained in SNE
Roger	Class teacher
Joshua	Class teacher

Tom	Class teacher training in SNE
Policy Officials	
Peter	Quality assurance officer with SNE training
Lorna	Holds a postgraduate degree in IE
Musau	Involved with research aspects for policy development related to special need and inclusion

Table 1.

3.5: Reflections on rhizoanalysis

In presenting the research finding, I have incorporated introductory sections in order to make connections between the various lines of flight to give further insights to the school in a way that connects to each chapter's theme. In line with my overall desire to produce a *rhizomatic thesis* as a way of contesting 'the ruthless linear nature of the narrative of knowledge production', related theoretical concepts already discussed elsewhere resurface to give a new perspective to my arguments (St Pierre, 1997; p. 179).

Of course, this might create an impression of endless deferral for the outcome of the research. However, in order to give the discussions the justice they deserve, this eternal recurrence attempts to incorporate ideas that would have been lost in the orchestration of the methodology (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). However, such repetitions, as Deleuze (1994) would suggest, has the potential to lead to a multiplicity of ideas making the repetition variable and thus adding some difference. Besides, it offers a chance to incorporate other forms of information that might not necessarily be categorized as data, which add meaning and influence our creative process. For instance, in writing the thesis, researchers incorporate unrecognizable forms of data which St. Pierre (1997; p. 177) categorizes as 'emotional', 'dream', 'sensual', and 'response' to which I add, *memory data* — data emerging as a result of your reflections and memories of experiences that were not initially considered as useful data. However, such a style of writing threatens to undermine the importance attached to the common sense belief in signified data (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Through the lens of Deleuzoguattarian philosophy, it was possible to critique the predominance and near automation in our thinking that data must always be in a certain form and always needing

translation. Such an attempt to think about data differently springs from my desire to liberate thought from 'the images' which according to Mazzei and McCoy (2010) following Deleuze 'imprison thought' (p. 505). As a Body Without Organs, when the thesis is looked at as an assemblage, the range of multiplicities in it function in relation with others to create meaning. Thus, rather than look for signifiers or signified it might be necessary to ask how the thesis 'functions ... in relation with other things it does or does not transmit' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 4)

One of the most productive developments in engaging with a Deleuzoguattarian approach was the constructive view of research approach. Other than providing a new lens for looking at research conduct, it offered a new critique for analysis and what ultimately counts as data. Such a view as inspired by Deleuzoguattarian philosophy when applied to research questioned whether certain pieces of data qualified to be signified at the expense of another. As a result, I have begun to develop a critical perspective as to whether data must be that which is transcribed as the only way of validating research and also as a means of proving that the arguments actually spring out of data. However, in my research approach, I realised that this approach can be limiting because certain findings are signified as more important than others and thus suggest a different approach to what counts as data. For instance, despite a view that interviews are the best sources of data, it was the dialogues and observations that provided deeper insights.

With my rejuvenated force and desire to think differently, I took and suggest an approach to analysis that incorporates the various aspects of data including experiential endowments which might not be conceived as data because of the inability to transcribe them. Such unrecognizable forms of data as St. Pierre (1997) concur, are quite useful and add meaning to the research experience and should not be trivialised. Thus, analysis is not just confined to the inspection aspect neither is it something done to data, but a continuous process of making sense of experiences and making connections to theoretical ideas. An analytic approach should thus incorporate how the information is produced, articulated and applied in the research. My approach thus suggests a precaution that certain methods when used with other data generation techniques, only serve the purpose of cross-checking — providing descriptive accounts.

In tune with my overall aim of subjecting my findings to a Deleuzoguattarian machine, the findings chapters engage with personal reflexivity and creativity entwined with participant perceptions to form an assemblage of the connections between policy and practice in Hope School. In this experimentation, where a rhizomatic analysis is used, an attempt is

made to engage with ‘phenomenon from all angles’ without taking a vantage point in a process that acknowledges the irreducibility of complexities of lived reality (Easter, 2005; p. 4). Topics for my findings were arrived at through a creative process based on their repetition in my observations and responses that either directly mentioned or implied them.

Although part of my purpose in doing this research was to open up new possibilities of thinking about inclusive education, it was difficult to forget about classroom demarcations of children and their perceived difficulties. Part of my teaching as argued in the introduction (section 1.2 in Chapter One) of this thesis, involved solution-based approaches to problems in education and consequently the identification of difficulties in pupils [in the teaching of Mathematics, I had to perform a content analysis which helped me to identify difficulties experienced by the student] with associated solutions was not easy to overcome. By acknowledging the limitation of seeing pupils as fixed categories rather than becoming subjects I opened up a space for new conceptualizations. As a result, I was still living on a borderline of tensions between new, becoming ideas and at the same time, fixed views which derived from my special education training background.

Living in this in-between space, I took the inspiration from the view that taking flight or escape as a way of becoming ‘takes place in the world as we know it [and that] bodies in flight do not leave the world behind ... they take the world with them — into the future’ (Massumi, 1992; p. 105). By taking the world with me, I was involved in a form of stuttering, working in the betweeness of conceptions on IE to ‘prise open’ new forms of understanding (Allan and Slee, 2008; p. 19).

In the subsequent chapters of this thesis, I attempt to engage with the findings of the study by making connections between the desire to impose order and the reality of living. In order to achieve this objective, each chapter is treated as a plateau addressing a particular tension. Throughout, an effort is made to *immerse* the arguments into a Deleuzoguattarian machine so as to open up new possibilities for thinking.

CHAPTER 4: DISABILITY, DIFFERENCE AND EXCLUSION

4.1: Introduction

Three lines of flight become noticeable in this chapter. They condense views of different participants as I became woven into their lives throughout the research. The first line explores *participant conceptualizations* about IE. In the second line, participant views are further re-examined in order to understand how such views are likely to result to fixed notions about *disability and difference*. The interconnection between these two lines of flight gives rise to the third line — *rhizomatic exclusion* as a related outcome of the whole interaction. Rather than identify beginnings and ends to the stories told, an attempt is made to create a map by establishing relations and connections. Such a continuous pervasive process, as Silverman (2000) illuminates, happened throughout research life. This is contrary to the view that data must first be gathered before facing the 'perplexing' period 'when the data must be analysed' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; p. x).

As will become clear in the discussion of interviews with research participants, IE was envisaged from the perspective of special education in which disability was seen as an integral aspect. Such a view rests on participants considering so-called SNE children as disabled children. As a result, the physical presence of disabled children was seen as a commitment to inclusion, a view that was not only likely to fix but also had the capacity to stigmatize difference in an attempt to correct it. Although on the surface exclusion in Kenyan primary schools seems to involve SEN children and the attitudes of teachers, below this surface there is an exclusionary rhizome, a multitude of distinct and intersecting forces.

The analysis takes Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) idea of becoming as a point of departure to contrast the fixed views of children and the spaces for interaction in the school. Rather than conceive exclusion as only directed towards disabled children, a new perspective of exclusion as fluid and extending to other groups of 'different children' from the 'norm' is highlighted. Using the stories of pupils, fixed exclusionary attitudes to difference are exposed and discussions of the effects of such attitudes are exemplified using pupils' as becoming-excluded. Such an analysis centres on a theoretical framework following Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of difference from the same and Minow's (1985) 'dilemma of difference' — that 'focusing on and ignoring difference risk recreating it' (p. 160). These arguments open up spaces for thinking otherwise especially from notions of difference in children that follow pathological views. As is often the case, pathological differences is at the

core of the thinking in which children are marked and demarcated for special treatment due to their perceived deviations from norms (Kearney and Kane, 2006).

This line, as is the case with the rest, irrupted through my attempt to allow for connections to emerge in 'the becoming data that surfaced' (Jackson, 2010; p. 580). In order to explore and understand the school's practices in relation to children vulnerable to exclusion, this chapter focuses on disability, difference and exclusion as some of the recurring themes in the chapter.

4.2: Participant Conceptualizations

4.2.1: *Disabling views of inclusion?*

> *...inclusive education involves the education of disabled children with non-disabled peers* ... (Interview response from Roger, a class teacher)

As reflected in the interview response from Roger above, disability which was used in reference to the so-called SNE (Special Needs Education) children formed an integral part on the thinking about inclusive education. Such thinking although deeply rooted in the historical developments that have led to policies advocating for regular schooling has the capacity to invent the inclusion child as disabled or different with a possibility of labelling. This is in spite of the arguments advanced in favour of a social over a medicalized model of disability due to the damaging effects of the latter model on the child (Oliver, 1992). In addition, labelling as a potential outcome may limit the educational opportunities and spaces a child is accorded. Conversely, Bailey argues that identification enables students to receive the support needed to survive in inclusive schools and that 'failure to do so marginalizes them and restricts their educational opportunities' (Bailey, 1998; p. 173). Ironically, the same labelling can lead to marginalization and as Veck (2009) contends, fails to engage with its effects to the extent that its consequences are underestimated. Moreover, from the perspective of Deleuze's (1994) repetitions based on prior thought, attention to labelling may lead to repetition of exclusions in learning without thinking of our acts as being excluding particularly thoughts based on 'imitation of prior or unchanging originals' (Rajchman, 2000; p. 36).

Internalized concepts of norms and how to deal with difference become life policy because, as Clough (1998a) argues, teacher practices over time become internalized such that we unconsciously exclude. However, for Deleuze and Guattari (1987), rather than difference

diluted to difference from the same that relies on stable identities for 'external comparisons and relations ... difference is liberated from its subordination to sameness' (Jackson, 2010; pp. 580-1). This makes difference an innate constituent of beings with various elements that can be differentiated thus refuting aspects of sameness and resemblance. Nevertheless, through representational thinking (the arborescent model), sameness rather than difference is portrayed as a primary source of reality (Scott, 2010). For instance, thinking of a disabled child as deficient in comparison to the socially accepted view of the 'normal' person. Such representations of thought distort difference in an effort to make it complacent to molar forms in which difference is seen as a negation of sameness. To overcome such traps of thought, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) propose a different form of thought — the 'nomadic' which 'does not repose on identity; it rides with difference' thus replacing the 'closed equation of representation with an open equation' (pp. xii–xiii). From such a perspective, the disabled child is seen to possess molecular forces that propel one to a new direction which is not necessarily becoming-normal.

The molar form, from a Deleuzoguattarian view, is a well-defined category of identification (e.g. normal performing child in school) whereas 'the molecular is a deterritorialization of the molar, obviously, but more-so the molecular relates to singularities, to individual responses, to becoming' (Jackson, 2010; p. 582). Through a similar view, children in the mainstream can be perceived to belong to a molar identity or represent a unique category of sameness while those outside of this category are seen as different. Such difference as in the case of the so-called SNE children in Kenya can easily be confused with the negative sense of lacking as opposed to the view that lack is a potential for growth, the power to become (Deleuze, 1994; Dewey, 1966). It is however the images of arborescent thought in which representations of sameness demarcate children in need of inclusion in an attempt normalise or compensate for their weaknesses, to make them similar. Such a frame of thinking was an important ingredient in making connections between responses to the disabling views of inclusive education in Hope Primary.

Rather than use a random sample for my research, practitioners for inclusion in my interviews were conveniently selected. Owing to the busy schedules of teachers in the school, it was difficult to adhere to strict deadlines for interviews as their daily routines could be overtaken by other events or teacher absences could mean extra responsibilities. In fact, I remained flexible and had to cancel and approach new participants when situations changed. For instance, one of the scheduled participants passed away while others like the headmistress and other teachers were deployed to various centres for devising the national

exams before the end of the term. This was compounded by the fact that all 35 teaching staff were class teachers and thus were responsible for the daily teaching of the class leaving very little time for free time.

Contrary to the importance I attached to identification of quiet places for interviews, I had to conduct some in noisy classrooms while others were conducted in a corner of the staffroom as the rest of the room would at times be used for a class. Interestingly, such situations though a bit disruptive appeared to favour the importance I attached to dialogic interviews. Sometimes pupils would come to the interview corner to seek guidance on class tasks and on two occasions a teachers came in to consult. Following Deleuze on the limitation of the question-answer style of interviewing, which would have the effect of putting the respondent in a situation of having nothing to say (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987); my interviews did not make respondents feel detached from their worlds as it happened right in the middle their worlds. However, I developed a preamble (reiterating the purpose of my study and rights of participants) in order to put my becoming interviews into context before opening up the exploration (Allan and Slee, 2008; p. 17).

In the section below, I now turn my focus to practitioners' conceptualization of IE exploring how their views connect to existing institutional norms and how such a view is likely to privilege pathological views of the child instead of treating disability and difference as an opening for thinking and acting otherwise (Greene, 1995).

4.2.2: Special education or inclusive education?

Hope Primary had an open policy on admission for children within the catchment area following government policy on free primary education. Such an initiative, as widely expected, had attracted a range of pupils but it was not open to all as I would learn. The school has a tradition of good performance in the national examinations and in an effort to maintain its good name, there were some subterranean measures to conserve this. One of their strongest criteria for admission was performance in entrance examinations and payment of an admission fee as a teacher confided to me. Further, in an informal conversation, the school's clerk reiterated that, '... we are a school with a good reputation that shines in national exams and wouldn't want to compromise our pride ...'. In spite of the school's effort to contest admitting everyone, some parents had threatened to take legal actions if their children were denied admission. This measure ensured that even children who fell short of this selective criterion still managed to gain admission. These children were those deemed to fall on the

outside (mostly on the left side) of the middle category in the *curve of normality* with a notable group of disabled and 'different' learners.

While speaking to the headmistress on the admission policy of the school, her message was contradictory to that of the clerk as she claimed that every child was welcome. She however attempted to give a rationale of the challenge of admitting severely handicapped children in the school as 'most teachers are not specially trained' to teach them (informal chat with the headmistress). I sensed that much more was happening unofficially within the school and became convinced that I would work hard to discover without taking an undercover agent role.

There were several cases of children who were either disabled or different across the school. These conclusions were reached from a range of sources that involved observations, dialogue with staff and the head of special needs education through a representational image of thought in favour of sameness rather than difference (Scot, 2010). In order to get an initial insight into the school's idea of IE, I inquired about who had been or ought to be included in the school as a way of understanding which children were considered to be subjects for inclusion. Most of the responses pointed at children as SNE/disabled or as difficult social/teach children. Teachers spoke of their struggle to teach all children and had to use everything within their means to do their job which was not always successful. The response to the question of *who should not be in the school* was considered as a pointer to pupils that were seen as different, unwanted or problematic. Such a response would then be subjected to further exploration in order to understand why they were deemed unfit in the school and consequently the circumstances under which their exclusions occur.

My exploration for these links was not intended to complicate the apparent inclination for targeting difficult to teach children as candidates for exclusion but to open up other possibilities for thinking otherwise. In order to capture these views fully, I would observe what was happening; follow up with conversations and dialogic interviews. Who is to be included was also of particular interest to this research because it was important to understand the perspectives of key stake holders. Besides, it would open up the possibility of whether pupils considered as included are also potential candidates for exclusion. In order to capture their views, I invited participants to share their understandings, some of which are captured in the following interview excerpts. 'Children in the categories of disabled, slow learners and maybe those that are very intelligent learning together irrespective of...' (Jane, a class teacher). According to Tom:

> It is the sort of education that assists children who are disabled, children who would have been out there in the streets Children in the categories of special needs, slow learners and maybe those that are very intelligent learning together irrespective of their conditions. (Interview with Tom, class teacher).

Apart from Roger, cited in the preamble, who emphasized the view of IE as a way of including disabled children, a more rhizomatic view of inclusion was recorded. This represented a tension between surface views and the invisible views which became clear in the process of my research. The pupils were quite clear that the education of disabled learners in mainstream schools was IE. On the other hand, Joshua who was studying for a degree in special education was clear about the influence the internationalization of IE had on his conceptualization of the practice. His views were also shared by Peter, a policy official who attributed his understanding to a joint project affiliated to a UK university that involved the development of training tools for inclusive education trainers. As a senior teacher, Joshua had the opportunity of attending government-sponsored seminars on inclusive teaching and was also enrolled in a degree course with an inclusive education module. In spite of this knowledge base, he still maintained that inclusion was a matter of rhetoric for the country due to the limitations of untrained mainstream teachers:

> Sometimes, we might talk about what inclusion is after reading definitions in international documents but in reality do not understand what it is. For instance, by admitting children with disabilities in our school, we may believe that we are practising inclusion. The only problem is that, most of them especially those with a high level of difficulties drop out of school. Sometimes the lucky ones get admission to special schools. Maybe, we still need to learn and do more. (Interview with Joshua)

Asked why he felt they were not ready, he pointed at the lack of government effort to educate teachers about IE. Such a view was also held by Jane who added that:

> The government adopts policies from the western world without even knowing how to implement it. Look at the size of our classes and tell me whether we can manage children with severe cases of special needs... I think it will take some time before we start practising inclusion fully (interview with Jane)

Thus, the government failure to provide policy guidelines meant that teachers were unsure of what to do. Jane, who had a special education training background started to recount the number of children with various degrees of disabilities and how the schools' specially trained teachers were helping the situation. For her, the school practised some inclusion and even drew my attention to a girl who was partially sighted seated in row three, the row for 'low achievers':

> To be honest with you, [she points at a girl] it is a miracle that this girl has managed to come this far [to Class Six] because most of her counterparts leave school at lower primary. We have worked very hard to help because her poor sight limits her ability to copy notes from the board ... you know due to lack of mechanisms for identification and given the academic orientation in our school, most of the disabled children cannot manage to compete with the average pupils. It becomes difficult for them to cope with the system and most of them just drop out of school especially children from low social-economic classes ... children with special needs in public schools are only integrated with limited learning. Parents, who can afford, take their children to special school. However, most parents like 'complete' children and some do not see the need to take them to schools... on the other hand, private schools cannot admit them because it's a business – their mean scores advertise them (interview with Jane)

Although most participants admitted to partial knowledge about the concept of inclusion, pupils with disabilities were seen as the 'beneficiaries' of IE because special needs and disabilities were seen as synonymous. Jane's view of the miraculous ability of the girl to have survived in the school was maybe isolated. Nevertheless, her frame of thinking was shared by almost all the other participants who implied that disabled (incomplete in her words) [and different] children simply had no chance of surviving in an overcrowded competitive learning environment. Further to the above interview responses, my observation in Class Seven appears to confirm the teachers' assertion that 'disabled and by inference different pupils had no chance of surviving'. This became clear when in a discussion with a Class Seven teacher I enquired why Class Six to Class Eight had fewer numbers of pupils than the rest. Her response indicated that the academic orientation in the schools favoured the best pupils as the pupils were filtered before joining the examinable classes. Although apparently contradicted by the miraculous girl in Class Six, the apparently fixed notions that some participants held, had the potential of creating a wall between the two dichotomies of

children: ‘ab/normal’. For instance, in all the classes I visited, children sat in three rows based on their academic achievements or known conditions.

Jane’s point of view advances the notion of ‘difference from-sameness’ as a guiding principle for thinking about the ‘inclusion child’. Consequently, thinking based on particular children has the potential to treat so-called SNE children as fixed categories rather than becoming subjects (Goodley, 2007a). Accordingly, a problem-solution-based approach is applied in the hope that their weaknesses will be compensated which can lead to further exclusions in this pursuit. Another aspect emerging from the perspectives explored is the fixed view of IE as a state rather a means to an end involving a continuous process of curricular review, reduction of barriers and creation of welcoming attitudes to enhance increased participation and achievement (Ainscow *et al,* 2003). From such a perspective, the included child is likely to enjoy locational integration without necessarily benefiting academically especially if teachers think they are not trained specifically to handle as was the case in Hope School.

Despite the fact that the tendency to ‘construct simplifying categories’ in reference to a complicated world may be ‘inevitable’, the danger lies in the reductionist view of the perceived identity and attributed existence of the category (Minow, 1985; pp. 203–4). For Martha Minow, such a situation is reflective of the lived tensions that are at best conceivable within ‘the dilemma of difference’ (ibid.). ‘The dilemma of difference is the risk of reiterating the stigma associated with assigned difference either by focusing on it or by ignoring it.’ (Minow, 1985; p. 202) For instance, our attempts to identify and address an aspect of difference might have a pathologizing effect. On the contrary, failing to attend to difference may also be excluding because of the normalising effect which could lead to treating children as equals. These notions about the dilemma of difference as a lived tension in relation to my research had the effect of influencing the way participants conceptualized IE. While there were mixed views about inclusion as a means to an end as well as an ideological struggle, it becomes a useful tool of thinking in view of the dilemmas that teachers were predisposed to. For instance, the dilemma of ensuring achievement by all while at the same time competing effectively in league tables. As already acknowledged by Minow (1985), rather than thinking of inclusion as a simple process that is devoid of complexities, living the struggle through ‘self-conscious reflection about the ways we think about our problems may offer new possibilities in continuing efforts to deal with those problems’ (p. 159).

Jane’s pointing at a girl who had managed to survive in the system points at the need for conscious self-reflection in teaching. Although she doesn’t imply directly the in-betweeness struggles by teachers and the girl, her argument that the girl’s miraculous survival was the product of ‘sacrifice and hard work’ appears to affirm such an argument. Nevertheless, this isolated case of ‘success’ raises the rather contingent question of how rather than why, which I see as a potential tool for exploring successes of inclusive initiatives. While acknowledging the identity and difference politics surrounding inclusion, Slee (2001) calls upon our critical literateness on the politics of disability and disablement as a prelude to attempts to practise inclusion. How can we then move away from the dualisms (such as disabled versus able, normal versus abnormal etc.) which seem to be so deeply rooted in our thoughts that our views are distorted whenever we are presented with children? Of course, as Minow (1985) observes, it is an inevitable situation because children as in the case of Hope Primary are grouped based on ability. As a result, the likelihood of finding disabled children in the lowest ability grouping is almost unavoidable. This follows my memories of the view expressed by Ken (a disabled parent participant), that teachers have low expectations from disabled pupils:

> I learned in a special school where everyone was disabled and our teachers tried hard to help each one of us ... my child comes to this school because he is not disabled. Otherwise, he would be in a special school because I know that disabled children are ignored and do not achieve well (interview with Ken)

Such representational images may arise from the deeply-rooted notions of traditional special education in the country which has catered for people whose disabilities are based on clinical models. Within such model, a difference-from-same (normal child), the molar view of identity categories, demarcates and sees the person as deficient with inert pathological disorders which are based on ‘observable biological or pathological symptoms’ (Kearney and Kane, 2006; p. 202). Based on these symptoms, the individual is subjected to the duality of normal versus abnormal in which the latter is considered as negative and undesirable because educational difficulties are linked to their condition (ibid.). However, incorporating the notion of difference as negation through discourses of normalisation is likely to create barriers to individuals and limits their access in a way that prohibits active participation in communities (Baglieri and Knopf, 2004).

Although such views may have been at the core of practitioners' conceptualizations of the practicality of IE, it disregards the contexts within which educational difficulties are conceived. Thus, it was not surprising for most to perceive inclusive education as a concept that was not *truly practical*. From a Deleuzoguattarian (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) response to the problem of dualisms, the answer lies in our willingness to live within the tensions of including difference, in the middle of things where speed is gained while at the same time avoiding reaching both sides of education binaries. 'The only best way to get outside the dualisms is to be-between, to pass between, the intermezzo.' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 305) Though such a position is undoubtedly challenging, it would encompass thinking beyond the 'straight-jacket' of SNE (Slee, 2001; p. 121) and looking for ways of dealing with student difficulties. 'The girl' in Jane's interview defies categorisation and through her becomings develops skills and potentials to live outside the world of segregation.

Rather than treat her as fixed, Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) would see her as a 'line of flight in relation to the dualism machines [she] crosses right through' (p. 305). Living 'in-between has a continual production of difference immanent within events' (Stagoll, 2005 cited in Jackson, 2010; p. 581). However living within such a border is quite difficult and requires determination and dedication, otherwise quick-fix solutions are sought. This is why Deleuze and Guattari (1996) invoke our desire to revolutionalize our actions, as individuals capable of demolishing beliefs about the rightful place for our children to learn.

As will become clearer in the following section, participants pointed at specialised training as a precursor to inclusion as a skill for treating difference. Such a perspective as highlighted by Slee (2001) in his critique of having mainstream teachers get training in special education entrenches the belief that IE is meant for pupils with disabilities. Instead of exploiting the strengths that children possess and helping them to achieve their potentials, they are predisposed to exclusions because of failure in official exams. Further to the critique by (Veck, 2009) on the importance attached to the identification of children with 'difficulties' in order to deal with them, the dangers can be worse in situations where alternatives do not exist.

An underlying factor that threatened to inflate the scope of exclusions based on difficulties was the apparent government silence on IE policy. While it is true from a rhizomatic perspective that practices are complex and unpredictable, policy measures that appear to be contradicting the lived realities of schools may not be realized. Without taking an arborescent view of the influence policy has on practice, it is possible for policy spaces especially those with financial implications and guidance to smoothen practices. These are

complicated by the existence of parallel systems of education thus making it easy for teachers to go on with business as usual under the pretext of inclusion. After all, their practices are not threatened as long as alternatives for difficult to teach children exist (Kearney and Kane, 2006). In spite of the mixed reactions about inclusion and critiques presented, the school had a lot of potential to become more inclusive. In fact, most of the teaching approaches had the potential to include because support arrangements were in place for brighter students to support the weaker only if a different view of inclusion could be enhanced. Besides, the school had a wide range of students vulnerable to inclusion (former street children, disabled children, HIV-positive children etc.) and teachers admitted to continuously looking for strategies to improve their practices. Such a potential as highlighted by Kisanji (1997) is a common attribute for African countries because of the limited opportunities for special schools especially in rural areas which means pupils have to be *casually* integrated in neighbourhood schools. Nevertheless, as Slee (2001) cautions, it is hard to imagine the place for an inclusive culture when traditional exclusive systems remain unchanged. Failure to change exclusionary cultures has the effect of reducing inclusive education to a matter of access and resources (Barton, 1997).

The following section explores further the experiences of practitioners and the connections their conceptualizations had to disability and difference. This follows an inspiration by Clough (1999) on the needs to explore relations between teacher experiences in ways that are not pathologizing. The impetus of the chapter is thus set by an underlying principle that seeking to move away from treating difference as negative might require 'a politics of difference that refuses to pathologize or exoticize the other' (p. 526).

4.3: Disability and difference

4.3.1: *Normalisation: Sameness and negation of difference*

> *If the artist does not perfect a new vision in his process of doing, he acts mechanically and repeats some old model fixed like a blueprint in his mind.* (Dewey, 1934 cited in Strauss and Corbin, 1998; p. vii).

From a Deleuzoguattarian perspective, an array of factors interact rhizomatically within schools to influence the cultural formations of practices that either create inclusionary or exclusionary spaces (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). This follows their argument that 'the rhizome connects any point to any other point and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits

of the same nature' (p. 23). Thus, as a rhizomatic organization, practitioner conceptualizations within the school might not necessarily explain the cultural formations of attitudes towards difference. Although teachers in Hope School attributed the good name of the school to historical practices instilled by the founding head teachers and their successors, they did not include what they taught or expected of their pupils. In fact, some claimed to be inspired by previous experiences in other schools where they taught before. Nevertheless, their conceptualizations may have connections to the historical formations of the *norm* that forms a basis for the analysis within this section. This does not take Wolfenberger's (1972) theory of normalization as applied to disabled people as its point of departure. In contrast, normalization is discussed here from the perspective of normalised/common views; as a philosophy for stimulating thought and its potential for change-oriented actions.

Waldschmidt's (2005) distinction between *normativity* and *normality* appears to exemplify my point of departure regarding the concept of normalisation in Hope School. For Anne Waldschmidt, *normativity* is 'the power of the social and legal norms that are imposed upon people', guided by the need to govern by imposing laws that help to bring order and prevent chaos in the society, (p. 193). On the contrary, 'the means of governance in normalization' is statistically backed, where comparisons are made in relation to people's characteristics and expectations using means (Waldschmidt, 2005; p. 194). Thus, it is within this latter view of normality that my arguments spring because in my findings, Hope School had particular expectations for children labelled as deviant and they were subjected to forces which at times were exclusionary.

Further, Oliver (1999), following Foucault, argues that the way we talk and experience the world are 'inextricably linked' to the extent that the names given to things shape our experiences and vice versa (p. 167). As a result, our practices of normalizing things and services construct the normal/abnormal dichotomy (ibid.). While the possibility of internalized norms becoming part of our practice to the extent that we exclude unconsciously (Clough, 1998a) over time cannot be ignored, my rhizomatic thinking allowed me to leave the space for the possibility of practitioner becomings. For instance, as becoming practitioners, their supposedly fixed views were subject to change in view of their interactions within a dynamic institution. This is in spite of the view that we live in discursive communities that structure our knowledge and ways in which we interact with one another and develop working attitudes 'suffused into social action' (Baglieri and Knopf, 2004; p. 526).

Following the exploration in the above section in which disability and difference recurred as 'categorical marker[s] of difference', I explored further into the conditions under which they become a great precondition for exclusion using stories of pupils (Artiles, 2004 cited in Allan, 2008; p. 45). Underpinning this analysis is a continuation of the Deleuzoguattarian concept of difference from the same, supported by secondary arguments from Minow's dilemma of difference, and Michel Foucault's power of the norm (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Minow, 1985; Foucault, 1977a).

The separation of individuals based on their perceived 'normality' has the power to impose labels to those that deviate from it. This is because treating individuals as deficient according to assigned categories 'must be from the vantage point of some claimed normality; for there to be a position of inequality, there must be a contrasting position, not of equality, but of superiority' (Minow, 1985; p. 204). For Baglieri and Knopf (2004), normality in schooling is underpinned by the assumption that children learn in the same way and should strive to attain similar goals. Accordingly, 'education systems assume the unspoken favour of particular ways of knowing, doing and thinking' that undoubtedly privilege particular children (Baglieri and Knopf, 2004; p. 527). Their argument relates to Foucault's (1977a) concept of normalization as an analytic account of disciplinary power in prisons, which assumes a certain degree of conformity. While Michel Foucault saw disciplinary power as a strategy for enforcing order on docile bodies to enhance control without necessarily exerting force, his normalizing ideas are seen to be in play within schools.

Thus, in order to teach pupils, some degree of order or conformity to established norms of an educable child have to be achieved. Just as Foucault's (1977) analysis exposes the construction of an ideal soldier, his insights point to the ways in which schools expect their children to fit within particular orderings and criteria. This was the case with Hope Primary as asserted by the school's clerk during my first visit, 'our disciplinary standards have to be high because these children come from *hard-core* areas ... we do not want them to make teachers' lives difficult' (conversation with the school's clerk). Therefore, even outside of the normality of the child from a pathological perspective, children who behave outside of established norms become targets for correction in order to be the same as others. Nevertheless, the mechanisms through which such attempts to normalize are realized might turn out to be exclusionary forces as depicted in the following snapshot.

4.3.1.1: The case of Kamau

Kamau was one of such victims of normalization, a Class Four boy whose disruptive behaviour had created some disorder in the class. His underlying difference unknown to the teachers was a problem to be fixed because it impacted negatively on the smooth learning of his peers. Unfortunately, he did not carry a psychologically correct label that would enable him to receive special attention. Perhaps this resulted from the limited availability of centres for testing in the region. As a former street child, (in Kenya we have homeless children who reside in the streets and beg for survival) he had been exposed to drug taking and was reportedly sexually abused by his guardian uncle. He was already experiencing the world differently and struggling to survive within a formal setting where disciplinary powers of the norm were in effect (Foucault, 1977a). To a visitor, he was welcoming but to the class teacher, he was disruptive while to other pupils he was a bully. In order to exert control on Kamau, the class teacher had been very strict with him although at times, he defied orders. As would be explored in Chapter Five, high disciplinary standards were expected of all pupils and despite the policy banning corporal punishment, teachers continued to apply it. Being almost on the wrong side of school regulations, he was on the receiving end until one day he decided he had seen enough and confronted the teacher. This became clear in an emergency staff meeting called to address teachers' excessive use of corporal punishment. Ironically, the headmistress reiterated that it was against the law for such practices to continue.

My encounter with Kamau had been incidental. His particular class had an extraordinarily welcoming attitude and even requested that I teach them. Rather than play a teacher's role that would have also asserted some authority and thus a power-powerless relation, I suggested that I have a session with them in order to explore their experiences. Kamau stood out from the crowd to express his discontent with the use of corporal punishment ignoring the precaution by his peers that it was detrimental to tell any visitor that punishment was commonplace. Unfortunately, for Kamau, the school was not his and when he was asked to come with his guardian, he decided to run away and join his friends in the streets. However, following the head teacher's follow-up, his aunt came to the school and only then did the school learn of Kamau's history.

Kamau's situation points at the need to 'disrupt the normalising power structures' in schools if a different approach for attending to student diversity is to be achieved (Baglieri and Knopf, 2004; p. 529). Had his teachers listened to him and attended to his becomings, the possibility of treating him differently and thus including him would arise. It was also tough

for the recent street boy to adjust in a harsh environment especially after his previous experiences in the street. This was complicated by the fact that his teacher had a history of punishing children ruthlessly. This does not underestimate the effort by teachers in the schools because despite demanding work, pupils still managed to achieve:

> Most of the students are hardworking and we do our best. Although the government does not pay well, we are trying hard. In fact, we treat them as our children (some teachers had their children studying there) and as a Christian; I know God will pay me. (Interview with Mary)

As the headmistress argued in the emergency meeting, most of the children came from harsh family backgrounds and the school ought to be a different place for them, a better place where they could feel loved and protected. Despite the potential of her views in facilitating teachers' reflexivity on how they treat children, they appear to be ignored, as a striated space that does not smoothen out. Just like in the case of government policy on inclusion, teachers appeared to follow their own ways to enhance learning and attain acceptable outcomes and ignore changes that would compromise that mission. As Joshua observed, government policies did not have implementing strategies and such silence gave them the autonomy to develop their own strategies or to maintain the status quo. The latter option appeared to be favoured because the 'current school arrangements do not leave enough space to attend to all children' (Joshua, class teacher).

While the importance of academic performance was seen as a central aspect of schooling, it is within such contexts that concepts of the norm and surveillance with the deployment of disciplinary power begin to take effect (Llamas, 2006). Although Foucault's (1977) concepts of surveillance and normalization can be useful for understanding control mechanisms within schools, they can also illuminate how young people are excluded pupils outside of schooling. They could also have the power to influence the way expectations and aspirations are set in relation to academic achievement if one does not meet the criteria. Thus as Llamas (2006) contends, normalization's corresponding negative is exclusion because once differences and borders are marked, they become a norm.

4.3.1.2: The fixation of disability and Difference

> *Disabled persons in Kenya at one time in their life had very high aspirations for educational achievement, desiring to complete high school and proceed to college or university. Unfortunately, the majority of the disabled people in Kenya remain either illiterate or have progressively become so after their rudimentary primary schooling.* (Nkinyangi and Mbindyo, 1982 cited in Opini, 2010 pp. 274).

As Nkinyangi and Mbindyo (1982) suggest, the tendency to link disability to inability is still rife today despite recent emphasis on human rights perspectives in education (e.g. UNESCO, 1994; 2000). In fact, such a deficit view of disability has the potential to deny capable individuals not only the chance to maximize their potentials but also the opportunity to become economically independent. If difference (e.g. disability) is framed from the perspective of a normal variation of humanity, a rejuvenating effect can emerge in our thinking about the 'ab/normal' binary (Baglieri and Knopf, 2004). However, it is the 'power laden social constructions' and the meanings attached to the perceived difference that can have an effect on the child (p. 526). Constructions that see difference as lacking and thus attached to a negative attitude may be internalized norms that are difficult to change because they fix difference. However, as Baglieri and Knopf (2004; p. 529) argue, society should deconstruct ableism by 'inscribing cultural models to a view that difference is the law of the real' — taking difference back to the norm. Taking difference back to the norm might not be easy because as observed by Jane in interviews and informal conversations, disabled children were not easy to teach and thus were better off in special schools in the area.

Given the unprecedented popularity of inclusion and subsequent emphasis on the rights of children, one would expect a complete change in the ways the disabled were perceived. The government was explicit about the right to the education of children with disabilities in line Kenyan law and international conventions on provision of education as a human right (Children Act, 2001; MOEST, 2005). Nevertheless, given the historical injustices that disabled learners have suffered in segregated settings and the persistent neglect especially in a country where their education had been left to charities and NGOs (non-governmental organizations) with marginal support from the government, it was not surprising that they were perceived as targets for inclusion (Vlachou, 2004; Disability Rights Promotion International (D.R.P.I), 2007). Although I perceive IE as a becoming concept that has widened its horizon, the impetus set by Salamanca (UNESCO, 1994) has led to IE

policies targeting the so-called SNE children within which disability is a subset. However, difference as explored was not just limited to disability as it appeared to be a new categorical marker especially regarding disruptive, street and HIV-positive pupils.

4.3.1.3: *Difference*

Acceptance among children with disabilities by teachers, parents and pupils can be a critical determinant of their subsequent inclusion in schools. Unfortunately, as Jane commented in a conversation, negative attitudes especially among teachers, pupils even parents is an exclusionary force because the disabled are considered to be incomplete. As she stated, 'parents are less likely to invest in the education of other children — meaning the complete ones'. Though her sentiments were echoed by other participants, such a rooted view with regard to treating difference and disability negatively has a manifestation in a wide range of issues and does not seem to have a direct causal factor. For instance, a recent report entitled *State of Disabled People's Rights in Kenya* lists 'burdensome', 'cursed', 'shameful' 'bewitched' as some of the terms used to describe disabled people (Macha *et al*., 2007). Although views are not fixed but becoming, the possibility of similar representational images of thought cannot be ignored. In fact, from my experience, some parents are very concerned about the welfare of their children to the extent of forming associations and starting special schools.

I had the opportunity of teaching in one such school and learnt of parents who had given up their work to become fulltime carers. The latter account is an exceptional example because as Munyere (2004) recounts, the general negativity associated with disability and difference in the country exposes children to fearful experiences or even death. For Munyere, growing up as an albino was a challenge because the Maasai community within which he was born regarded him as a 'white' and thus an illegitimate child from black parents. This meant that as a child he had to survive the ordeal of being placed in a gate where hundreds of cattle were forced through. Munyere's case is one among similar untold stories and while it may be argued that such a background could be a potential source of bias, research is not a value-free 'business'. Besides, throughout the research journey, we all have stories from past memories that do not seem to fade away (Honan, 2006). As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) might support, researchers can use their experiences and theoretical underpinnings as objects of multiplicity, and as middles from which they link and connect with new experiences.

4.3.1.4: *Becoming-excluded: The story of Mutua and Awino*

My encounter with Mutua, a Standard Three pupil often ignited memories of Kisanji's (1997) argument pointing at the dangers of the disabled learner becoming a sacrificial lamb. Apparently bigger than the rest and towering over his desk mates, Mutua was in row C a row as exposed in the previous section for 'weak' pupils in the class. He had already been labelled a disabled learner (intellectually challenged in the schools' context — the equivalent of LD (learning disability) in UK) because of a poor academic record and had repeated Class Three several times. There was a force behind this label and clearly he was about to drop out of school since he could no longer become.

My attention was drawn to him because he was seated in the front row of the class and given his height, I expected him to be in the back row to allow for shorter pupils to have a better view of the black board (from my teaching experience when children are seated in rows, taller ones sit at the back). He was next to the teacher's desk so that he could be 'assisted' whenever assistance was required as per the teacher's observation. Nevertheless, such an arrangement and 'even the way desks are distributed around the classroom contributes to make the working of power, surveillance and control more effective' (Llamas, 2006; p. 672). He was however becoming a subject of ridicule especially when he could not answer 'simple' questions correctly. There were few opportunities to follow him outside the class because he rarely went out to play. As was the case for most classes, pupils' opportunities to interact outside were limited because it was seen as an administrative measure to reduce cases of bullying given the limited school space that was also shared by a neighbouring secondary school. It was however clear from the limited opportunities I interacted with him that he lived in an isolated world.

As Barton (1997) contends, the politics of disablement are about far more than disabled people because there are many oppressive forms. Thus, children are perceived to be different and this difference is not necessarily linked to physical or known biological factors and these children can be equally vulnerable to exclusions. This I attributed to the concept of our will to order and it linked to Deleuze's (1994) representational images of thought that treat difference as a problem. While I admit to the difficulties of changing apparently fixed views about norms especially with regard to academic aptitude, it can be particularly daunting when mere difference becomes an indicator of whether or not an individual is an 'object' of inclusion. For Veck (2009), IE should be more than securing access because the

possibility of exclusion can arise especially if learners are treated to be merely in the world rather than being of the world.

In my attempt to take the stance of an inclusive researcher, as discussed in Chapter Three, I tried to empathize with pupils and rather than see them as a group, became of their minds, treating each as individuals. In my view, such a complex perspective can be an important step for facilitating inclusive learning, the failure of which might result in negative attitudes towards some. Negative attitudes towards difference are not new in the country as stated by Musau, a policy official. 'There is a general negative attitude towards disability in this country and much responsibility has been left to disability groups, however we are currently conducting a study in schools to find out how we can bridge this gap' (Conversation with Musau).'

Musau gave an example of a school in which some parents had threatened to withdraw their children from the school if 'disabled learners continued to get admission'. His perspectives critiqued the government's apparent political lip service as there are no practical measures to combat discriminatory attitudes among teachers and parents. Rather than engage with politics of difference, in the absence of measures to change the whole system, the likelihood of creating single individuals for inclusion becomes imminent (Barton, 1997). This was the case in Hope School where particular children had been identified as needing inclusion.

Just a few blocks from Mutua's class was Awino, an apparently withdrawn girl, who appeared to socialise less with other pupils. Again, from my frequent visits to the class, I was drawn to this girl because her almost inviting glances influenced my decision to talk to her. I was already beginning to listen to the communication that was taking place between us. In spite of her excellent academic performance, her underlying HIV health label had an impact on her inclusion in the school. She socialised little, she was an orphan and according to the teacher, lived under constant fear of the unknown. While her class teacher claimed to have kept her condition secret, she was aware that other pupils had insights about Awino's condition.

As it became clearer after observing her interaction with peers, she had few opportunities to socialise. For instance during the limited opportunities for play, Awino took the role of an observer as she hardly joined in the range of activities. When asked why, she smiled and said she did like the play activities. However her friend joined in and said 'the other girls don't like playing with her'. Although unspoken by the girl, the possibility of withdrawal from activities for fear of other pupils realising her difference cannot be ignored.

This to me was a tactful coping strategy because as her teacher confided, once other pupils become fully aware, she was likely to be isolated fearing that she might ‘infect’ them. In the class and across the school, there were many similar cases. Although the context within which the struggle for inclusion takes place is important (Barton, 1997), listening to pupils’ voices without labelling can be beneficial. As unique individuals, listening to them has the potential of making their needs known or heard. On the contrary, labelling as Veck (2009) contends, can lead to a different form of exclusion that is a ‘less tangible, exclusion: we are excluded from making unique contributions to the production, and to the ebb and flow, of educational space within the institution’ (p. 145).

Awino was at the verge of attaining a fixed label which would have an effect on her learning in the school. Once that becomes the case, the attached label would have the potential to make her feel isolated and could lead to her exclusion as was the case of Kamau. The teacher’s fear of exposing Awino’s condition of Awino led her to treat Awino equally with the others (in spite of the underlying health condition) and is yet another example of the struggles of living with the dilemma of difference. As Minow (1985) argues, dealing with the dilemma of difference casts the question, ‘How can schools deal with children defined as "different" without stigmatizing them on that basis?’ (p. 157). In the following section, I now turn my focus to the likely outcome of the struggles of teachers in the context of dilemmas of difference: rhizomatic exclusion.

4.4: *Rhizomatic exclusion*

Exclusion involves not only identifiable categories of children nor is it limited to school access (Barton, 1997). However, exclusion is reciprocal because in excluding, one becomes excluded from the participation and experiences of the other. In living within the dilemma of difference, it is almost inevitable to exclude. As Minow (1985) observes, if the concept of difference can be forged in relationships, difference no longer belongs to the ‘different’ child but in relationship to the two under comparison. In fact, children can be excluded from learning opportunities while still in the so-called inclusive schools. For instance, during my research for my Master’s dissertation in UK schools, I noticed situations where simultaneous classes took place as teaching assistants were left with the responsibility of teaching rather than supporting pupils. This meant that the included pupils were always excluded from what happened in the classes and thus had to be withdrawn to catch up. On the contrary, Hope School had no teaching assistants although ‘weak pupils’ were assisted over lunch hours to catch up with the rest.

While Ainscow *et al.,* (2003) argues that withdrawal for support is not necessarily exclusionary if it is intended for the child's benefit, it can be ineffective if it leads to labelling. Further to the potential consequences highlighted about labelling in the previous section, the spaces accorded to those who support disabled children could also lead to their support being seen as marginal. Such marginal support may predispose those giving and in receipt of support to the danger of unequivocal treatment — to be treated as different.

With no support arrangements, oversubscribed classes, government pressure to perform coupled with other exclusionary forces, a different kind of exclusion recurs. This was the case for Hope Primary where the form of exclusion defied the order to include. Despite the government drive and policy on inclusion, there were other forces which appeared to spring from the everyday practices of the school such as children fighting for space, limited toilets and other facilities as well as bullying in the playground. As two boys argued in an informal conversation, they were reluctant to join in play activities; bigger pupils often bullied the young ones and threatened them in case they reported. This was partly the reason why opportunities for play had been limited. Thus, pupils with fearful experiences excluded themselves from such spaces within the school.

While schools had been given a small grant (KES 10,000) to make schools accessible to all, teachers spoke of the difficulties involved in achieving the goal (MOEST, 2005). Although there were mixed reactions and reservations about the inclusion of SNE children, changing exclusionary cultures amidst the climate of competitive learning climates and limited resources were pointed out as important issues. In an informal interview with a disabled parent (Ken) whose children attended the school, his arguments reflected the view that it was difficult for disabled children to achieve in mainstream school. Ken attributed his current successes to his background training in special institutions and that learning in institutions for the average majority would lead to further marginalisation; 'If children in mainstream schools are already failing to achieve in exams, how do you expect a child who had additional difficulties to cope?' On the contrary, Lorna, a policy official whose deaf son attended a regular school saw nothing wrong with the inclusion of disabled children because of the potential such education had on their future social integration in work places and the society:

> My son was previously attending a special school due to my opposition to the idea of inclusion. After my Master's degree in inclusive education, my thoughts changed and I started to support inclusion and even transferred him to a regular school. He now has

> learned to socialise with hearing peers and is happy to proceed in such education to secondary level. (Interview with Lorna)

Her views though contradicted by her work colleagues echoes a view that it was impossible to learn to swim outside of the swimming pool. However, it is without any doubt difficult to develop a culture of inclusion when those endowed with the responsibility see it as an extra burden and regard their teaching as the responsibility of someone else (Ainscow, 2001). As Lorna argued in our interview, a lot needs to be done especially to change the attitudes of main stakeholders because of the potential impact of enlightenment:

> A lot needs to be done especially to change teachers' beliefs and attitudes about teaching disabled children. We also have to enlighten parents about issues of disability because some still associate having disabled children with taboos and don't even want the public to know if their child is disabled. At least they need some form of enlightenment. There is need at the curricula level. Teacher curriculum needs to be reviewed. (Interview with Lorna)

Given the mixed reactions to inclusion and the view that material resources were needed, this was likely to create a precondition of thought about the success of inclusive education initiatives. Such internalized views had the potential to lead to strategic behaviours UNESCO (2004). Schools applying the concept of such behaviours practise inclusion selectively on the basis that the schools benefit by admitting pupils perceived to require inclusion.

Hope School's open policy had the similar potential of admitting so-called SNE children because of the potential gains. However, despite the government's offer of higher grants for children with disabilities, the school was still unwilling to admit severe cases of disabled children. F/rom the arguments raised in the preceding sections, it can be argued that the unwillingness can be attributed to many factors such as the teachers' views that within the current government climate of push for better grades, they were already overstretched and did not have the specialities to deal with them and so on. Exclusions thus ranged from failure to be admitted to forces within the school. This clearly contradicted the inclusive government policy on inclusion. It can be argued that the top-down government policy approach to school change was not working in view of the practices within the school. Although the idea of human rights can be deployed in struggles at various levels, intended outcomes cannot always

be guaranteed (Vlachou, 2004). As evidenced in Hope School, exclusionary practices and the mounting pressures from government in the absence of comprehensive policy guides were likely to undermine the spirit of inclusion. Nevertheless, policies follow trajectories which take time to evolve before folding into practice (Ball, 2008). Advancing the view expressed by Clough (1998a) that teacher practices are indeed policy as mediating principles, unless teachers believed that the school was ready for inclusion, then it would be problematic to expect them to adhere to the philosophies of inclusion. As such, the school was still vulnerable to exclusion because as will become clear in Chapter Six, exclusion was not just a force experienced by pupils but also by teachers.

It was surprising to learn that as the school attempted to retain its good standing in the national exams, parents were required to pay money for extra tuition. As a participant parent remarked, 'we have to pay for money for tuition, otherwise our children cannot be allowed to study'. Such a practice though outlawed appeared to work to the benefit of teachers because they earned more from private tuition than from their actual salaries as a colleague confided. This was also a strategy that the school employed in an attempt to raise money for hiring extra teachers as the government was unable to employ more staff (there were five teachers whose salaries came from private tuition alone). Such a situation created a different kind of tension between the desires to earn more, increased work load in overcrowded classes and government pressure for outcomes. Standard Four presented an excellent scenario to explore the relations between these tensions. Six pupils sat on one desk that was only large enough to accommodate two pupils! Copying notes was particularly the most difficult task as I noticed pupils writing on the backs of others and twisting in all sorts of angles to accomplish their tasks.

The class teacher argued in a conversation that she preferred to use a disciplinarian approach in order to manage her class and was strict with her deadlines for accomplishing tasks. All pupils are required to submit their assignments on time for marking irrespective of their conditions. Their circumstances are never considered nor is extra time given for differently able pupils to complete the tasks. What would follow was another form of exclusionary force that appeared to exert pressure on SNE children. She would whip those that failed and supported her acts as a form of making them compliant with learning norms. Otherwise, they had the choice to drop out or transfer to schools that suited them. As Jane observed:

> The government is silent on directing us how to do inclusion. Again, there are no mechanisms of early identification on all forms of pupils' difficulty. Also, parents lack awareness or ignore their children *because all like children who are complete*. When these children come to school and cannot match up to the tough demands of academic excellence, they are forced to drop out (Interview with Jane)

Large class sizes compounded by lack of identification mechanisms implied that pupils especially with Additional Learning Difficulties (ALN) predominantly get lost by the time they reach Standard Three according to Jane (class teacher). This was particularly true for disabled children whose difficulty in accessing the curriculum restricted their ability to survive tough academic pressures. As a result, most of them simply drop out of school. The academic orientation that measures and places 'unequals' in the same balance of subjects and outcomes make the less advantaged to be deemed unsuccessful unless they can attain particular standards. As a consequence according to Mutua and Dimitrov (2001) cited in Kiarie (2006) they either 'drop out or are too old to stay in the same grade (p. 52).

Clearly, the teacher's views point at exclusionary forces within a becoming inclusive school because as Booth (1998) argues, processes that decrease children's participation in mainstream schools are indeed vehicles of exclusion. According to Jane, only parents who have the resources and the motivation to follow up with their children's difficulties seek alternatives in special schools. Therefore children in public schools faced the danger of enjoying locational integration which may not facilitate their functionality (being able to participate, perform and achieve in academic work). On the other hand, from Jane's view that 'private schools cannot admit them because it's a business, their mean scores advertise them (sic)' the best alternative for disabled or different children was seeking admission in the limited number of special schools.

Such exclusionary forces were irreducible to fixed variables. Instead, they were related and connected to a wide range of issues and could not easily be addressed in isolation. In fact, looking at what went on in school makes one wonder what policy they followed. Perhaps this follows from the cause-effect relationship; the direct causal relationship one might expect of policy and practice in schools. However, my view of government policy is of a striated space while lived policy is a smooth space, where people have the potential to take escape lines of flight which makes the relationship to be very fluid. This, following Deleuze (1977) can be attributed to the view that theories which underpin policies are in constant

bombardment with lived experiences and in the process are reshaped through a struggle leading to a new dawn.

From my teaching experience, whenever problems or difficulties are experienced in schools, someone to shoulder the blame had to be identified. For instance, lack of commitment on the part of the government and failure to educate teachers on the new concept and practice meant that teachers were left guessing and went on with their teaching as usual. Although government policy appears to be silent on the techniques of dealing with the so-called SNE children, the school had a great pool of specialized teachers whose resourcefulness could have been tapped into for such situations. Other than seeing disability as a problem to be dealt with by specific specialism, a whole range of issues appeared to connect to the mere neglect of such children which appeared to revolve around strong linked exclusionary forces (presence of special schools, negative attitudes, poor quality surrounding schools, government push for standards, open admission policy popularly seen as the impetus for IE and so on).

Indeed, Peters (2004) acknowledges the role played by international organisations such as UNICEF in advocating for the education of disabled learners but points out that IE in the context of educational for all (EFA) is complex without a coherent approach in the literature. This is because disability as an array of issues cuts across various sectors of the economy making it possible to link it with exclusion and poverty. In line with a Deleuzoguattarian view on the rhizomatic nature of practices, Peters (2004) sees IE policy related to disability as a complex array of practices that cut across sectors.

In the scenario of oversubscribed schools, there is a connection between good performance in national exams and the right to admission. This connects to the idea that pupils' performance is a precursor to accessing better education because secondary schools are ranked in a diminishing order of resourcefulness, with national schools being at the top. Given these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand why parents insist on securing admission for their children in such schools. The poor socio-economic status of the school's catchment area gives parents the right to choose a good foundation for a better future for themselves and their children because the child is treated as an investment with possible future returns (Kisanji, 1997). Poverty is here illuminated and there are other aspects such as limited choices among households and inequalities within the society. In fact, a major aspect could involve increasing the number of schools and quality of learning in neighbouring schools. Nevertheless, every school like a rhizome will connect and develop in different ways as the reality of life comes into play. As a result, the challenge of developing policy related to

disabled learners becomes that of avoiding fragmented policy approach. All the same, policies interact to produce practices that require constant checks and balances to ensure that the new lines of flight emerging in schools are addressed in order to support IE arrangements at various levels. The challenges experienced by teachers in their attempts to meet the demands of so- called SNE children were blamed on a lack of specialist training:

> IE is good because it enhances the experiences of others and children benefit by being educated together. The major problem is that only a few teachers are trained in special needs education. But, given the large class sizes, there is a wide range of abilities some of which have special learning needs, below average, above average and behavioural problems, hyper, they cannot sit and you are the only teacher in the class. (Interview with Peter)

Perhaps these views which shaped the way teachers dealt with diversity may be blamed on the government silence on IE policy. Despite the government's ideological commitment, IE is provided within the framework of special education which gives emphasis to learners with disabilities. The policy states that pupils with severe disabilities can attend special schools and those that have less severe disabilities can learn together with other pupils in regular schools. The Ministry has tried to modify the infrastructure to make it possible for those with disabilities to be accommodated without making any other changes. However, due to lack of knowledge of so-called SNE children, many teachers found implementation of the idea of inclusion challenging. Despite this view and the fact that only a few of them had SNE training, teachers tried their best given the difficult circumstances in schools.

After all, there was no evidence that the government policy guidelines on inclusion had reached Hope School. The government had however planned to fund all public schools to facilitate barrier free access as documented in sessional paper no. 1 of 2005 (MOEST, 2005) and schools had already received small grants at the time of my research. Nevertheless, there was no evidence of any commitment to those changes in Hope School. In reality, many teachers did not appear to encompass the philosophies of IE and would go on with their usual practices as usual. Besides, a policy official highlighted that teachers have negative attitudes towards disabled children and do not care about the quality of education such children receive.

On the other hand, parents of learners with disabilities do not support inclusion since teachers have low expectations and only attend to those likely to perform well. Instead, they

opt for special schools where their needs are better met. As Lorna narrated, she was opposed to her deaf son learning in a mainstream school when the idea of inclusion was 'came to the country'. However, she later on changed her mind and transferred him to a mainstream school following her Master's degree (IE). While these struggles ensue in schools and at the community level to produce different practices in schools, at the policy level a similar struggle was still ongoing. Many specialists in special education at ministry level were against the idea of inclusion and contested their colleague's proposal. In fact, Lorna had been warned that her IE ideologies were inapplicable to the country and she had better keep them to herself.

Having explored conceptualization and their potential impacts in the creation of the normal child and thus creating conditions for exclusion, the following section will focus on another plateau that surfaced in the course of my research (discipline and punishment).

CHAPTER 5: DISCIPLINE AND PUNISHMENT

5.1: Introduction

> *By the word punishment, one must understand everything that is capable of making children feel the offence they have committed, everything that is capable of humiliating them, of confusing them ... certain coldness, certain indifference, a question, a humiliation, a removal from office ... A pupil's offence is not only a minor infraction, but also an inability to carry out his tasks.* (Foucault, 1977a; pp. 178–179)

> *If power generates a multiplicity of effects, then it is only possible to discern these effects by analysing power from below, at its most precise points of operation – a 'microphysics' of power. The human body is the most specific point at which the micro-strategies of power can be observed. It is microphysical analysis of the operations of power upon the body that yield the notion of 'disciplinary' or 'bio' power.* (McNay, 1994; p. 91)

In writing this chapter, I am still caught up in tensions about whether I should have provided literature about Michel Foucault in the Methodology because I have used him extensively here. However, in using his theories here to unravel the complexities of discipline and punishment in Hope School is to live the Deleuzoguattarian principle of *asignifying rapture* (see section 3.1 in Chapter Three). This represents a moment in which the Deleuzoguattarian rhizome is shattered and a new node is born requiring a different theoretical inspiration. In spite of these thoughts, I am still perturbed by the questions that keep swirling in my mind. For instance, 'aren't you sure of what you are saying?' (Foucault, 1972; p. 19), Are you sure this is the best way to apply Foucault? These questions and confusions follow me along and with the wariness that I may not give the correct interpretation of Foucault, warn that I may not come 'where you are lying in wait for me' (ibid., 1972; p. 19)

As I have analysed in Chapter Four, the conceptualizations of practitioners have some connections and relations to discourses of normality. These conceptions and notions of normality then provide a 'surveillance gaze' within which individuals failing to conform to disciplinary norms are rhizomatically excluded (Foucault, 1977a). In a bid to draw a map that illustrates the normative act of punishing and power relations in Hope School, this chapter establishes connections and relations with the findings of Chapter Four to discipline and

punishment largely through the lens of Michel Foucault. The essence is to open up new perspectives to the surfacing of discipline and punishment in the research. The analysis utilises three observation scenarios in Classes Two, Three and Four as detailed further in the *scenarios* section (section 5.2.1).

Through a Foucauldian lens, the chapter exposes the effects of the normative acts of discipline and punishment in Hope School. Further, it opens spaces for thinking about the taken for granted assumptions about discipline and punishment. The chapter develops into a discussion about how such new ways of understanding can stimulate dialogue for teaching and learning inclusively. At the core of the analysis is a call for educational practitioners to reflect and invoke their ethical practices in support of inclusive education.

Throughout, attempts are made to juxtapose Michel Foucault's and Deleuzoguattarian arguments to offer insights into how the emphasis on discipline and punishment interact through the workings of power, as a potential tactic to make pupils docile and thus easily manageable in order to conform to government pressures of achieving better in exams. Obviously, within such a process, the possibilities of resistances could not be avoided; after all, 'where there is power, there is resistance ... everywhere in the power network' (Foucault, 1998; p. 95). For instance, in the scenarios used to illustrate the findings, incidents of pupils resisting teachers' attempts to make them compliant are cited. In these incidents, teachers appeared to be living the tensions between the applications of inclusive principles and resistance to government policy. However, despite these attempts to resist, Foucault (1977a) asserts that, the invisibility of disciplinary power succeeds in shaping them. Therefore, in the process, my analysis exposes the struggles within these 'power networks' and the different lines of flight followed to exclude those apparently resistant to disciplinary power — the deviant.

My arguments advance the view that, concepts of norm that develop through the workings of disciplinary power play important roles in understanding origins of segregation and subsequently, exclusion. While the analysis might appear to problematise the practices in Hope School, my ultimate aim is to give a Foucauldian insight into the incidental effects of practices 'conceived in the interplay between disciplinary technologies' of the complex power relations (Graham, 2006; p. 5). For instance such incidental effects of practices that are conceived in this power interplay include the exclusion of Kamau exposed in Chapter Four.

However, in order to explicate the findings clearly, several lines of flight emerge and have been organised in four sections. First, the Overview section presents three scenarios based on classroom observations and discusses insights about governmentality within which

the invisible disciplinary power is situated. In an attempt to show the complexity of the principle, a discussion opens up that centres on how it acts as a mechanism of control using the policies of inclusion. In the Setting the Scene section, I use examples from the data to show how power acts as a mechanism of control and also to distinguish between two forms of power (sovereign and disciplinary). Section Three discusses how pupils were subjected to the mechanism *surveillance and control* through hierarchical observation and the examination. While a Foucauldian perspective might appear to oversimplify the school practices and relations, it is more complex. As a result, the concluding section explores these complexities as *multifaceted dimensions* that discipline and punishment took and its impact on Hope School's attempts to include.

Following the slapping of a girl as explored in Scenario Three, the threat of facing legal action had the potential impact of slowing and silencing the teacher. Although the impact on the teacher's behaviour is not captured in this thesis, the 'embarrassing' warnings conveyed by the headmistress in a staff meeting in my view could have had a positive effect of changing the way teachers administered discipline. In tracing these incidental effects of practice, the exclusive tendencies and dilemmas experienced by practitioners are assembled to offer insights into the possibilities of acting otherwise. The underlying logic within this analysis rests on the notion that once students are placed in disciplinary institutions, they get trapped by disciplinary power attempts to normalise them and any attempts to incorporate a wider diversity of pupils as a governmentality strategy, sometimes creates a crisis, often leading to exclusion.

5.2: Overview

5.2.1: *Scenarios*

The chapter is developed by reflecting on research findings. However, to give an insight of the extent of discipline and punishment, I also entwine observation and interview findings of three classes whose details will be developed further in subsequent sections of the chapter. The scenarios expose not only the intentions of practitioners, but also the importance attached to the effects of 'what one does' (Graham, 2006). However, in a quick overview, the discussions use scenarios from Standards Two (eight year olds), Three (nine year olds) and Four (ten year olds).

In Scenario One, Class Two pupils are attending to an English assignment and are subject to corporal punishment if they provided incorrect answers to the teacher's questions. Lydia (the class teacher) is strategically seated in front as a surveillance strategy looking from

side to side to maintain order by focusing on noise makers. On average, five pupils share a desk and making noise is apparently unavoidable because the limited space forces some to stand up and sit strategically (sometimes writing on others' backs as desk tops) and in the process interfering with other pupils' concentration. As pupils struggle to complete the assignment, two pupils are 'caught' and ordered to kneel at the back of the class and later receive five 'strokes' each. As pupils come forward in turns to submit their work for marking, each wrong answer receives a stroke and tension is clearly high. Some go back to their seats weeping. Afterwards, I have a conversation with the teacher about her general approach to teaching inclusively. The difficulty of dealing with an oversubscribed class arises and thus the need for use of strict disciplinary control measures to manage teaching. Otherwise, managing such a large class becomes impossible. Lydia did not appear remorseful for her actions by giving a rationale (a moral justification of punishment and strictness) — as geared towards the pupils' benefit.

In Scenario Two, the teacher in Class Three was initially unwilling to use any form of punishment because of my presence. However, upon my continued observation of her class, she gained trust in me and started using her whip hidden in her handbag. Her class presents yet another setting of pupils attempting sums but in this case on the blackboard and getting on the spot punishments for any wrong answers. Later in the same class, a contrasting scenario is presented of a pupil's attempt to challenge a 'given' fact in a *Swahili* lesson.

Scenario Three is based in Class Four, where the teacher is very strict and applies any surveillance tactic to manage control of the class. In addition to the story of Kamau highlighted in Chapter Four, the class teacher is once again drawn into an act of disobedience and slaps a girl. The girl reports the matter to her parents who accompany her and demand an apology from the teacher in the headmistress's office. Unfortunately, she declines and the parents threaten to take legal action against her.

5.2.2: *The invisibility of governmentality*

The incidental effects of complex power relations were at play in Hope School. There was a tireless effort by the headmistress to govern and direct the conduct of teachers and constant reminders of the need to adhere to IE guidelines. Amidst this effort was resistance by teachers because as she complained in staff meetings, her directives were being ignored and teachers either chose to disobey or follow their lines of flight. However, she insisted that, due to the pressure from the Kenyan education ministry to ensure compliance to good inclusive practices, she had no option but use whatever means. However, it is not always possible for

the advocated changes to become visible in the short run due to the complex power networks in schools.

Governmentality, from a Foucauldian perspective, embraces all procedures within an institution that in a broader sense involves ‘conduct of conduct ... leading to a multitude of techniques ... attempting to direct or influence the conduct of others’ (Doherty, 2008; pp. 195-196). It thus becomes possible to understand discourses on inclusion in terms of governmentality; as a specific governmental technology for transforming rational beings into subjects ‘formed through specific kind of individuality’ (Simons and Masschelein, 2005; p. 210). Therefore, from an historical perspective, developments of inclusive education reflect a change in governmentality in which inclusion has become a ‘permanent target of government’ (ibid.; p. 225).

Although my analysis did not place Hope School within this historical development, as a government school it was still subject to the invisible influences of governmentality. For instance, the accountability structures within which the school was located were organised in such a way that there were successive levels of power hierarchy related to the conduct of the school. After all, from the top-down approach of policy dissemination applied in Kenyan schools, it can be easy to identify higher organs of accountability in the Ministry of Education that have direct influence on the expectations of successive levels. Each of the state organs constitutes a power network in which new practices are born to strategically advance and achieve their objectives, *albeit* with resistance.

The invisibility of disciplinary power as an embedded force within the overall institutional technology of control attracted my attention in my attempts to understand discipline and punishment. However, this was fraught with complexities because Foucault’s study focusing on Western countries asserts that disciplinary power took over from sovereign power (Foucault, 1977a). Thus, the practice of corporal punishment, as a visible form of power that I compared to sovereignty directed towards pupils in schools, was confusing. Nevertheless, the difference in contexts would have been instrumental in understanding such a difference. Further, these remnants of coercive forms of force do not completely compare to sovereign power but were seen as mechanisms of enforcing discipline. In attempting to address governmentality in this section, my intention is to show how complex disciplinary power works and why it is difficult to resist certain forms of behaviours that might be seen as tact. These complex power mechanisms which form part of the wider system of control have the effect of limiting the progress of inclusion (Allan, 2008)

Consider for instance the Kenyan policy statement advocating for inclusion (e.g. Free Primary Education explored in Chapter Two section 2.2.4). Looking at the policy 'small', it may appear to be an isolated positive move towards granting children free access school. However, when looked at 'big', it reflects a change in governmentality. This reflects a change in value for individuals and by providing education from a human rights perspective, it is likely to entrench the view that everyone has a stake in the country and should be prepared to take up a certain role in the society. This is unlike the previous regime (before the 1990s) of governmentality when only a few individuals were considered to be important and thus had to be prepared for social roles.

Despite the Kenyan government intentions, it was inevitable for changes to be allowed without contestation. This was true especially if they were seen to interfere with school cultures and an extra burden because as Joshua (class teacher) argued in an interview, '... government policy on inclusion cannot work unless we have smaller class sizes'. Making reference to the policy on inclusion, Jane (class teacher), shared a similar opinion and regarded IE as an inapplicable concept lacking implementation strategies because 'it is a Western' idea and Kenya was not yet ready for it. For the teachers, silences from the government especially with respect to implementation strategies opened up spaces for struggle and old practices were unlikely to be changed as long as they achieved their objectives. Thus, policy and practice struggles as experienced by teachers offer a gaze through which tact is employed by schools; as a way of resisting the power of governmentality, in a process that Foucault (1988) would see as a truth game. The human subject according to Peters (2008) enters into truth games strategically for their best advantage even in the presence of power resistances. The existence of resistances in power relations is intended to achieve certain aims and objectives which schools might deem important irrespective of the effect they might have on their targets.

Having given an insight into the wider system of government control, the description of three observation scenario forms a basis for an analytic discussion in the rest of the chapter. The scenarios are reflective of the attempt by teachers to live the tensions of being caught up in disciplinary power games. Living this tension compares to the interaction between striated policy spaces and smooth spaces of practice discussed in Chapter Three (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Therefore, despite the view that the teachers' are harsh to pupils, their actions are a reaction to their powerlessness.

In order to show the connections between the struggles to make pupils conform to manageable modes and thus normalised to fit within social machines (Covaleskie, 1993), I

begin by setting the scene and then expounding on disciplinary and sovereign power, concepts of surveillance and normalisation as a tools of control to show how struggle ensued in Hope School.

5.3: Setting the scene

5.3.1: Power as a mechanism of control

Hope School had a strong regard for high disciplinary standards which at times would be enforced through coercive power of punishment. This view surfaced on my first day in the school although the practice became more explicit throughout my research, thus attracting a great deal of attention (see Diary Notes D/1/09). Through the clerk, one of the school's administrative assistants, I had ample time to 'sample' the school by witnessing the disciplinary standards students were subjected to. My intention was to get a general overview of the school and get acquainted with the school's routines, make the purpose of my mission known as well as get to know teachers and pupils. While it was too early to start making conclusions, one thing became very clear: that there was an obvious power hierarchy between staff and pupils because at times the degree of orderliness and pupils' manner of response when interacting with staff appeared to reaffirm my suspicion. Thus, the emergence of power as a major force for understanding inclusive struggles became more vivid in my observational attempts to understand how teachers experienced and implemented IE policies.

Throughout my observations, in and out of the classes, there were other opportunities that offered an exploratory chance through which I could view the school routines. Radical looking and historical reflections help us to dig into research settings in order to uncover clues which facilitate better understanding of the study (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007). Thus, I opened up my mind's eyes in an attempt to see what was happening. In all the classes, I was amazed by pupils' discipline. They stood up and in unison 'recited' a welcome greeting, stood attentively as the clerk introduced me until he told them to sit. I saw this as part of the pupils' moral grounding although my previous experiences with schools in Western settings were different. The pupils appeared excited and happy though the conditions of their learning were apparently uncomfortable (about 70 pupils per class with limited desks for sitting). Apart from one incident in which the class teacher cautioned me against 'wasting their time' and interfering with their mission of 'ensuring good performance', all the teachers appeared welcoming:

> I am happy to have you in the class but not to waste our time because this is the third term and we busy preparing pupils for the end of year exams. As long as you do not interfere with the learning process, you are welcome. (See Diary Notes, D/2/09)

Although, the intentions were not to put me off as later elaborated in an informal chat, it opened up an opportunity to discover how the significance of performance was salient and thus a shared theme by all. It also became very clear on the first day that teachers and pupils had a mission to accomplish; to perform well and give a positive outlook on the school. Having been in the school for a short time, I was already beginning to see emphasis on exams as a likely threat to inclusive orientation because of my wariness on how such emphasis was likely to affect those who lagged behind. Despite this emphasis on achievement, the classes were very congested; in fact it was quite difficult for some to accomplish their class tasks in such a seemingly uncomfortable setting. Some had to write on the backs of others while others had no exercise books or pencils. These incidences portrayed a real struggle which revealed the effects of poverty on education and the likely challenge good policies intended to meet education for all.

After the first round of the school tour, I sought to know how teachers managed to maintain such a high degree of order in the school from the clerk. He was very categorical that a large number of pupils were naughty because of their experiences in the slum. Thus, it was imperative for high disciplinary standards to be maintained. Otherwise, teachers faced a difficult time in accommodating the pupils in the school. Furthermore, parents in the community were very harsh to their children and if the school offered a safe haven for them, they could even attack teachers. His sediments implied the possibility of using coercive power, which for some reason, he was reluctant to disclose. Even though he did not declare whether corporal punishment was part of this effort, I could sense that there was more to this orderliness. I was bemused by these statements because from my own understanding of inclusion, in order to accommodate difference a one size fits all principle has the potential to exclude because the individual circumstances of each child are unique. Given the fact that the open policy on admission had attracted some former street children in the schools whose previous life styles would have been harsh and unforgiving, there was need for creating a welcoming environment. Otherwise, the possibility of resistance and dropping out of school would have been imminent and a contrast to the insights of the so-called inclusive ethos.

Besides, such perspectives of looking at the pupil are likely to advance the view that slum children (the main catchment area for the school) are either deficient or delinquent

because teachers who are more powerful in classroom situation act as 'oppressors' and are likely to treat pupils, the oppressed as trouble (Freire, 2005). Teachers in these circumstances take the role of acting on behalf of the government to exercise control, as disciplinarians, through disciplinary power while at the same time being subjects of the same power because they have to meet pressures from government. Such a view can be plausible from the perspective that disciplinary power which I explore in the next section, acts invisibly (Foucault, 1977a). Thus, acting under the influence of policy, the statement of government intentions, makes them part of the power web under direct control by the government (Doherty, 2008). Taking the view that policy is 'any course of action (or inaction) relating to the selection of goals, the definition of values or the allocation of resources' makes policy a bonded act of political power because it influences the ways in which the state governs (Olssen *et al.,* 2004 cited in Doherty, 2008; p. 198).

This power relation intended to direct and control school aspects of life by appropriating rules in the economic and social spheres provide instructions 'on how subjects should behave and respond' (Doherty, 2008; p. 199). Although such a theory of control is thought to have a totalising effect that affords for the placement of individuals in the social machine (Covaleskie, 1993) it sometimes meets resistances. The 'hidden conceptions' of government policy, 'the task of governing and its associated technologies' often became contested and new practices are born (Doherty, 2008; p. 195). Thus, the hierarchical control and subsequent appropriation of practices often produce relationships between theoretical aspirations and practice which are 'far more partial and segmentary' as Deleuze expressed in an interview with Foucault (Deleuze, 1977; p. 205). Such a concept contradicts the view that practice is an application of theories embedded in policy texts because the application of a theory in relation to practice is not that of 'resemblance' (ibid.). This follows Gilles Deleuze's view that:

> From the moment a theory moves into its proper domain, it begins to encounter obstacles, walls, and blockages which require its relay by another type of discourse [in order to pass to another domain]. Practice is a set of relays from one theoretical point to another, and theory is a relay from one practice to another. No theory can develop without eventually encountering a wall, and practice is necessary for piercing this wall. (1977; p. 206).

As a result, these piercing effects of practice were conceived as a means of expounding the policy struggles relating to inclusive education. The importance attached to the use of a Foucauldian approach in this sense is not grounded in an attempt to unravel some hidden truth but rather to problematize 'taken-for-granted practices and assumptions' by looking at the situation differently (Graham, 2006; p. 4). Thus, by recognising the relational aspects and diffusion of power, not as a possession wielded against the weak, possibilities for understanding the 'complex mechanics of schooling' are opened (ibid., p. 4). For Foucault (1998), rather than power expressed in terms of domination by groups over others or as a mode of subjugation, power is seen acting in relations strategically within societies towards certain goals. This is because, 'no power is exercised without a series of aims and objectives' (ibid., p. 95).

5.3.2: Sovereign versus disciplinary power

> *Discipline cannot be identified with any one institution or apparatus precisely because it is a type of power, a technology, that traverses every kind of apparatus or institution, linking them, prolonging them, and making them converge and function in a new way.* (Deleuze, 1988; p. 26)

Despite the gradual take over by disciplinary power from sovereign power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Foucault (1977a) argues, sovereign power can still be located in the current world working concurrently with disciplinary power. While his analysis exposes the disappearance of torture as a public spectacle, where the body was the target of penal repression, new forms of punishment, embedded within the overall agenda of disciplinary power with resemblances to a lesser effect to the body of the condemned still remain. However, in order to identify this tension, this section explores these two forms of power in relation to my research by comparing a school to a prison in order to advance my arguments.

Of course, there are distinct differences between the two institutions and thus, comparing them does not support the argument that they are the same but highlights the nakedness through which power acts. I am wary of the fact that discipline within these two punitive institutions is shifting because discipline is aimed at control not through repression but 'multiplication and engendering' (Tuhkanen, 2005; p. 111). Thus, punitive actions should not simply be seen as negative mechanisms that make it possible to repress, but they are linked to a whole series of positive and useful effects which it is their task to support

(Foucault, 1977a). The workings of power thus appear to connect in rhizomatic ways where disciplinary power works alongside its predecessor, sovereign power, though to a lesser form, to control other aspects of behaviour within the school and thus forcing the pupil to conform.

In Hope School, a rhizomatic relationship between disciplinary power and sovereign power became apparent. Contrary to the view given by Foucault using the example of the prison as 'the only place where power is manifested in its naked state ... excessive form, and justified as a moral force', Hope School had similar manifestations of such power that was clearly naked though to a lesser extent in relation to the earlier forms of sovereign power as exercised by kings and their agents (Foucault, 1977b; p. 210). While punishment through coercive power in modern times may not necessarily qualify to be termed as sovereign power, my argument relies on visibility as an underlying distinction between the two forms. Even within such a conviction, I am wary of the limited effect of the power of punishment because not all aspects of life can be controlled through the sovereign. The form of sovereignty emerging in Hope School is of a different kind but still qualifies as a power base within which the right to punish is derived. The manifestation of power in a recognizable way denotes the existence of sovereign power because the individuals, to whom it is being exercised, know that they are being acted upon (Covaleskie, 1993). These forms of power acting and being directed to the body to instil some pain were common as exemplified by the three scenarios in the introduction. Take for instance Excerpt One below from the Diary Notes reflecting on an observation in Class Three on one sultry afternoon:

> On my first visit to Class Three, I am perturbed. Children are asked to take off their pullovers. One boy complains to his desk mates about feeling cold and is hesitant to follow the orders. Eventually he is forced to succumb. I wonder whether the boy has underlying health problems unknown to the teacher or she just ignores it. Do the pupils have any voice or is it overshadowed by discipline? (see Diary Notes, D/5/09).

The boy in this case was forced, through a sharp order to take off his pullover in spite of complaining quietly that he felt cold. Such an order suppressed any possibility of resistance thus making him compliant. Power was directly acting on him unlike disciplinary power that comes from within and there was no way he could refuse because of the 'moral goodness' associated with the control. Later, in an informal discussion with the class teacher about that incident, I learnt that asking everyone to take off their pullovers was meant to avoid pupils getting dozy, thus improving their alertness especially in hot weather. Her

arguments as Foucault (1977b) would support, were justified because they were formulated within the framework of morality, as beneficial for learning and thus good for the child.

In my view, some of the extremes that teachers were ready to take for the sake of discipline, could amount to treating pupils as prisoners and thus entrenching the duality of power/powerless. While I recognize cultural differences in the way schools might discipline pupils without necessarily applying the power of disciplinary punishment, the possibility of using visible force in the Kenyan scenario as a related form of sovereignty of power in schools cannot be denied. My argument is situated within a view expressed by Deleuze (1977) comparing schools to prisons. According to him, not only are prisoners treated like children but also children are treated like prisoners by being 'submitted to an infantilisation which is alien to them' and thus it is 'undeniable that schools resemble prisons and factories are its closest approximation' (ibid.; p. 210).

In order to govern, teachers deploy discourses of control to the pupils and in the process children become submissive through the invisible power of discipline. In schools, discipline translates into control measures that help to make pupils orderly and thus manageable. Such a control measure rests on disciplinary power which is less visible and diffuse in operation (Covaleskie, 1993). Its effectiveness rests on its invisibility and difficulty to resist because it lacks a single locus of control (ibid.).

Power produces knowledge that is deployed through discourses. Through these powerful discourses, certain forms of norm are established which act as a mirror for differentiating individuals. Certainly, the school is defined within established norms on the basis of what is expected of pupils and the operations of power are such that dominant discourses are propagated which may not favour the 'different'. Through workings of disciplinary power and in an attempt to advance the goals of power — producing individual to fit within the social machine, teachers develop a sense of consciousness, that normalizing is good for the society (Covaleskie, 1993). This became clear in an interview with one of the teachers. After all, disciplinary power operates constantly and defines human normality to create disciplined individuals (Covaleskie, 1993). Thus, exclusion is almost automated, because as Clough (1998a) argues, teachers develop a false sense of consciousness and do not recognise their actions as exclusionary. For instance, despite teachers' condemnation and acknowledgment of the harmful effects of corporal punishment, they seemed be contradictory when they advocated for its merits. Mary, a class teacher, in response to an interview question about whipping in the school said:

> It should not be there although to a certain extend it is good, just a bit of it ... Personally I do not administer corporal punishment ... Our pupils come from rough backgrounds where parents are harsh and smack them. Even if they get whipped here, it cannot be compared to what happens at their homes. (Interview with Mary)

Given the view given by the head teacher about the foundation within which the school's success was based, it was possible to conclude that Mary's sediments reflected what she had seen happening in the school. Therefore, her acknowledgement of the benefits of punishing could imply that, she was still open to whipping pupils. This can reflect a mindset in which teachers say one thing but are likely to forget and perhaps act otherwise. Although it is normal for thoughts to contradict reality, it can be argued that acting unconsciously under the influence of disciplinary power is intended to advance the goals of ordering people in order to take useful roles in the society. This can however, sometimes portray the teacher as a disciplinarian. The teacher both advances the goals of power while at the same time resisting. Unfortunately, the more power is resisted, the more it continues to influence and control aspects of life because discipline is not just an act of 'accumulating bodies, of extracting time from them and accumulating it, but of composing forces in order to obtain an efficient machine' (Foucault, 1977a; p. 164).

Despite the failure to assemble a direct relationship between how powers were working in the school through my rhizomatic approach, I was able to connect and relate what happened. For instance, Joshua, a class teacher, gave an implication of the coercive effects of government power that teachers experience when they are told to implement new policy initiatives. He gave the following response when asked about his experience of inclusive education policy in the school:

> Government policy sometimes is hard to follow especially when we have no direction. However, we have no choice because when inspectors come and want to know how well we are following the policy, they observe and ask questions directly. We are accountable for our actions and thus have to try hard even when it doesn't seem to work. When you look at our classes, they are quite big and managing them is a problem now. We therefore have to offer and charge extra tuition so as to complete the syllabus in time which is a struggle. I think for inclusive education to work well, we need smaller classes and more resources. You know, the biggest pressure arises

> from government expectations especially for children to do well in exams. Teachers have to do anything to achieve that. (Interview with Joshua)

Doing anything they could, implied a commitment that sometimes involved resisting power driven policy initiatives but justifying their actions within a moral framework, as good and for the child's benefit (Foucault, 1977b). For instance, a Class Four teacher attributed the sacrifices made in teaching in Hope School to a Christian moral perspective that she would be rewarded in heaven:

> Actually, we are overburdened especially because of the huge number of pupils in our classes. From time to time we hold meetings with the headmistress to talk about our experiences and encourage each other. We also get pastoral support services from church ministers who encourage us to help the children tirelessly because of their poor living conditions as a sacrifice to God, awaiting a heavenly reward. As Christians we feel obliged to not only treat what we do as work but as a way of helping the needy. After all, our salaries are not commensurate to the work we do ... If we were to follow what the government policy says regarding school times and that extra tuition is unlawful, then we cannot manage to achieve what we have. (Informal conversation with a Class Four teacher)

Her arguments appeared to echo Foucault's (1977b) framework of morality. This, coupled with Christian-based virtues seems to influence the way she taught. Perhaps I was biased because of my personal beliefs and expectations pertaining to what to expect of a Christian-driven, moral way of teaching. Thus, in observing her teaching as well as in other classes, I would compare this morality which sometimes I could not see partly because of my wariness about the differences between reality (what teachers actually do) and rhetoric (how teachers say they do). This moral grounding, from the perspective of disciplinary power, sometimes appeared to be compromised by other demands forcing teachers to use their powers in their attempts to achieve expected goals.

From a governmentality perspective, their actions would have amounted to a form of resistance to some of the enshrined directives contained in policy texts. As a result, I saw the administration of corporal punishment and charging money for extra tuition despite their abolitions, as a strategy that they believed would work for them. After all as De Clercq (1997) asserts, implementing bureaucrats will always put their own interpretations and

meanings to the intended policies and, in the process, will use their power or discretion to subvert or transform the original goals of the policy makers. However, their forms of resistance could also be grounded in a Deleuzoguattarian perspective that it is normal for human nature to resist things that are uncomfortable especially changes relating to inclusive education and thus our tendency to hang on to fixed ideas. Thus, teachers would have already formed their perspectives on how to teach and would have found it difficult to abandon their efficient machineries through which they could achieve their objectives. After all, the government silence on how to teach inclusively at Hope School meant that policy intents were melded at the practice level through interpretation to achieve anticipated outcomes (Graham, 2006).

In my attempts to make connections between what was happening, I reflected on my interviews with policy officials. Lorna, an official trained in inclusive education at Master's level, had asserted that the government was slow in implementing IE policies and agreed with the teachers' dilemma that they could not properly implement what they did not understand. As highlighted in Chapter Four, Lorna had reiterated how her ideas were objected to at the ministry with officials allied to the special education wing arguing that inclusive education was detrimental to the education of the so-called SNE children. However, through her efforts, she had managed to convince them of its importance and that several initiatives were already in place to support it especially the then ongoing research and development of an inclusive policy document. However, the apparently 'go slow' pace at the ministry level almost ensured that old practices ensued at school level. The problem however appeared to be more complicated than seen on the surface because of the deep issues surrounding the whole aspect of school transformation to an inclusive orientation.

While Jane argued that Kenya was not ready for inclusion, when asked how, she pointed at some of the barriers that ought to be addressed before adopting Western ideas. She pointed specifically at lack of resources, inadequate qualified personnel and poverty levels which would have had a greater implication for changing the wider social-economic dimensions within which schools are located. Besides, as argued in Chapter Three, Kenya, like other developing countries is very good at chasing the wind because of the financial implications some of the Western-led ideas may have. Thus from a governmentality perspective, it could be plausible to argue that the idea of inclusive education has not been sharply incorporated in the local arena (Kenyan government) to act as a governmentality strategy in which inclusion becomes a permanent government target (Simons and Masschelein, 2005).

Besides the whole range of possibilities explored ranging from the effects of power and our human nature to hang onto fixed ideas, there was yet another dimension grounded in politics of maintaining the status quo. Mary, a class teacher in an interview expounded this dimension:

> Although we attempt to implement inclusive education initiatives in government schools like ours, private schools do the opposite. Their concern is to ensure their children perform well and get places in national schools which are well resourced. Besides they do not seem to follow government initiatives because apart from being keen to select the best pupils that would perform well and thus market their schools, they offer extra tuition and yet we are supposed to compete with them. Most of the middle classes including government officials who make policies take their children to such schools and do not complain about how their children are treated as long as they have the edge over children in public schools ... personally, I do not administer corporal punishment but teachers have to be aware of this competition and will try to do what they can to remain competitive. (Interview with Mary)

Thus, her arguments appeared to offer some justification for the ways in which teachers handled children because it was happening in other sectors. However, sometimes when punishment is administered in excessive form, it has the potential to exclude. In Scenario Three, punishment is administered in an excessive form and resistances became clear. This was in spite of the view that the reversal of violence by those to whom power was wielded played a significant role in the shift to disciplinary power according to Foucault (1977a). Incidences of resistance within the classroom setting were rare but the confrontation of the class teacher by a boy in Scenario Three provides an opportunity to compare the dangers of corporal punishment to those that public executioners were predisposed to because the two cases '... provided support for a confrontation ...' in an attempt to revenge (ibid., p. 73). As teachers spoke of punishment as an appropriate strategy of containing misbehaviour and orderliness in the school, such a principle rests on the premise that 'punishment leads to appropriate behaviour — and by extension harsher punishment will get us there faster' (Casella, 2001 cited in James and Freeze, 2006; p. 585). However, as the case in Scenario Three highlights, corporal 'punishment simultaneously creates undesirable side effects such as feelings of apprehension, anxiety, fear, anger, and the desire for revenge' (James and Freeze, 2006; p. 585).

Nevertheless, punishment *per se,* has the potential to exclude especially where schools use a zero tolerance for undesirable behaviours. This seemed to be the case in Hope School as confided by teachers despite the lack of written policy related to punishing unacceptable behaviours. Reflecting on observations from the school made me to see certain punitive actions as exclusionary forces that worked counter to the current project of inclusion. This power to exclude becomes clear when I discuss the exclusion of a boy in Scenario Three which brought back my childhood memories of primary school:

> As the whole school assembled attentively on Monday morning waiting to be addressed by the duty 'master', I saw three pupils crawl quietly across the fence and hide behind a pit latrine. The duty 'master' was just about to address us when another teacher came by and whispered something to him. Immediately, the master turned back and shouted ruthlessly, 'Come out, out late comers, don't think you can dodge me'.... after witnessing the screams of the first two after getting a share of their 'beating', Ngulai did not wait for his turn. He dumped his bag and ran as fast as his feeble legs could carry him towards the main gate... never to come back. That's how he became permanently excluded from school. (Memories from my childhood primary school experience)

The positive effects of disciplinary power especially related to control of undesirable behaviours through support and multiplication do not appear to have worked in both circumstances (Kamau in Scenario Three and Ngulai from my childhood memories) (Tuhkanen, 2005). However, a close look at both pupils in the two circumstances exposes their difference and thus the application of a one size fits all philosophy for punishment becomes questionable. Ngulai in the memory excerpt above was the first born and had overwhelming responsibilities such as cooking, cultivating, fetching water from the river among others some of which, he had to accomplish before coming to school. He had very limited time to concentrate on his studies and could hardly make it school on time thus adding to his academic frustrations. Kamau, a former street child had been hardened by harsh life that would have affected his social skills. Individual behaviours due to academic frustrations or lack of social skills when subjected to predetermined criteria of punishment are not fair from an inclusive perspective, because the individual circumstance has not been considered. Kamau could have been dealt with more carefully owing to his hardened street life and his lacking adequate social skills to participate in a disciplined institution. Although

Ngulai does not get his share of lashes, the mere spectacle of punishment by the teachers forced him to run away and he eventually dropped out of school because of the fear of being subjected to the same.

5.4: Surveillance and control

5.4.1: *Hierarchical observation*

> *The exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that 'coerces by means of observation' an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induced effects, and in which conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible.* (Foucault, 1977a; pp. 170–171)

The effectiveness of disciplinary power as Foucault (1977a) argues, rests on the deployment of three simple mechanisms: 'hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and...the examination' (p. 170). Thus, the subjection of pupils to aspects of surveillance was seen as a mechanism that was deployed to enforce disciplinary power even without the knowledge of teachers. Throughout my engagement within the school, I became aware of how teachers used pupils to maintain order in the school. Some of the tactics involved the deployment of prefects and monitors to report any incidents that occurred during break times as well as encouraging other pupils also to report. This mechanism was an effective way of controlling behaviour without necessarily being present because 'it was impossible to know when one was being watched' [and thus] necessary to behave as if this was the case' (Allan, 2008; p. 87).

However, since the school had a small playground which it shared with a neighbouring secondary school, there were limited opportunities for pupils to interact outside class. Thus, it became easier to observe what happened in the classes because during lunch breaks pupils were supposed to have lunch in the classes and settle back for revision or completion of assignments except during cleaning times. At lunch hour, each class had an assigned group of pupils who served meals, ensured that the class was orderly by reporting any misbehaviour to the class teacher and also supervised cleaning. (Lunch was collected and served in each class by pupils and pupils were responsible for cleaning the classes during lunch break as the school could not afford to employ cleaners.) Teachers were supposed to oversee the whole process, but most of the times, it was not necessary for them to be present because a mechanism of enhancing disciplinary power was already in place.

Nevertheless, they would 'pop in' from time to time, giving the impression that they were watching the pupils. This surveillance strategy has the power to transform individuals to behave in certain ways which once achieved, the necessity of having a teacher around becomes less important because disciplinary power infests in the individual and operates from within. This is because the invisibility of disciplinary power coerces us to become shaped without being aware of the shaping. One of the major functions of disciplinary power Foucault (1977a) says, 'is to train instead of bending all its subjects into a single uniform mass ... regards individuals as objects and as instruments of its existence' (p. 170)

In Scenario One, the teacher's strategic seating in front of the class and occasional throwing of glances around the class fitted within Foucault's (1977a) conception of surveillance; it was a disciplinary tool intended to maintain order within the class. The fear of being caught chatting or not attending to tasks which would have attracted a form of punishment that would culminate into corporal punishment was enough to make pupils orderly. Despite the ability of this strategy to maintain order and focussed attention to tasks to a large extent, it was not always the case because I saw two pupils break the rule and being ordered to kneel at the back of class. What happened to the pupils later was almost certain because the teacher was dangling a whip but apparently postponed the moment of truth. To make her surveillance more panoptic, the teacher had deployed other tactics such as assigning class monitors sat in each row the role of catching and reporting trouble makers.

In a conversation held after observing the class in which I sought to know her experiences of working in oversubscribed class within a climate of policy on inclusive education, she attributed her success to being strict in order to ensure that all were attentive and focused on tasks:

> I am trained in special education and aware of the difficulties special children face in this school. However, we have to meet our targets in spite of this challenge because we will be blamed by the government for not doing our work. Therefore, I arrange my children according to ability in order to know which ones need more attention. I also have to keep an eye on them because some are very difficult to control ... You know most of these children come from harsh backgrounds where parents beat them, they also have exposure to this hostile environment. It is therefore very difficult to teach unless you use the right strategies and ensure they are orderly; otherwise you invite chaos. (Informal conversation with a class teacher).

Her arguments attempted to give a rationale for her actions and entrenched the subtleness and silence within which disciplinary power is exercised. After all, in order to teach efficiently, children had to be silent and attentive for knowledge to be 'banked' because a more interactive approach would have fitted her idea of 'inviting chaos'. This idea of wanting to control the classes appeared to support Paulo Freire's notion of banking knowledge as an incident surfaced Class Three. It was a *Kiswahili* lesson where pupils were identifying animals that live in water. After naming them, the teacher asked them what their collective name was. A pupil gave the correct answer as *samaki* which translates to 'fish'.

However, one pupil did not appear to be convinced by this answer and wondered why a reptile like a crocodile should be called a fish. Of course, this would have invited an interesting debate that would have encouraged more pupils to participate but the teacher cut it short, reasserting his authority, he said '*wanyama wanaoishi majini huitwa samaki'* (animals that live in water are called fish). One of the reasons given by the teacher when I enquired about the incidence was that they had limited time to accomplish a huge amount of work. Reflecting on his arguments, I was able to connect it with what a teacher, talking about their strategies to do well in exams was, completing the syllabus in term two or the first few weeks of term three in order to prepare children for exams.

Throughout these observations, my greatest concern was about the fate of so-called SNE children. Despite the supposed awareness of difficulties of some children, the blanket treatment of all pupils especially when it came to punishment kept raising my concerns as to whether it was an exclusionary pressure or an inclusionary force. The academic orientation and desire to excel in league tables was here implicated as one of the reasons behind this strictness, something that would have been detrimental to so-called SNE children. Jane, as explored in Chapter Four, hinted on this indirectly when she asserted that, most 'SNE children leave the school in lower primary' and the lucky ones are absorbed in neighbouring special schools.

While acknowledging the importance of paying attention and the accomplishment of class tasks as being integral to the learning process, the administration of punishment to enforce these virtues could play a different role. Other than using opportunities for wrong answers to think of a different strategy of helping the children, the use of the rubber whip potentially confused and distracted pupils' attention from class tasks. As pupils brought their work for marking, there was a girl who had been quietly attempting the questions. As I passed by, she smiled at me but her joy was short-lived because when it was her turn to hand over her work, she was whipped five times for getting five questions wrong. On getting back

to her desk, she could not hide her disappointment as she sobbed obviously in pain. I had to leave at the end of the lesson but doubted whether that child would be in the mood for learning.

As Foucault asserts, other than minor infractions, pupils also get punished for not being able to accomplish their tasks. However as Scenario Two illustrates, the task does not have to be just completed but done correctly. During my initial visits to the class, the teacher never held a whip. However, after becoming used to me, she disclosed that sometimes they use and hide it in their handbags in case Ministry officials visit the school. Pupils were aware of this and had been trained never to disclose it to any visitor. On the third visit to the class, I was already a familiar figure and learning routines were coming back to normal. The teacher walked around dangling a rubber whip as pupils recited *Kiswahili* sentences perhaps as a surveillance strategy to invite their attention and make them orderly. Although she did not whip any child, her looks and the fact she sent out a boy for not being attentive left me guessing. I kept wondering how she was managing to teach such a crowded class. Occasionally, I was forced to walk round in search of clues as reflected in the following diary extract:

> As I constantly move around talking to the pupils quietly not to interrupt the lesson, the question of who is missing comes up. Every child looks okay and happy. Then my eyes fall onto this little girl with a curious look throwing occasional glances at me. She looks different, I conclude, but how do I confirm my suspicion? Maybe, someday. Later, I quietly express my dilemma and the teacher confirms that the girl is HIV positive and her skin is affected by rashes. There are two cases in the class although the other is absent. This information is confided by their parents. I wonder what would happen had other children known of their conditions, perhaps they do, What if such pupils are subjected to further torment through whipping?... (See Diary Notes, D/5/09)

Research participants often forget that they are being observed and begin to portray their natural behaviour making it possible for true accounts to be recorded. This became evident in the next lesson when pupils were required to attempt examples on the chalk board. Things changed when a pupil volunteer missed a step giving the wrong answer. The teacher hit her hard on the head and shoulders and gave the most remorseless look I had seen so far. Up until I left the class, the girl was still weeping. This scared other pupils and the number of

volunteers decreased. The teacher would be forced to pick on those that had not offered to volunteer and punish them whenever they gave the wrong answers or approach. Some pupils had also learned how to cheat the system as I learned from a group discussion that sometimes, they were forced to raise their hands even when they had no clue as to how to solve a problem. My initial instincts dictated that her brutality contravened the government's ban on corporal punishment. However, this was just the tip of the iceberg as more observations and staff meeting would reveal.

Therefore, the overall object of the surveillance witnessed in Hope School was the intention of controlling pupils within the classroom spaces to make them orderly and more educable. From this sense, surveillance was deployed as an internal decisive mechanism that also served to advance the techniques of disciplinary power. The deployment of these techniques was integrated in the overall teaching and management strategy by use of class monitors and prefects to complement the work of teachers.

Of course the whip seems to play a big role in this struggle because it had been already justified as morally good to correct their behaviours. This is contradictory to the government policy on the eradication of corporal punishment (legal notice NO.56/2001 which outlawed corporal punishment in all learning institutions in Kenya). Surprisingly, the head teacher was aware of this and even cautioned teachers against breaking policy in a recent staff meeting. However, this seemed just a formality because beatings still continued. Most teachers thought that due to the large numbers of pupils, the whip effectively assisted them in classroom control. Furthermore, parents and guardians had given consent to whippings as a form of punishment to maintain high disciplinary standards. Pupils on the other hand were divided on this issue as exposed during an informal dialogue. Some argued that it was a good disciplinary measure to control defiant children while others felt that it was overdone. Surprisingly, this vice was kept away from outsiders by the pupils and school staff just in case the education authorities would find out.

The head teacher spoke exhaustively on the effects of beating children citing delinquency, truancy and fear as likely consequences. She reminded teachers that most pupils were mistreated, severely beaten at home and were unlikely to withstand the same pressure at school. She reiterated previous incidences when pupils were severely harmed by teachers and how their parents had vowed to sue them. Ironically, she presented an impending case reported that morning in which a parent had sought an apology from a teacher for slapping her child. This was a welcome call to encourage inclusion and make the school at least different from home and a welcome place for everybody. Nevertheless, as far as whipping

was concerned it was business as usual. It reminded me of the harmful effects it could have and the likelihood of instilling fear among children especially those who could not cope with such disciplinary standards.

5.4.2: ***The examination***

> *Impairment, like perversion (and disability), is not something missing, not a lack or absence [because] ... it is as impossible for a person to be 'impaired' without reference to a statistically constructed "normal case" as for a person to be a criminal except by reference to the law.* (Allen, 2005; p. 94)

Examinations combine both normalising judgements and hierarchical observations in order to capture a pupil's individuality in comparison to others. Thus, irrespective of the underlying difficulties and challenges a pupil faces due to a disabling condition, the individual is likely to carry a negative marker (for instance low achiever). Although disabled children are not the only targets of exclusion as I have argued in Chapter Four, they are more likely to encounter difficulties in achieving better in exams compared to their non-disabled counterparts. Thus, exams subject even other groups of children to other pressures as an artefact of disciplinary forces of power and knowledge (Allen, 2005). This is because, at the heart of all disciplinary systems there is a 'small penal mechanism' (Foucault, 1977a; p. 177).

Students who did not achieve the expected levels were relegated to low performing rows — 'the bench of the ignorant' so that the intimidation suffered as a result of being seen by others as not achieving much would make the pupil work harder to earn a place in the best row (ibid., p. 179). The reasoning for categorizing pupils as one teacher said was intended to instil some competitive forces that would propel them up to the top row thus serving the purpose of what Foucault saw as ranks existing 'only to disappear' (Foucault, 1977a; p. 182).

The observable deficiencies lead to corporal punishment such that the fear of being punished or being an object of ridicule makes the pupil work hard or obey school regulations because disciplinary punishment has the corrective role that reduces the gap between the individual and the expected behaviour. This corrective function is grounded in the notion that 'punishment is to present itself to the mind as soon as one thinks of ... [misbehaving or not working hard enough to grasp the intended outcomes] (Foucault, 1977a; p. 104). Thus, the failing and punished student ought to recast his/her energies on subjects in order to succeed and avoid further punishment or possible exclusion. This became the case especially for

students in examinable classes which were ranked in regional exams. As a result the ranks were seen as measures of how valuable the child was and whether it was necessary to keep them in school.

However, in relation to IE policy that advocated for the education of children without any form of discrimination, such a strategy appeared to favour only the best. Those pupils who were not achieving lived in a dilemma — whether to achieve beyond their potentials or face the wrath of being excluded. Other than serving the purpose of introducing a constraint of conformity to be achieved, categorizing individuals causes pupils to become differentiated from each other and thus the abnormal becomes defined (ibid.). Punishment in itself should not be seen as repressive but situated in the possible positive effects, as a complex social function (Haas and Okstad, 2003) because power exercised on the body is a power strategy. Teachers as located members in the disciplinary power web and are seen by students to wield sovereign power which they exercise with the susceptibility of resistance (Covaleskie, 2003). This makes the school a site for resistance and outright rebellion because it is a site of sovereign power (ibid.).

The examination, according to Foucault (1977a), 'combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgement' (p. 184). This normalizing gaze acts as a 'mechanism of objectification' in which disciplinary power manifests its effectiveness, essentially, by arranging objects thus making it possible to punish. The transcription and fixing of norms allowed also for the continuous analysis of the individual and the application of a 'comparative system' in which to place said individual (Haas and Okstad, 2003). Whereas in the earlier regimes, the practice and display of power made the powerful individual visible, in the 'disciplinary regime…individualization is descending: as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualized' (ibid., p. 193). This is because power should not just be described in terms of its negative ways because 'it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth in short, the individual' (ibid., p. 194).

Part of the overall objective of imposing normative aspects was to perform well in exams. As earlier on highlighted in the Setting the Scene section, I had limited access to some classes because teachers were preparing pupils for exams and did not want anyone wasting their time. Besides, from my diary notes (D/11/09), I had observed that drilling to make sure pupils passed their exams was almost mandatory procedure. This was partly as I was told in a conversation:

> We get money from parents and almost have an obligation to ensure their children pass and move on to the next class. Can you imagine the sacrifices these parents make and how they would react if they were told their children are to repeat? ... Of course, some pupils repeat but we have to make the number very minimal because we must not be seen as enjoying the money but working hard (conversation with a class four teacher).

The teachers were supportive and despite their busy schedules, some would allow me to talk to their pupils. My initial idea was to hold a focus group interviews with at least six pupils across the various classes. I trialled the use of focus group interviews but the conversational mode expected was not forthcoming. However, the strategies applied are sometimes dictated by the situation as the research progresses. Perhaps their methodological nature meant that I was more constrained on the scope and detail of my exploration. Instead I opted to apply a more conversational oriented approach that would allow for flexibility and follow up of participants beyond generation of data. I was therefore more aligned to what Clough and Nutbrown (2008) describe as focused conversation.

My observations and frequent encounters with pupils made me to realise how dialogue in informal settings facilitated freedom of expression and honesty on issues affecting them. I held these 'dialogic interviews' with Class Five and Class Four because they were open and were ready to provide an audience. In the dialogue, we spoke exhaustively on issues such as whom they thought should come to school, things they did [not]like about the school, their liking for teachers and what ought to be done to make the school more inclusive. Pupils freely gave their versions of what inclusive education meant and overwhelmingly contributed to my questions. These dialogic-focused group interviews were not confined to particular questions but rather topics salient to my research focus to allow for the growth of the rhizome and any lines of flight to be followed. Thus, 'things' that emerged were followed.

They did not give a purely negative outlook of the school despite some of my observations. They liked quite a number of things about the school but were also quick to point at some of their dislikes. The question of corporal punishment was contested amongst them because of opposing opinions regarding its legitimacy. However, those who expressed their opinions against it were occasionally reminded of any repercussions in case a teacher was nearby. I saw this attempt to hide certain facts as part of the training pupils received never to disclose to outsiders what went on in the school. This allowed the school to shun off external pressures and allow for the prairie to grow rhizomatic offshoots.

I had learnt through a teacher friend that pupils had been cautioned against disclosing secrets. On three different occasions, when I asked pupils randomly during play whether there was anything they did not like about the school, the answer was no. However, reflecting on what I had seen and heard from teachers, I could not resist the temptation of asking them whether they liked caning. Surprisingly, they said that teachers 'never beat' (group discussions). This was an indicator that suppressive behaviours were in operation to maintain discipline. Furthermore, the core values of the school seemed to revolve on the premise that good discipline and performance promised a better tomorrow. The audacity of hope had conditioned children to be submissive allowing teachers to rework strategies for good performance without fear of victimisation. It also exposed the reworking of institutional powers to make children fit within existing structures; otherwise they risked missing out on the promise of hope. The children are silenced and denied a chance to be heard. However, learning within institutions as a constituent element of living deters growth and creates exclusionary pressures in which only the fittest survive.

Formal examinations being the official means through which individuals can be distributed in the 'social machine' gives advantage to the best and seemed to give teachers an authoritative mandate to ensure that they achieve. One of the strategies which appeared to work was subjecting pupils to intimidations whenever they lacked grasp of required concepts. It was particularly elaborate in Class Seven and Eight (the exam year classes) where examinations were considered an important step towards a better life. Thus, the mechanisms of power at play within the school were apparently acting as a method of filtering students such that those with the promise of performing better could be enrolled for national exams. Apparently, this disciplinary mechanism appeared to work for the school because children in the upper primary school had been disciplined to work hard even without mechanisms of control. Unlike in the lower primary where whipping was rampant, the three mechanisms of control seemed to mould upper primary pupils into being obedient and orderly because there were limited incidents of corporal punishment.

5.5: Multifaceted dimensions

The use of a Foucauldian lens to understand the experiences of participants in Hope School as earlier stated (section 5.1) was not intended to offer solutions to the problem but as a means through which opportunities for thinking otherwise might arise. After all, there is a whole range of factors that connect within the workings of disciplinary power that demand a wider approach to the problems of inclusive education. Thus, the overall workings of

disciplinary mechanisms when connected to the wider socio-economic conditions of the pupils' life, seems to form an assemblage within which the tools of control became more efficient. For instance, the desire and promise of a better future through education was integrated in these mechanisms as a way of giving moral justification by teachers for the strict treatment of pupils. While these strategies served the purpose of adhering to the demands of government for better performance, they had the potential to turn children into docile bodies (akin to a form of alienation) and exclude the vulnerable despite the promise of better life and a way out of poverty.

Nevertheless, despite the endeavour by disciplinary regimes to turn children into docile bodies for easy management and perhaps manipulation (for instance, children were not to talk about the existence of corporal punishment — see hierarchical observation in section 5.4.1), opportunities for resistance still exist. It is within these incidences that opportunities for inclusion and exclusion exist. Closer scrutiny of the disciplinary mechanisms at play in the school might offer crucial insights for a radical rethink of how to make inclusive learning a reality. Within the disciplinary mechanisms of control exist opportunities for exclusion because from a Foucauldian sense, the norm establishes a point of reference, a means through which the degree of deviance is derived. The process of naming deviance through what Foucault (1978) would call 'perverse implantation' is intended to develop mechanisms of correction or cure (cited in Allan, 2008; p. 89). Regrettably, some of the mechanisms of correction especially for children experiencing learning difficulties might have negative effects and rather than correcting, lead to their exclusion as observed in Hope School. This chapter has therefore exposed discipline and punishment as some of the mechanisms of within which exclusive tendencies are harboured. By analyzing the surveillance strategies used as prompted by the strict disciplinary standards in the school, it is hoped that a new understanding might arise and offer spaces for thinking otherwise. Furthermore, in an attempt to create docile bodies for easy management vulnerable children are exposed to the possibilities of torment and eventual exclusion. It is thus worthwhile to scrutinize these disciplinary mechanisms to rethink how a different approach may be forged that places the interests of not just the so-called SNE children but all children because at some time in the learning process, it is almost inevitable for children to exhibit difficulties. As a result every child would be susceptible to punishments that might affect how they learn and even contribute to eventual exclusion from school.

The school is seen to be tactful in response to pressures from the government by creating hope and silencing pupils in order to meet the greatest expectation of good results.

This constitutes a dilemma from an inclusive education orientation because there appears to be little space for pupils who cannot survive in the established culture and structure. Teachers recognized the importance of the core mission (perform well and create a positive reputation for the school in regional and national exams) and had their own strategies of coping. Therefore, while participation is a core value for IE, over emphasis on exams appears to be a threat. Pupils who lagged behind had two options: either to repeat or transfer to another school.

Despite the privilege of utilising a Foucauldian perspective, there lies a danger of making the complexity of power relations and school practices appear simplistic. For instance, while sovereign power was expressed in naked forms, the current regime of sovereign power in Hope School appears to be hidden. Besides, in punishing pupils, teachers may think that they wield power and try to exclude themselves from disciplines of control. Nevertheless, they still remain subjects of the same power. Thus, rather than looking at power as being directed towards children, teachers also face similar mechanisms of control. These controls could take different forms but a good example is reflected by the resistance by pupils in Scenario Three (see section 5.2.1 in Chapter Five). The threat of facing legal action for excessive use of force (slapping a girl) has the potential to change the teacher's future use of force against children. One of the reasons why such a change could be inevitable rests from the threat of interdiction and the possibility of losing employment according to the headmistress's warning in a staff meeting. The possibility of visitors to the school including local parents, inspectorate and researchers being conceived as constituting a form of surveillance on the teachers cannot be ignored. As Scenario Two (section 5.2.1) illustrates, the class teacher concealed her whip from me until she was certain that it was safe to use it in class because I could have been observing practices and potentially report to higher authorities.

Thus, when power is looked at as part of a network, the multi- sided effect (that power acts from all directions) exposes the potential of utilising it for the benefit of all. As the chapter has exposed, pupils appeared to be on the receiving end. Even though teachers were wary of what effect their practices of administering corporal punishment could have on their employment, they seemed not to care about it. However, had the pupils been empowered to be more aware of their rights, a different form of productive resistance would have resulted to a change in the way pupils were being treated. Perhaps this could go a long way in changing the school culture because teachers become aware that they are subject to surveillance from within and react positively to such powers.

This analysis has thus exposed the practices in the school which point at some of the incidences when inclusive learning may fail to take to place. While I argue in Chapter Two (section 2.2.2) that it is not possible to know in advance how a rhizome will grow, certain inputs could act as pivots to balance power and in the process steer school cultures towards an inclusive direction. For instance, coming up with a structure for opening up pupil voices to report issues that they dislike without fear of being reprimanded is likely to stimulate dialogue with teachers. Such a discussion is likely to sensitize pupils' dislikes and desires and result in a positive change. Otherwise, the silencing of pupils from reporting anything they dislike is likely to have a negative impact on inclusion.

As a result, I propose a radical rethink of inclusive education in Kenyan primary schools especially by scrutinising how disciplinary mechanisms work to exclude in order to propel the process of IE forward. It also reveals the rhizomatous nature of reality and calls for close working relationships with teachers to identify the key boosts for inclusion:

> The art of punishing in the regime of disciplinary power brings quite distinct operations into play ... [and] the perpetual penality that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it *normalizes.* (Foucault, 1977a; p. 183)

This invisibility and lightness of power brings confusion between the defined normal and the natural ability of the child because, as Covaleskie (1993) argues, defined and desired normality is not seen as a product of power's operation, but seen as a true reflection of one's ability. Accordingly, normalizing judgements have the ability to exclude pupils who have the potential to excel in other fields (or in different inclusive circumstances) that power does not deem important within the schooling context. Therefore, instead of conceding to the powers that define and normalise, teachers can begin to engage in discussions about how to live with the dilemma of difference (Minnow, 1985).

In Chapter Six which follows, I turn my focus on the power of ethnicity as an element of surprise in my research. The chapter highlights the conditions under which ethnicity took a central role in Hope School, the wider socio-economic dimensions it is located and its power to exclude.

CHAPTER 6: ETHNICITY, POLITICS OF THE TRIBE AND EXCLUSION

6.1: *Introduction*

In Chapters Four and Five, I have attempted to disclose how the various dynamics within schools bring tensions that are likely to play unconsciously and act as exclusionary forces. Such understanding also provides a basis for forward thinking especially with regard to wider sectorial approaches in educational reforms and the formulation of comprehensive inclusive education (IE) policies. However, missing in the map is yet another dimension that has a potential correlation to the effectiveness of wider sectorial reform in order to enhance equity in education such as the Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP) that pursues issues concerning finance and the achievement of millennium goals of equity by looking at challenges affecting the sector. Surfacing in the research was ethnicity and tribalism which despite their close links with politics in the country, did not appear to have any significant inclusionary/exclusionary influence in schools prior to the research. However, Bates's (2000) view that ethnicity serves as an exclusion device in Africa as dominant ethnic groups use their power to offer economic rewards, provided an incentive to think seriously about its surfacing in my field work. While I attempt to offer an unbiased account of the Roger Slee warning following Althusser and Balibar (1997), that, 'there is no such a thing as innocent reading' because the words we read are put through our 'interpretive sieve' which is further shaped by our 'theoretical or ideological disposition, experience' and our limitations (Slee, 2001; p. 114).

Thus, in this chapter, I engage with ethnicity and tribalism which emerged as elements of surprise in my attempt to understand the daily struggles of Hope School to become inclusive. Prior to my field work, I had little knowledge of the extent to which ethnicity and tribalism influenced the inclusion of teachers and pupils in the school. The earliest indication of the influence of tribalism occurred to me in the process of obtaining a research permit when an officer from my tribe told me about the tricks of obtaining one after a futile attempt as explored in Becoming Methodology Chapter. This initial experience did not give any indication of similar issues being at play in schools but nevertheless was an opener of my 'mind's eye'. My intention is to link up my personal experiences with revelations from interviews with teachers and focus group discussions in an attempt to show how the apparent silence by the government to address these volatile issues had yet added another layer of hidden complexity and exposed the vulnerability of schools in responding to exclusionary forces.

In developing the chapter, the experiences of Jane (one of the teachers) are disclosed because she joined the school at the height of skirmishes. However, to give justice to these findings, the chapter is divided into three sections. Nevertheless, they are not logically connected like a tree that proceeds through a 'binary logic of dichotomy' that imposes the verb 'to be', instead, it uses the fabric logic of 'and… and …' to establish connections and relations in the findings (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 27).

In Section One, I provide further background to the Kenyan Scenario section by establishing relations that address the broader situation in the country within which ethnicity and tribalism are located. To make this more vivid, I also offer more details by tracing recent developments following the country's disputed presidential election that led to an estimated 1,500 deaths (Roberts, 2009).

Section Two engages with school experiences and in an attempt to locate these issues within the school, I relate my personal experiences to interview and focus discussion findings as well as informal chats with practitioners and how the issues were played at the school level while at the same time interrogating the underlying triggers and the possible ways forward.

In Section Three, I synthesize these struggles to the general inequalities in the country and in an attempt to show how complex ethnicity and tribalism are. These complexities are at best understood from the concept of a rhizome because 'the rhizome itself assumes very diverse forms, from ramified surface extension in all directions to concretion into bulbs and tubers…' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; p. 7) Overall, my agenda is to draw a map of understanding on how issues of ethnicity and tribalism have a historical and political base and this combined with government silence has led to inequality being centre stage thus enhancing the exclusion of teachers and pupils.

6.2: Background

6.2.1: *Social and political situatedness*

Hope School had many aspects meriting further investigation though the scale of my research could not accommodate all of them. However, I remained keenly aware of anything observed or said, an approach that allowed me to question taken for granted norms. For instance, out of the 35 people on the teaching work force, only five were males and more than three quarters represented the tribes which voted as a political block in the previous national elections. This understanding was fundamental especially because the study was conducted two years after Kenya's disputed presidential elections in 2007. Whether this over-representation has a direct relationship with the major tribes of the catchment area or has resulted from politics of the

tribe, patronage and favourism, remained initially unclear but began to unfold as I interacted with teachers.

After the elections there were flare ups and skirmishes which heightened ethnic tensions in the country. These tensions almost brought the country to a halt because facilities located in certain geographical areas were inaccessible to people from other tribes considered to be outsiders. Hope School was not an exception because as narrated by Roger, a class teacher as it was located at the epicentre of the chaos:

> The school was inaccessible because of blockades and riots. When the election results were announced, I woke up early to assess the situation because I feared for my life having watched skirmishes on TV. I saw a group of youths stopping motorists ransacking them and pulling out the passengers after some deliberations. After a chat with my neighbours, I realised that they were targeting people from ethnicities that supported the presidential winner. I knew I would be a victim and immediately packed a few of my belongings and drove to my rural home about three hundred kilometres away. (See Diary Notes D/23/09)

Furthermore, as Atieno (2008) observes, the problem affected other parts of the country including institutions of higher learning whereby ‘outsider’ professors and teachers were forced to flee their residence and seek refuge in their ethnic strongholds which saw their homes burnt or looted and destroyed completely. As a result, most of the institutions remained closed for fear of student unrest (ibid.). Little was known about how this was to impact learning institutions especially primary schools and even at the start of my research, I saw ethnicity as a peripheral matter in primary schooling. However, following warnings by Alwy and Schech (2004) that regional disparities in economic development have tended to follow an ethnic trend in post-independent Africa, it become important to understand how the neglect of ethnicity and economics had impacted learning in schools.

As highlighted in the literature review, Kenya has witnessed a growing chasm between the haves and have-nots because from historical times, the politically powerful have tended to reward their cronies alongside ethnic lines by ensuring continued resource allocation. With subsequent governments doing little to reverse this, it is not surprising that the trend was beginning to encroach into other territories that were not previously thought about. This inclination, as Gitau (2005) observes, has flourished in Kenya because of the patrimonialism system which has tended to reward those close to power. As a result, it is not

surprising that politics in the local arena have been dominated by ethnic and tribal groups in an attempt to ensure greater bargaining and power in order to enrich particular regions. Kenya is divided into eight provinces alongside ethnic lines and the provinces where presidents are elected from tend to be more developed and better resourced than others. These developments also reflect the distribution of educational institutions which tend to follow a similar trend. After all, the then constitution gave the president powers to allocate resources at will; a trend that has remained almost the same since post-colonial governments have tended to use ethnic bonds as strategies to remain in power (Alwy and Schech, 2004).

Furthermore, rural schools in these regions tend to be dominated by the tribes of the catchment area and the possibilities of minority tribes being excluded are rare. However, the dynamics and trends within main cities which draw an ethnic mix due to immigration of workers are less known. Mseto (pseudonym), one of the biggest slums in the country has a rich multi-ethnic diversity cutting across all tribes despite the dominance by particular tribes and has been a political battle field as well as the epicentre for city chaos due to its proximity to the city centre. Although it was clear that after the disputed presidential elections particular tribes were evicted, reconciliation efforts at national levels were supposed to have brought back normalcy for people to live harmoniously together.

Despite this sensitivity, I had a neutral view of the dynamics at play in school because following the advent of free primary education, schools were supposed to admit pupils indiscriminately. Besides, Hope School as a public school is under legal obligations from the Ministry of Education and benefits from resource allocations from the government including teaching staff. However, after an initial informal chat with a teacher, it became apparent that the possibility of such tensions taking effect in the school could not be ignored. This added tier in my thoughts meant that my research conduct was approached with an open mind looking for any signs of such tensions especially because the school was located in a slum area which was the epicentre of violence in the city. Prior to the disputed elections, people lived relatively in harmony irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds. It was only during campaigns and subsequent results that people ganged along ethnic divisions to openly support 'one of their own'. This led to killings, looting and forced evictions of minority groups not affiliated to the presidential choice of the vast majority in the slum. Nevertheless, as I expose in the rest of the chapter, the chaos triggered a whole range of issues as people had lived in discontent and the government had kept silent because it had worked to the benefit of the ruling class.

6.3: School experiences

6.3.1: *Critical moment*

In thinking about IE policy and teacher practices, I thought about Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concept of the book and the world. As they argue, despite developments and changes in the world, the book continues to be the image of the world. Such a relationship enabled me to connect and relate teacher activities to the changing nature of their lived world. These lived worlds (realities of living in schools) are also full of complexities as they may differ with teachers' beliefs. The mismatch between values, school cultures and practices can be better understood when looked at the two levels of educational platforms that exist — what educators say they believe and intend (' espoused theory') and the assumptions, beliefs as evidenced by their action ('theory in use') (Carrington and Robinson, 2006; p. 325). It was already becoming clear that teachers and policies function in context because contrary to an expectation of direct relationship, the conditions of work dictated teachers' actions. Looked through a Deleuzoguattarian lens, one could argue that teachers' actions represent the smooth spaces of policy and are constantly reworking the walls of striated spaces of written policy. Therefore, rather than see teachers as 'black boxes' whose actions can be described in terms of policies, their actions are always becoming, following different lines of flight as new situations arise (Clough, 1998b).

These conclusions were often triggered by observations and reflections on informal chats and accounts of the school's past. For instance, my first insight into ethnicity and tribal accounts was through an informal chat with a teacher friend who narrated his ordeal because at the time, he was a dweller in the slum. This ignited some interest on how the school was affected and invited my curiosity to capture more insights. Fortunately, a critical moment occurred during my routine classroom observation in Jane's class. Jane was one of the three deputy headmistresses of the school and had joined the school at time when there were deep political divisions. Being a member of one of the considered outsider tribes, the community openly opposed her transfer to the school arguing that one of their own should take her place and she was very informative about the ways in which ethnicity was played out in the region. Pupils had completed routine tests as part of their preparation for final exams and the teacher was busy preparing a performance report. I noticed that pupils were seated in three groups and sought clarity from the teacher after the first lesson. She then handed over a score sheet which she referred to in explaining how groupings were based on performance. Almost unconsciously and as a Kenyan, (when a person speaks or tells their name, it is easy to

identify their ethnic or tribal affiliation) I was able to identify the names of the pupils as over-representing particular tribes or geographical areas which prompted me to question about it:

> It is true there are some missing tribes but I can talk about it in detail later. As for the arrangement, I order pupils according to ability in order to be able to manage them easily and also to give more support whenever needed. This is almost the culture in our school because it also helps pupils to compete in order to be promoted or demoted to another row. The rows are not permanent because even pupils who sit in row A (best performing row) sometimes find themselves dropping to other rows and vice versa. As you can see from the list, there is only one pupil from the [Z tribe] (a synonym) which was not the case before 2007. After the election violence, particular tribes were targeted and cleansed from the slum. Even some of the tribes that were not much targeted became afraid and relocated to other regions thus withdrawing their children. (See Diary Notes, D/1/09)

While from an inclusive education perspective such arrangements may be critiqued on the basis that they are likely to humiliate, demoralise and entrench the duality of good and bad learners, it fosters a sense of competition which motivates learners to work hard. This perspective was held by most teachers because of the school's culture of ability grouping. Nevertheless, as disclosed in Chapter Five through a Foucauldian lens, disciplinary mechanisms work in such a way that teacher actions are rationalised within a framework of morality (Foucault, 1977b). The ultimate goal for these actions is to invoke a sense of self discipline that would make the child develop good learning and studying habits without the necessity of constant teacher intervention. These act as a strategy for managing teaching and learning experiences although it is still questionable whether becoming-children manage to fit within this frame of action (see for instance section 4.2.2 in Chapter Four). However, it is understandable from the dilemma of difference that teaching inclusively is faced with a double-sided tension which has to be balanced for the benefit of the child because failing to differentiate or differentiating has potential consequences (Minow, 1985). These revelations, as I reflected, acted as a constant reminder of the multiplicities of tensions within schools.

Jane's insights revealed the dynamics of exclusions based on ethnicity because as I discuss in detail in the Missing Children sub-section, even teachers became victims of ethnicity. The Z being the largest tribe in the country, is often expected to have a significant proportion of pupils in schools and thus having one in a class of about 70 pupils was

exceptional. This exclusionary practice resulting from negative politics were threatening to create inequalities in the school rather than creating a welcoming environment for everyone. There was also an added danger of instilling negative values among the learners because of the likelihood of developing ethnic tendencies and negative conceptions of others. This analysis rests from the view that the school acts as machinery for preparing children to live in the future society and thus what happens in schools will be reflected in the society when the children become part of it (Dewey, 1966). Interestingly, in a focused group discussion, pupils did not express any disregard for others despite their differences in ethnic origins when asked about pupils who were forced to transfer to other schools:

> We live as friends and do not care about what tribe one comes from. We see ourselves as friends and tribalism is not in our minds. Our ethnicities only serve as a way of identifying ourselves. Only a few pupils make jokes about others from different tribes based on historical beliefs which we do not see as tribal but a way of making fun (group discussions)

This discussion was revealing because contrary to the expectation that children would also hold divided views based on ethnicity this was not the case. In fact, pupils formed strong relationships irrespective of their ethnic or tribal affiliations. Perhaps this could have been overshadowed by the fact that they were under strict disciplinary environments. In spite of such possibility, it would have been easy to pick up from teachers instances of ethnic tensions among pupils which did not happen. Indeed, Joshua confirmed that he had never witnessed any form of ethnic or tribalistic tensions in the school. However, Jane had informed me of a situation in which pupils fought openly due to political differences which were based on ethnic and tribal grounds (see Diary Notes, D/23/09). In relation to the general experiences of practitioners in the research, the disclosed case can arguably be an exceptionality attributed to euphoria and incitements from outside the school at that election period. This lack of any reported incidents of an ethnic nature forced me to explore for alternative explanations of prevailing divisions. Pupils' sentiments were reflective of what many of the practitioners held because according to Musau (policy official) 'there has never been a reported incident of controversies between pupils alongside ethnic lines in schools'. His remarks were echoed by Roger (class teacher) who cited his long-term friendships developed in school cutting across different ethnicities. The failure to attribute ethnicity and tribalism to schooling appeared to

suggest a different type of mechanism influencing community outlook. An important element attributed to these forces that appeared to influence people's change in thinking was politics:

> Politicians use every trick and powers at their disposal to get into or hold onto power. For instance, look at what happened in 2007, the politicians made us kill each other because they wanted to get into power for their selfish gains. I also want to say this, there is a lot of poverty and unemployment amongst our youths which makes them easy to manipulate especially if they are given money. Many things need to be changed because once our innocent pupils are thrown in the harsh community; they become easy to compromise and can take sides especially if they reap some benefit. (Roger, see Diary Notes, D/23/09)

Roger's observations appear to support an argument for the existence of a positive correlation between inequalities emerging from unemployment and political tensions. The political class who happen to control the country's economy and patterns of development use their positions of power to maintain the status quo. However, such a view still raises the question of what role education should have contributed in changing people's minds and institutions to move towards a more equitable society especially due to the centrality of social cohesion and citizenship in government policies. Bowles and Gintis (1976) appear to respond to this dilemma because as they argue, societies have become exploitative and alienating because for capitalism to succeed, a docile and highly fragmented workforce that cannot challenge the authority is needed. Capitalism thus succeeds by creating a false sense of equity and fairness through education by making educational attainment appear to be based on merit which reduces the discontent that hierarchy and power produces (ibid.).

While it is true from a Deleuzoguattarian perspective that human beings are segmentary in nature, it is undeniable that life is also spatially and socially segmented (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Segmentation can serve the purpose of identifying ourselves to particular societal groups but can be detrimental to the health of the society when it leads to the bonds and chaos which in the Kenyan case was ethnic based.

Writing earlier, Spiel (1962) reminds us that there will always be individuals whom despite our efforts to influence them, may prove hard to be released from their 'spiritual bonds' (p. 114). Although Oskar Spiel's spiritual bonds relate to 'difficult children' who present limitations to our methodological approaches to teaching, the community may seem to play a significant role in instilling these bonds. Thus, the deep roots within which ethnicity

and tribalism drew could be seen as influential in the way people believe and value. As Gitau (2005) points out, rewarding those close to power has a negative impact on dealing with ethnic divisions because youths will fight so long as one of their own is close to power and can reward them with employment. With my mind's eye open and being sensitive to the Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) logic of 'and ... and ...' this aspect threatened to widen the horizon of my research to politics and power.

However due to space and time limitation, that could not be a possibility. I was still able to explore aspects from the wider socio-economic dimension within which the school was located. Indeed as Deleuze and Guattari (1987; p. 213) argue, 'everything is political, but every politics is simultaneously a macro-politics and a micro-politics'. As it would became clear, micro-politics played a symbolic role because the community outside the school played a significant role in enhancing the activities of the school. Thus, to enhance social inclusion and citizenry, the need to balance ethnic consciousness and national patriotism becomes an important aspect of concern in order to streamline the school and the community. Jane argued for instance that the bonds between the school and the community are so strong to the extent that community influence can be seen at play in school and vice versa because:

> Pupils act as agents for their parents and guardians and act as the link between the school and the community. They report what happens in the school and understand the tensions outside because they are part of the community. Some even participate in clashes and know what is said about the people the community considers as outsiders. Although pupils rarely exhibit hostilities in school openly for fear of being reprimanded, I have seen it happening in my former school. Actually, the school had to be closed temporarily due to infighting between rival groups taking sides on the preferred presidential candidate. In the environs of Hope School, what one says or does has to be well thought because they could have some devastating consequences on you (interview with Jane).

In thinking about her views on the untold conditions imposed to 'outsiders', by the community, I reflected upon an experience I had one evening in a local pub on requesting a particular song. The DJ declined my request but in a friendly tone warned that I should understand the area well because particular ethnic songs have been banned. In order to integrate, I had to follow what the community valued, akin to fitting within the system. This wariness, I believe had been at the core of most teachers' survival because they could have

been easily targeted in times of hostilities. As a result, I understood why Jane indicated that one had to exercise precaution within the area. After all, the community knows what is happening in the school through their children and other kinsmen. Perhaps this becomes clearer when I embark on the issue of particular tribes being over represented which was the genesis of revelations about divisions among teaching staff.

6.3.2: The missing group

One of the three deputies in Hope School, Jane had joined the school at the height of the violence. She was unwelcome because as disclosed in the preceding sections of this chapter, certain tribes which she happened to belong were unwanted in the region:

> Your observation is correct about the names on the report because many pupils have been forced to transfer to school outside this region. Parents had to flee from their homes and even leave their properties for safety; never to return back. Actually the violence after 2007 polls shocked everyone because the scale of enmity between people along tribal lines and political blocks became very clear. Most of the tribes affiliated to the president's party especially those that joined the coalition are seen as betrayers of the main opposition (interview with Jane)

Due to privileges attributed to closeness to power, as Gitau (2005) argues, the 'betrayers' would have been unwanted because they had denied a different group getting into power either to bring change or reap the same benefits. At the core of these wrangles is the persistent neglect of certain regions seen as opposition strongholds. Thus, the community seized the opportunity to fight for their own kinsmen to take control of institutions within their regions and prevent outsiders from encroaching:

> The dominant tribe regards the school as theirs and are ready to rally support to exclude people from particular tribes by inciting refusal of admission. Incidentally, Jane is a victim of such 'rallies'. As I learnt, she was transferred to the school as part of promotion process to join a group of two other school deputies. Unfortunately she belonged to one of the 'unwanted' tribes and worse still her surname resembled that of an unwanted leader. Thus, her coming was met with a lot of resistance from the community. Some openly confronted her and where she thought she could find solace laid the biggest agitator as the story would unfold. A former teacher who wanted to

> take up her role had mobilized the community to block her from joining the school. It was as a result of this incitements that parents began to insist on having a deputy from ‘one of their own’ because the school belonged to them. (See Diary Notes D/15/09)

Joshua (a class teacher) was more critical about the reasons behind the wrangles within the country and the schools as more situated in historical injustices and inequalities that have favoured particular regions (Kenya is divided in regions occupied by particular ethnicities as highlighted in the background section. It is thus possible for regional development to favour such ethnicities):

> People are tired of having the same leaders or recycling older leaders who undermine change with the same ideas. In fact, what people fought for was change of leadership that would have enabled the younger generation take up leadership roles in order to improve the living conditions of people. Look at this slum for instance which has been neglected by previous governments. People here were optimistic that change of government would almost certainly develop the region and create jobs for the youth. When this did not happen, they felt betrayed and transgressed their anger on perceived sympathisers irrespective of their political affiliation or social status. The only problem is that innocent people and schools are being caught up in wrangles (interview with Joshua)

Poverty and inequitable opportunities are portrayed as key motivators here although ethnic identification and competition for influence in the state and potential benefit from allocation of resources could have been at play. Therefore, in order to address future conflicts addressing poverty and unemployment appears to be a key factor. In fact, as Warah (2008) comments following the outbreak of the violence, that election was seen by the poor and the marginalised as the one that would address past injustices and regional inequalities. In essence, the violence that erupted after the elections was a class war — one in which the impoverished masses took up arms against all those they thought represented the interests of the ruling class.

The issues explored seem to point at a very important aspect of change that can be pivotal in enhancing integration and equality of access to facilities and equitable distribution of resources. Furthermore, ethnicity has for a long time dominated the development stage in African countries with skewed developments in favour of regions of the ruling elite (Alwy

and Schech, 2004). From my political knowledge of Kenya, Hope School is situated in a region that has traditionally been associated with opposition politics. Consequently, limited developments have been witnessed in the region because developments have tended to be skewed towards areas that support the ruling elite. Therefore, residents of the region are likely to have contested the elections in the hope that one of their own could get into power and get their 'turn to eat'. Thus, the school seems to be caught up in struggles between power and peoples attempt to be included in all aspects of development. It is not surprising that government policy on citizenry and the promotion of social cohesion as some of the core values enshrined in the Kenya's education philosophy appears to be either silent or ineffective. Hence, as long as access to quality education as an inclusive initiative ignores ethnicity and tribalism, then the current emphasis of educational provision based on a human rights perspective is unlikely to be successful.

6.3.3: ***Exclusionary tendencies: shifting the balance***

Jane had somehow managed to 'survive' but kept a low profile within the school which she still maintains to date. Her survival was contingent upon her ability to fit within the existing system because according to her, pupils played a big role of facilitating her inclusion in the school. Differentiating between two categories of teachers (teachers who report on duty and those that come to work) she saw her hard work as a reason for parental acceptance and change of their attitudes. 'Pupils always report teachers to their parents and if seen in a positive outlook, they are accepted and included in the school' (conversation with Jane). She mentioned how teachers from her tribe had been threatened and were scared to report for work. Further, parents had a habit of wanting their children to join the streams in which a member of their tribe was the class teacher. This was an indicator of the possible rootedness of tribalism in learning institutions. The obvious implication for these divisions is the danger of building rather dismantling exclusive cultures in which everyone does not feel welcome.

Teachers work in multiple contexts which as Greene (1985) asserts, range from classroom contexts to the wider political and social lives. Therefore, in order to perform their duties, they have to be responsive to challenges on the understanding that all values and goals cannot simply be legislated into existence (ibid.). Amidst this multiplicity is the desire to fit within shifting balance of the taken for granted 'unchanging originals' especially with regard to inclusive education (Rajchman, 2000). For instance, inclusive education has been perceived from the perspective of students' diversity being accommodated in the learning experiences of schools. Therefore, the majority of IE books focus on how to make schools a

better place for all to learn. This dimension became questionable as a result of my experiences in Hope School because of the existing external forces. Teachers also become targets of exclusion based on their ethnic origins and political affiliations. It therefore becomes necessary to think about how the relations of power outside of schools have the effect of excluding.

Indeed, other than one's ethnicity, pupils had the power to influence and impact on the acceptance of the teacher based on their competence. Given the hostilities some teachers faced in the post-election period as already exemplified, it became necessary for them to prove their competence by teaching effectively because pupils determine which teacher they like:

> As teachers from the 'outsider' communities, we have to work extra hard in order to get a positive outlook in the environments. Actually, if you teach well and the pupils like you, they tell their parents which influences the way the community treats you. When I came to this school, parents did not want me to be part of the staff because they argued that one of their own should be given my post. However, with support from the Ministry of Education and my hard work, parents realised I was doing a great job and learned to accept me (interview with Jane)

In a subsequent visit to the class, she reiterated the story about ethnic divisions and violence in the country giving specific reference to the school. It was exposed that the main betrayer was operating from inside, a fellow teacher who wanted to inherit the school's leadership having served as a deputy head teacher for a couple of years. The current retirement age had been raised for a further five years which made it impossible for him to take over the key post. Instead, he turned his aggression to people considered to be affiliated to the winning party with all sorts of accusations. Rallying support from other allied teachers, threats were issued and support mobilised from the community to lynch traitors. Indeed, as other teacher confirmed during a discussion on the same topic, teachers were exchanging bitter words in the staffroom. This led to numerous requests for transfers and forced transfer of the main protagonist.

Listening to this story, I began to wonder whether these tensions are still in existence especially because most of those involved were still present in the school. However, how schools respond to such crisis may be evaluated based on the core missions and purpose for such institutions. Looked from an IE perspective, schools should be agents of promoting

diversity and national coherence which are enshrined in the education philosophy and the Kenyan constitution. Negative experiences prompt a different way of understanding and appropriating lived behaviour. Such rhizomatic offshoots and open outrage at fellow colleagues is an indicator of rooted divisions beginning to find roots in schools. Despite the fact that education policy ideas are well articulated on paper, there are always possibilities for reality to take different lines of flight when the right time presents itself. Such an incident threatens to challenge the popular expectations founded on arborescent thinking which seeks to offer explanations from cause-effect relationships.

Given the complexities of tribalism and ethnicity which sometimes attract deep political tensions, the extent to which government policy had worked to avert such crises was still questionable. As explored in the preceding findings chapters, it is clear that a wide range of issues were at play in the school to exclude and as Slee (2001) observes, accepting the current school cultures without questioning them threatens to reduce inclusion into an ensemble of policies and resources. After all, even good policies do not always guarantee the expected outcomes because of struggles at the various policy arenas (Fulcher, 1989). This is because policy is not so much about government decisions and controlling actions, but an interacting process between national and local actors. For instance, apart from the issue of tribalism which was somehow resisted and criticized as an 'outside problem' by Mary, teacher attitudes, creativity and a range of other factors were seen to be influential in determining inclusive teaching. Teaching approaches and inclusive tendencies are influenced by a wide variety of things. Teachers are trained on the job, develop own attitudes as a result of attending seminars and also borrow from the culture of the school' according to Mary. However it was her view of the school culture which would have posed the greatest challenge to taking an inclusive move because according to her, the culture was the greatest reason for the school's success:

> The culture of the school has been carried on from generation to generation through joint partnerships between parents, pupils and teachers. The main emphasis here has been education and good performance. Teachers know their role is to teach, pupils to learn while parents support these efforts. This is the school motto which was started by Mrs N, the first head teacher and has now been incorporated into the school culture. Some of the teachers who were there are still here and still pass it over to new ones. There has always been a belief that this is a good school and therefore we must work hard to maintain that name, are very committed (interview with Mary).

This awareness provided fertile grounds to dig deeper into other issues of exclusion which appeared to lack strong foundations, things which appeared to spring from school interactions in direct contrast to policy expectation. I then began to see policy from the theoretical perspective of a rhizome. Teachers can be very useful agents of promoting inclusion but their effectiveness can become questionable if they are victims themselves. Most of the teachers are parents in the school and by subjecting them to exclusionary pressures, it brings into question whether a welcoming attitude can be created in the school. I imagined what parents other than teachers experienced especially if they were seen as outsiders which made me to wonder whether the administration was discriminatory in any way.

There was little means of knowing this because the administrators made it clear that the school operated an open admission policy to all throughout the year. However, in another critical incident this open policy on admission became questionable when teachers confided to me of a game they had played to admit a pupil refused by the administration. In this particular disclosure during a social evening, I was made aware of how they had tricked a relatively new teacher into accepting a pupil (into her class) whom the administration had refused admission on the basis that the school was far stretched beyond capacity. Although the deal was an illegality because pupils have to follow a formal procedure of admission, the involved teachers were lured by selfish gains and as part of the deal, the parent rewarded them handsomely. Due to a large pupil population, the teachers were almost sure that the administrators would never discover. As time went by, they realised that the pupil was lagging behind and decided to offer extra tuition collaboratively. Nevertheless, they were discovered one day when the head teacher interrogated the student as she waited in the staffroom for her regular tuition to catch up. As a result the student had to be expelled and the concerned parties warned by the headmistress to honour the school's regulation regarding admission.

6.4: Inequality and exclusion

6.4.1: *Introduction*

So far, my analysis has explored the significance of ethnicity and tribalism in propagating inequalities and exclusions from school. Interestingly, the latter forces (ethnicity and tribalism) do not seem to be played at school openly but appear to catalyse exclusions at a level outside of school. Apart from the tensions arising as a result of post-election violence in

which particular tribes were cleansed from the community and consequently withdrawn from the school, these appear to be silent issues. Schools being a subset of the larger community where forces of inequality are easy to identify are caught in the crossroads of their dynamics. Pupils sometimes in these circumstances are subjected to the forces of the hidden curriculum which might or not work in their favour.

There is little doubt given the underlying complexities that wider sectorial reforms are needed for the inclusive education movement. Such reforms go beyond a simplistic approach to the problems encountered and looking for their solutions because of the multiplicities involved. However, to deal with the problems comprehensively 'would mean writing one or two more ... [thesis] in order to give justice to the complexity ... which I cannot undertake due to constraints of time and space' (Freire and Macedo, 1993; p. 169). However, in concurring with Deleuze and Guattari (1987) on the macro- and micro-political influence of everything, the importance of attempting to make relations and connections within which exclusionary forces are located cannot be ignored. Therefore, in writing this section, part of my purpose is to create a map of the array of forces which have ties with ethnicity and how their understanding has the potential to develop better inclusive education policies. Partly, the theme of inequality surfaced as explored in the School Experience section above because politics or poverty which have a strong correlation in the country were implied. Consider for instance the following excerpts which appear to defer the tensions to something else which as I have explored, points to poverty and the historical inequalities. 'We live as friends and do not care about what tribe one comes from. We see ourselves as friends and tribalism is not in our minds. Our ethnicities serve as a way of identifying ourselves ...' (Focus group conversation) 'There has never been a reported incident of controversies between pupils alongside ethnic lines in schools.' (Musau)

> Politicians use every trick and powers at their disposal to get into or hold onto power. For instance, look at what happened in 2007, the politicians made us kill each other because they wanted to get into power for their selfish gains ... (Roger, informal chat)

> In fact, what people fought for was change of leadership that would have enabled the younger generation take up leadership roles in order to improve the living conditions of people. Look at this slum for instance which has been neglected by previous governments. People here were optimistic that change of government would almost certainly develop the region and create jobs for the youth. (Joshua)

Thus, despite the array of issues that emerge in the Critical Moment section, there is one aspect that appears to be the denominator of the tension — inequality. Unfortunately, there has been little policy emphasis to confront it only cosmetic policy documents which appear to serve the purpose of impressing donors (Kalabula, 2000). Thus, given the above views, that different ethnic groups have lived harmoniously and that politicians have tended to mobilise ethnic-based support to attain or retain power, it is plausible to argue that the violence has more connections to poverty and inequality and not ethnicity as previously thought. Unfortunately, ethnicity has a played a central role in propagating inequalities that makes it appear to be positively correlated.

Kenya's struggle is, therefore, more fundamentally linked to inequity than to ethnicity, although wealth and poverty have developed distinctly ethnic tones. Regional development has strong ties with ethnicity as disclosed so far. Furthermore, in the Kenyan scenario, I disclose how educational inequality is structured such that it favours particular regions or certain children. Apparently, subsequent governments have done little to change that. However, despite this wariness, it might be worth reflecting on the ideas of Bowles and Gintis (1976) on the influence of capitalism in reproducing societies that give privilege to the status quo. Nevertheless, education can be seen to serve not just a conservative role but could have a more critical and creative purpose as Paulo Freire observes:

> Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world (Freire, 2006; p. 34)

6.4.2: ***Social inclusion and cohesion***

Inclusive education plays an important role in the process of promoting social inclusion because schools present a platform within which issues of diversity can be tackled (Ratcliffe, 2004; Carrington and Robinson, 2006). Thus, the moulding of citizens within the education system is very important in achieving the agendas for inclusivity. This was a particular concern for policy officials because they argued that schools have not yet succeeded in promoting cohesion pointing at the need to integrate citizenship in the curriculum.

> Although there is a component of citizenship in our education policy, it appears to have done little in averting tensions countrywide because many people are still caught up in beliefs about other tribes. However, I think the government has been very silent in dealing with ethnic divisions because it has not been thought to be an impediment to development. Unless issues of inequality are tackled, I still think tensions will still arise (conversation with Musau)

This view appears to suggest a multifaceted approach to dealing with matters of inequality because of the connections between various factors that influence the history of the present. Nevertheless, around the world, a socially integrative society has not yet been achieved due to historical beliefs which give people subsumed knowledge of the other even without having a direct experience or social contact (Ratcliffe, 2004). Within the three major ethnicities (Cushites, Nilotes and Bantus) in the Kenyan scenario for instance, there are beliefs about each other and dominant tribes within these groups have tended to excel at the expense of the minority. As a result, the major tribes have taken advantage of their privileged positions in government and

developed their communities. School reforms involve allocation of scarce resources and whoever controls the change process has the power to benefit certain peoples or communities more than others.

Nevertheless, it is still surprising how pupils get caught in ethnic tensions because in schools they are very innocent and live together in harmony. As I have indicated in the Critical Moment section of this chapter, pupils do not see themselves alongside ethnic or tribal lines but when they leave school, the situation changes because of the influence from the outside world. This dilemma when looked through Freire's lens is likely to entrench the view that education serves as an instrument of conformity to the current society rather than becoming a practice of freedom. This points at the importance of incorporating the community within the school in moulding pupils as apprentices to citizenship rather than treating schools as separate institutions where citizenship is taught, it becomes a form of citizenship (Ratcliffe, 2004).

6.4.3: *Ethno-based bureaucracies and exclusionary tendencies*

> *Politics was at the centre of our differences in the staffroom in the days of skirmishes. Nowadays, it does not seem to matter much because we no longer have chaos. Normally, teachers here belong to two camps — from the dominant political parties but that is likely to change before the next elections as new political alliances are formed, you know, eh ... I think people are increasingly becoming sensitive to politics because it is seen as a means through which their communities become part of the government. I think politicians need to do much more to ensure everyone is treated fairly. As you might know, it is easier to secure a job if a member of your tribe sits in an interview panel or is the boss. People are therefore happy to have one of their tribesmen elected into government in the hope that they are likely to benefit from such favours.* (Interview with Tom class teacher)

Although Tom's argument would have appeared untrue from a critical perspective, it refreshed my memories as I reflected on my own experience during the application of my research permit (See section 3.3 Winding up Rocky Paths). The lady from my own tribe assisted me because of the apparent effect of tribalism in institutions of work. This incident reminded me of the possibility of similar ethno-based bureaucratic protocols (treatment based on your tribe and that of institutional officers) being played at school. Apparently, in a recent study conducted in public institutions reported in a local daily paper (*The Daily Nation*, 6 April 2011) as part of a process aimed at information gathering to address ethnic balancing, evidence of over representation of particular ethnicities was recorded. While the study was conducted nearly two years after my field work, it appears to support the importance of addressing inequalities at institutions. Furthermore, as my experience in obtaining a permit exposes, the danger of ethno-based bureaucracies cannot be ignored because they threaten the spirit of making public institutions all inclusive. I wanted to investigate this from the administration but due to ethical sensitivity, I decided otherwise. After all, a teacher friend had warned I should be careful about thorny issues due to the danger of heightening emotions and rekindling enmity which had been witnessed. With ethno-based bureaucracies running in institutions lays the danger of people being excluded on the basis of their tribe. This tendency

I feared if allowed to continue had the ability to grow deep roots that would make the realisation of inclusion difficult.

Therefore, ethnicity and tribalism has a wide ranging effect on the inclusion and exclusion of individuals. My study can arguably be seen to offer insights that in the long run could help to alleviate the problems of ethnicity in work places. My thinking is based on a view that pupils as they learn are likely to become acquainted with the school's hidden curriculum of excluding particular tribes and perhaps apply the same standards in future when they take positions of responsibility. Despite having a direct relation with the exclusion of students from particular tribes, it also affects teachers. For instance, after the violence most people are keen to work within their ethnic regions where they feel safe. Despite the philosophies of national cohesion enshrined in the constitution and educational policy, with ethnic exclusions, the vulnerability of the education sector cannot be ignored because schools tend to be located in particular ethnic territories.

Arguably, exclusion in schools appears to be multifaceted with a deep rhizomatic dimension. Inclusion as a process of becoming thus demands a huge effort by all stakeholders without assuming an overall responsibility by a particular body in addressing the main impediments. However, in understanding the social situatedness of ethno-based exclusion, it is worth considering it from different oversimplified levels in order to locate the school within this map. These dimensions add to the already existing tensions and struggles in schools which work to exclude vulnerable children. When societal and institutional factors converge at the school level, it is not surprising that it is seen to act as an institution of social inequality because of the one size-fits-all approach where students from different backgrounds are subjected to the same grading system (Vladimir, 2001). Children from rich or middle-class backgrounds have an advantage because their parents can afford to pay for extra support. Thus, the school appears to be strategic in responding to and reproducing societal class in a process of serving capitalism interests (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). Thus, contrary to the popular belief that education is seen as a way out of poverty for poor families, education might serve to 'confirm existing social hierarchies' (Raffo, *et al.,* 2009; p. 342).

To understand exclusion and strategies for promoting inclusion, Peters (2004) suggests that policy and practice should be examined at three levels: macro, meso and micro. According to Peters (2004), the macro-level interrogates inter/national policy and practice legislations which give direction and govern the conduct within institutions. The meso-level entails an engagement with educational systems and external support systems whereas at the micro-level, schools and communities become an important focal point. In seeking to

understand the impact of ethnicity and tribalism in the school, I tried to make connections between the contemporary developments in the country in order to locate the problems between these levels.

As already discussed in preceding sections of this chapter, the forced exodus of pupils from Hope School was largely influenced by external forces over which the school had no control despite being committed to inclusive education. This is because it was within the outside community where tensions were high and as Jane argued, sometimes schools acted as places of refuge for affected children. Furthermore, teachers and pupils in group discussions did not express any form of ethnic or tribal attitudes against others which was also supported by policy officials. However, ethnic cleansing of particular tribes posed a real threat to future societies because children were likely to 'retaliate'. This surfaced in an interview with Roger when prompted to comment on whether permanent exclusion of children from particular tribes had any effect in the school:

> Children do not necessarily view ethnic or tribal affiliations as a problem because they communicate using the same language. However, when they see their friends not coming to school they are likely to question it and mostly their parents might influence the way they perceive other tribes. On the other hand, those that are barred are also likely to learn something negative about the rest. But this can be changed if we guide and all pupils to understand the nature of the problems (Interview with Roger).

Perhaps national patriotism and not ethnic consciousness appears to be the issue and need to be balanced in order to tackle divisions as Roger suggested. Ethnic consciousness is a product of contradictions embodied in political relations of structured inequality common in many African nations (Opondo, 2009). While such a view appears to defer the problem to another level, it is worth noting that schools have a pivotal role in working with local communities to enhance good working relationships and building a foundation for inclusivity. Furthermore, if schools were built on a foundation integrating the mission, values and philosophies of inclusion, there is a possibility of having a multiplying effect on the scope of harmonizing people in the country. As a result, the micro-level appears to be an interface at the crossroad affected by outside forces. Although such an analysis in this process of attempting to locate the major levels in need of much reform appears to privilege a hierarchical top-bottom approach, I am cognisant of the multidirectional nature of

relationships and thus my analysis is inevitably simplifying complex explanations (Raffo, *et al.,* 2009). Nevertheless, the closer one is to the source of the problem, the greater is one's ability to influence it because of the ability to identify potential points in need of challenging.

It is also worth remembering that Kenyan education uses a top-down management approach and decisions at the bottom have to be congruent to what the top level wants. Such an approach makes it difficult to make and effect changes for fear of disciplinary consequences. Thus, the macro- and the meso-levels appear to take the 'lion's share' of blame in that the problems of ethnicity and tribalism seem to be deeply engrained in them. Despite this apparent fixation on higher levels to take blame, the realities in the local contexts are not always replicas of the higher levels. This is because the organisation of educational and support systems both at national regional levels are supported by social actors of power (Peters, 2004). However, despite having written policies, there can be no guarantee of any form of enactment or there can be no enactment at all (Fulcher, 1989). Furthermore, national policy does not necessarily guarantee what policy official or teachers produce because of the struggles which ensue in the various contexts (ibid.). Thus the situation is more complex than blaming the government's silence on issues of inequalities and making policies to propagate. After all, stake holders are not 'black boxes' (Clough, 1998b) but actors who wield power and have an active role to play in the development of inclusive cultures (section 4.2.2 in Chapter Four). Thus, it is not enough to know what should be changed because the challenge lies in strategizing on how to embark on the change process (Fullan, 1989). For instance, despite the need to change inequalities, what matters is the best entry point to break the legacy and inequalities of the past, what cultural/institutional root problems need to be prioritized given the poor human, organizational and financial constraints (De Clercq, 1997).

Therefore, in shifting the blame and focusing on the areas likely to bring greater change, it is worth looking at inclusion and exclusion both small and big from the international and national perspective (Greene, 1984). The national perspective entails failure on the side of the government and meritocracy as a way of framing historical inequalities. The colonial period shaped the current history by being the architect of ethnic groups through the creation of administrative units labelled in ethnic terms and became a basis for the inequalities of today (Gitau, 2004). During the colonial era, Kenya was subdivided into administrative zones along ethnic boundaries and developments were skewed depending on the resourcefulness of the region, hence the current ethno-geography (ibid.). According to Gitau (2004), colonialism favoured this skewedness by developing policies that favoured development of productive areas that would improve the country's economy which in term

favoured tribes in those regions (see Session Paper #10 of 1965 on *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya).* To make the economy grow as fast as possible, development money should be invested where it will yield the largest increase in net output. Negative policy outcomes can also be by sheer distortion of how policy is designed such as rewarding attainment, the implied punishment of failure and skewed resourcing of schools (section 2.2.5 in Chapter Two). Therefore despite evidence of regional imbalances little or no action has been taken as education policy puts emphasis on academic achievement as the criterion for advancement (Alwy and Schech, 2004).

On the other hand, IE is seen as an external force from developed countries and it may at times assume the uniformity of the education sector all over the globe. The financial attachments associated usually forces governments to make cosmetic (surface) changes without dealing with the underlying country-specific problems. This attempt to globalize IE for Lavia (2007) has failed to engage with cultural politics of education in specific contexts by assuming neutrality in the world. Furthermore, there is a body of literature suggesting that ethnic structures are the determinants of development patterns in Africa which brings the question of why ethnicity has not been considered as a factor in shaping educational inequalities (Alwy and Schech, 2004). In a sense, this argument appears to suggest the problem as being largely manifested at the macro-level because of the 'political role of ethnicity in post-colonial Africa' (Lentz, 1995; p. 310). Therefore, even with EFA strategies in place through a human rights approach, there is a gap between the legal granting of the rights to children and how they actually benefit. Despite legislation, contexts limit the extent to which they can participate in education. Even when schools are accessible to all there is no guarantee that all children will go to school due to social constraints and cultural beliefs.

6.5: *Conclusion:*

In general, I have attempted to forge an understanding based on ethnic tensions and their likely influences on inclusion. These issues did not appear to have a direct impact on schools apart from the immediate periods following post-election violence. I have also attempted to provide an argument for the tensions arising not as a result of ethnic or tribal differences but due to out-of-school exclusions of which poverty, inequalities and politics take a central role. In the process of trying to provide a proximal zone of action with regard to these issues, I have also used in a narrow sense, Peters' (2004) micro-, meso- and macro-levels of analysis and concluded that the meso- and macro-levels which directly influence the micro-level have a larger stake in addressing inequalities because of the top-down approach

to school management. However, this was done with caution considering the multiple dimensions involved and the risk of over simplifying a complex phenomenon. In general, the ethno-regional disparities created by the colonial and post-colonial periods are still significant and students from regions with no political power have been disadvantaged.

Therefore, my views suggest that any attempts to fundamentally change the existing conditions will necessitate an engagement with issues of inequality, politics, power and control, in which forms of discrimination will need to be identified, challenged and changed (Barton, 1997). However, engaging in the struggle for change will require an appreciation of the significance of the context in which such endeavours occur (ibid.).

6.5.1: *Possibilities into the future*

Given the many underlying complexities and tensions, which are accompanied by a multiplicity of excluding forces, there is no doubt that radical measures are required to address the issues arising out of this chapter indeed, this study as a whole. The views I offer take the form of possibilities (as middles) for to alleviating the situation. Such a stance arises from the Deleuzoguattarian perspective that we cannot know in advance the direction a rhizome will take while acknowledging that becoming subjects do not leave their world behind (Massumi, 1992). Nevertheless, encouraging teachers and other allied practitioners to engage in different forms of 'stutterings' and imaginative thinking can be an important step towards the amalgamation of inclusive ethos in schools (Allan, 2008). In order to facilitate the emerging possibilities and offer insights into some of the practicalities, my initial anticipation would be to seek audience with the minister for education and policy officials and ultimately seek work within the ministry to share my becoming understandings with them. It is also my anticipation to prepare a report on my findings and make a presentation to the school as a way of stimulating a dialogue that would forge new rhizomatic relations to overcome exclusionary cultures as a window into the future.

Possibilities for the emergence of inclusive education as a becoming process in which spaces are created where everyone can be accommodated and which, thereby, form the basis for inclusion in society arise from an understanding of the inconsistencies of lived reality within Hope school. In what follows, these inconsistencies are explicated using excerpts from Jane's experiences. Although Jane's views may be thought to be skewed and thus obscure the reality of the situation, from a Deleuzoguattarian perspective, in every particular there is a general. The possibilities I explore are organised into three lines of flight: dealing

with exclusionary cultures; addressing issues of poverty and resources; and, tackling government silence.

6.5.1.1: *Dealing with exclusionary cultures*

> To be honest with you, (points at a girl) it is a miracle that this girl has managed to come this far (to Class Six) because most of her counterparts leave school at lower primary (interview with Jane).

The girl in Jane's class who was partially sighted and managed to survive up to class six was an exceptional case of teachers' hard work and dedication. Although teachers talked about their lack of understanding of dealing with children's diversity and pointed to the absence of proper training in special needs education, the inclusion of this girl implies that teachers still have a potential that can be exploited to even include a wider diversity of children at the verge of exclusion. If teachers are therefore encouraged to reflect on their teaching approaches and learn from one another what they do to enhance the education of all children experiencing difficulty, then a window of opportunity can be opened. This could mean the realisation of the becomings of all pupils and their power to grow and engaging with them in a way that changes and challenges the exclusionary cultures developed in the school. My view emerges from the perspective that inclusive cultures develop better when relationships among teachers, pupils and policy officials are cultivated to prise open rhizomatic relationships. Such relationships endeavour to continuously engage with difficulties experienced in schools and taking into account pupils' voices. From this perspective, school inspectors should take on an advisory role. By taking an inclusive role in school inspections, there is a possibility of inspectors empathising with teachers and pupils' experiences, so that new lines of flight can emerge within genuine, that is, becoming dialogues. It would thus be possible for the ministry of education to acknowledge that policy alone cannot change exclusionary cultures. This study has suggested that when teachers are left on their own to act they can feel pressured to only advance academic demands of schooling. In the process, therefore, teachers might act out of desperation and use corporal punishment, which maintains the status quo but at the cost of excluding the most vulnerable. It would thus be necessary for the ministry to engage with all stakeholders and pave way for the space that would make everyone feel part of the process of changing exclusionary cultures. Hence, a becoming desire to counter relational gaps and opening up channels of communication should be at the core of ministry initiatives because ideas emerge from the lived reality of people.

6.5.1.2: *Addressing issues of poverty and resources*

When Jane was asked to comment on IE in the school, she argued that it was a western idea that was 'not truly practical because the policies are there but the government does not follow on the ground to see whether it's truly happening'. Her views pointed at the limitedness of resources although she still maintained that they were trying what they could. By utilising the limited resources at their disposal, teachers were quite innovative and organized classes such that some pupils acted as 'co-teachers'. In addition to pupil support arrangements, there is need for distributed leadership among teachers so that different teachers form groups which look into the ways of dealing with pupil diversity. By acknowledging the school's limited room to act, teachers can build on what they have by recognising their power to grow. One possibility of forging sustainable support arrangements could be to seek for rhizomatic solutions to their difficulties by establishing close working relationships with all stakeholders and sharing their concerns. Teachers can thus feel empowered and instead of being subjected to bureaucratic protocols, can actively be involved in changing their lived policy. After all, from a rhizomatic perspective, the 'tree' of bureaucracy can be an enemy to formation of inclusive cultures, because it closes down new possibilities and stops the rhizome from growing.

While a surface view of ethnicity and tribalism as the major causes of post-election violence may be plausible, my analysis has placed the problem to the wider socioeconomic dimension and specifically within questions of poverty. It is thus essential for the ministry of education in collaboration with other government bodies to work on strategies of ensuring schools are adequately resourced. Despite the possibility of forging inclusive ethos even where resources are meagre, the government through its ministry of education has a responsibility of devising inclusive mechanisms of resource allocation that are responsive to the changing demands of the schools. For instance, my analyses of the government policy on funding schools to enhance inclusive initiatives, it was regrettable that an equal amount of money was allocated to all schools. Although this approach might serve the purpose creating a positive picture of a commitment to equality, it does not serve the more important aspect of equity.

6.5.1.3: *Tackling government silence*

Conceding that IE is a huge challenge, Jane argued that 'the government is silent on directing us how to do inclusion'. This meant that teachers did what they could in their attempts to accommodate diversity and conform to disciplinary power. For instance, their

engagement in corporal punishment was a struggle against the disciplinary mechanisms of power imposed by the tree of government bureaucracy. Therefore, the need for government support becomes necessary because as long as the government is not seen to be acting or present when support is needed, teachers are likely to feel obliged to succumb to the tree of authority. When opportunities for establishing the necessary relationships needed to forge rhizomatic approaches to challenges are present, there is a chance for new way of thinking forward. Government presence in the form of support can be a strong incentive for teachers to engage critically with their practices. The presence of government could take the form of establishing support centres and forums for discussion about the struggles of becoming inclusive. Otherwise, giving policies and expecting teachers to adhere to them uncritically can be interpreted as a form of prescription. Such prescriptions may not give rise to rhizomatic IE initiatives because a becoming perspective means giving teachers the space to think beyond prescriptions and inspire them to take new lines of flight. By thinking beyond the limitations of prescribed requirements, teachers become inspired to think for themselves and to do more for themselves, their schools and their communities.

As explored in this chapter, ethno-based bureaucracies were present at Hope School and Jane could in many ways be conceived as their victim. However, she managed to maintain a close working relationship with pupils that led to the community accepting her and her hard work. It is necessary, therefore, for more government presence to be felt such that schools and communities have a closer working relationship to enhance the inclusion of all. In order to ensure that schools are seen as institutions where excellence and equity is promoted, there is need for the government to ensure ethnic balancing in line with aspirations of the current constitution, especially in urban schools to avoid situations in which one community deems the school to be theirs. Understanding and accommodating diversity would thus need to be diversified to not only pupils but also teachers. Otherwise, there is the painful irony of teachers being called on to promote diversity when they themselves feel excluded or at the verge of exclusion.

In the following chapter I will synthesis the findings in an attempt to offer an understanding that can be useful in thinking about moving towards an inclusive orientation. At the same time, the chapter condenses important lessons learned and makes suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1: *Introduction*

> *I do not really wish to conclude and sum up, rounding off the argument so as to dump it in a nutshell on the reader. A lot more could be said about any of the topics I have touched upon.... I have meant to ask the questions, to break the frame.... The point is not a set of answers, but making possible a different practice.* (Kappeler, 1986 cited in Lather, 1992; p. 95)

Despite the promise I made at the start of this thesis, it has not been entirely possible to create a comprehensive map of the policy struggles in Kenyan primary schools. However, as warned in the introduction of this thesis, working within an experimental philosophical frame does not necessarily guarantee a good outcome especially if an application is considered to be as untrue (Scheurich and McKenzie, 2005). Worse still, I am wary of the susceptibility to the politics of the market place as it is usually the subject for new theoretical ideas where many questions arise for not doing justice to the theory (Buchanan, 2000; p. 192). Therefore, from this experience, I have had many things to learn from one of which is limitations of a theory and the inability to explore everything and say it all without leaving all stones unturned. In my case, I believe that this limitation has opened up my mind's eyes to expand future research beyond the confines of becoming, lines of flight and the rhizome.

The PhD journey opened up a range of possibilities of thinking about research and the struggle for inclusive education. As a process of struggle, my personal beliefs and views have somewhat been challenged and even as I attempt to provide a snap shot of the whole journey, a guilty feeling still hangs over my mind because I still feel more could have been said and done. Nevertheless, carrying out an experimental adventure cannot be devoid of such 'hangovers' because the multiplicity of issues exposed can provide dilemmas and challenges which warrant future action. Besides, researching within a field that lacked a comprehensive framework of policy guidelines sometimes brought forth a feeling of being lost. This was coupled by the application of a philosophical concept that was difficult to unpack thus forcing me at times to seek theoretical inspiration elsewhere. It is however clear from the research experience that inclusion is a complex becoming process that includes not only challenges limited to schools but also controversies rooted in the wider society. At the same time, the government has a responsibility to act by developing policies based on local contexts with adjoining funding frameworks and to support teachers in the process of developing inclusive

cultures. For the process to be successful, policy processes ought to incorporate views from teachers who understand the challenges which policy intends to address rather than using a top-down approach. This might take the form of engaging teachers in action research and asking them to share ideas from which good practices can be used to inform the future practices. Nevertheless, I am cognisant of the difficulties which might arise because of the neglect teachers have suffered by their exclusion from any educational reforms (Smyth, 2001).

Throughout the research process, experimentation and the use of Deleuzoguattarian concepts was at the core of my thinking. As expected, the journey turned out to be rhizomatic and the various lines of flight I followed allowed for cyclic movements as ideas folded and unfolded. This suggests the multidimensional nature of research and the multiplicity of effects that came into play enhancing my becoming as a researcher. In the process, I have come to learn and question about certain taken for granted assumptions which are problematic when subjected to the reality of living. Instead I have through this study been able to open up spaces for thinking otherwise.

In carrying out the research, I was inspired not by the recognition of the true but the conception of problems to show and work out the complications of inclusive education in Hope School. This approach was intended to lay down a foundation of not what future policy and practice of IE ought to adhere to but to open up possibilities of thinking and acting otherwise. Due to the multiplicity nature of my approach and openness for emergent possibilities of thinking and acting, my thesis turned out to be an assemblage that did not identify which policy influences what action in schools. After all, the relationship between written policy and lived policy has been exemplified using the Deleuzoguattarian concepts of striated and smooth spaces, as a becoming process in which both spaces are acting on each other (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Additionally, policy when looked from a Foucauldian perspective on power, it is still subject to resistance and thus it does not beget its objectives in a straight-forward manner (Fullan, 2007a; Fulcher, 1989). From this perspective, the practices seen in schools are a reflection of the internalized policies that are lived by teachers and other stake holders as they struggle to achieve the uncertain goals of inclusive education. This is because, as Peter Clough argues, teachers' actions are a representation of lived policy (Clough, 1998).

In order to give an overview of my research experience, I present some of the important outcomes and limitations in the process of exploring the spaces within which inclusion is practised. To achieve this goal, I take a journey back into the research experience

that follows its different lines of flight and spaces which can be classified under the following headings: Lessons (first theoretical and then methodological) Learnt; Limitations, and Suggestions for Future Research**.**

7.2: Lessons learnt

7.2.1: *Theoretical Lessons*

This thesis was influenced by different theoretical ideas although Deleuzoguattarian concepts took a core role in the experimentation. However, it was not always possible to find Deleuze and Guattari, at times forcing me to look for theoretical inspiration and connections elsewhere as I struggled to forge a rhizomatic thesis. Therefore, at times, I would identify dimensions within indigenous knowledge systems which had some interconnectedness with Deleuze (Mazzei and McCoy, 2010). This inspiration was intended to avoid imposing the rhizome onto the thesis even when it did not surface. Nevertheless, this is not a purely rhizomatic thesis because the tree and the rhizome have a co-existing relationship. As a result, the study has involved a struggle to incorporate Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of difference into my research in an attempt to forge new ways of thinking about inclusive education. In orchestrating the assemblage, some ideas would leave one plateau to move onto another, while others tended to reappear in subsequent sections, each time having been re-energized to add more meaning.

7.2.1.1: *Government Inaction*

As I have exposed in the Introduction Chapter and further explored in the Kenyan Scenario section, Kenya has been a signatory to international policy declarations and conventions. Nevertheless, from the findings, policies developed to steer the country into an inclusive orientation can be argued to have made a cosmetic impact especially when subjected to the contexts under which Hope School functioned. Thus, considering the multiplicity of effects at play in the school, it is tempting to suggest that the government was ignorant of what happens in schools in an attempt to achieve the globalised market economies of schooling. Of course, countries have to educate their citizens and improve their economies but this could be detrimental especially when some citizens are pushed to peripheral roles in the society.

In view of an overemphasis on resource allocation without giving due consideration to cultural transformations in which exclusive practices are harboured, inclusive education (IE) is likely to be reduced to access and allocation of resources (Barton, 1997). As a result, governments can be tempted to focus on development of policies intended to address these

problems without looking into the multiplying effects that may arise. Written government policy is compared to a striated space that is clearly demarcated whereas the continuum of school practices, the lived policy, is comparable to smooth spaces. The constricted spaces afforded by policy sometimes do not allow for creativity although they become silenced by the actors in an attempt to forge a smooth space of action. At times, government policy becomes difficult to implement and evaluate through a top-down approach, which disregards the view that policy is made at all levels (Fulcher, 1989).

From the Deleuzoguattarian notion of the ceaseless connections that a rhizome establishes, it is important to develop a strategy in which the multiplicity of views from different actors are incorporated in order to address problems affecting schools' ability to include. This view is an attempt to challenge the top-down approach to policy development in which the actors and contexts they work under fail to be considered. Therefore, in order to stimulate discussions that are likely to counter exclusive tendencies, the government should empower and involve teachers and the local inspectorate to try and suggest workable observations which can then be legislated.

The absence of policy-related guidelines to inclusion in Kenya makes the development of inclusive practices difficult to achieve. Although I differentiate written policy and practices (see Chapter 1 section 1.1.2) on the basis of the spaces of action following Deleuze and Guattari (1987), in reality they are not consistently distinct because both act on each other. This may be taken to imply that they have a working relationship although it is at the practice level where much resistance is exerted as unworkable policies are ignored in favour of realities of school practices. However, from a slightly related perspective as Fulcher (1989) observes, policy is equal and synonymous with practice. For instance, in Hope School, the open policy on admission had attracted a large number of students beyond the school's capacity. Practices such as corporal punishment were in complete contrast to the written policy in which corporal punishment was banned (see Chapter Two). Where formulated policy is implemented to favour practices therefore, it can be seen as a strategy for directing practice. In the absence of such policies as witnessed in the Kenyan Scenario, teachers are given the mandate to continue old practices irrespective of whether they are exclusionary.

The Kenyan government's silence in relation to IE may have given rise to a range of struggles as witnessed in Hope School. Consider for instance the punitive measures taken against pupils for failing to achieve according to the teachers' expectations. While it is important to discipline pupils as part of the process of learning in order to take future roles in the society, other alternative disciplinary measures such as behaviour management techniques

could be applied instead of subjecting them to the spectacle of corporal punishment. This view rests on my reflexivity about witnessing a schoolmate leave school from my childhood memories as well as the former street boy who left Hope School because of corporal punishment (Chapter Five section 5.3.2).

The Children's Act (2001) clearly stipulated that corporal punishment was unlawful yet it continued to be executed in the school. While the government has been blamed for not doing more to enforce laws and ensure implementation of policies, another form of inaction appears to be harboured in schools. From my view, the school as a whole has a responsibility to ensure the development and adherence to the inclusive ethos without necessarilly attracting government intervention. However, this may not be achieved if teachers lack an understanding of inclusion and are ready to make sacrifices to make it work because everyone has a responsibility in this global project. This makes it worthwhile to emphasise that schools have a responsibility to change existing cultures in order to recognise the importance of inclusion and take active roles in tackling discriminatory attitudes towards difference.

One of the problems witnessed from my research experience was that even when teachers claimed to have some knowledge about inclusion, they showed little commitment. Instead, they blamed the government for not doing enough. This might be unique to the school but also could be found in other contexts where practitioners are simply reluctant to change because of their inflexibility or their cultural beliefs. There is however an academic element to schooling (drawn from the globalised view of the normal child) which creates competitive atmosphere for all students. In the Kenyan situation, all pupils are subjected to the same mode of testing and equal expectations imposed on all as if they were the same. My views thus suggest a different approach to schooling and the formulation of education policy in general in order to enhance the involvement, attendance and achievement of all. Otherwise, the struggle for inclusion may still have to face an uphill task.

7.2.1.2: ***Culture of blame***

Teachers blamed the government for imposing policies which were inapplicable and forcing them to apply concepts that they did not understand. This view contributed to teachers' failure to change their practices and holding on to the conviction that Kenyan schools were not ready for inclusion. To a certain extent, their views could be justified on the basis that the increased number of pupils had no corresponding allocation of resources (both material and human). With the increased burden, they had little time to identify and address pupils'

difficulties and thus tended to focus on trying anything they could to make them pass their exams. Policy officials were aware of this dilemma but also blamed the government for not educating teachers on IE as there were few specialists in the field.

Perhaps one of the reasons for government inaction and subsequent culture of blame can be attributed to the phenomenon of 'chasing wind', (i.e. struggling to replicate what has been developed and tested elsewhere) which is a common phenomenon in developing countries (Muuya, 2002). This trend is likely to be effective especially where political motives or financial incentives are available from the funding countries and local governments fail to address the consequences of implementing policies uncritically. Consider for instance the Kenyan government's proposal to make education free for all as explored in Chapter Two. While it was a significant milestone in line with the Education For All (EFA) strategy, there was no adequate framework for an implementation strategy and resource implication. This has led, as witnessed in the study, to competing priorities with limited resources. The government has thus been forced to rely on donations from richer countries. Overreliance on donor funds coupled with the importation of inclusive education models created in developed countries whose contexts might be different, inevitably makes inclusion a difficult affair. This view points to the importance of conducting research in the local contexts rather than relying and amalgamating research from other contexts in order to make it responsive and relevant to local situations.

Most importantly, rather than government reliance on initiatives from elsewhere and implementing them uncritically, policies on inclusion should act as guidelines and teachers encouraged to imagine innovate ways of attending to diversity. In the process, government policies could act as conceptual middles from which a series of other policies can be allowed to surface rather adherence to them like 'well behaved disciples' (Buchanan, 2000; p. 97). This idea becomes relevant especially when looked at from a Deleuzoguattarian perspective. As Deleuze and Guattari, (1987), say, the book still remains the image of the world, yet the world is changing. Policy is thus being contested and changed in practice and a process that allows for new perspectives of making IE work should likewise allow for such flexibility — for new lines of flight to be followed.

7.2.1.3: *The reality of a divided society and hope for IE*

Inclusive education, as my research has exposed, works in complex circumstances and the assumption that good policies lead to intended actions is questionable. My findings imply the need for radical reforms both in the national and education sectors so as to facilitate the goals

of inclusive education rather than effecting surface changes. For these reforms to be congruent, active involvement of stake holders needs to be incorporated. After all, policy is made at all levels and thus the need to allow for exchange of knowledge in the formulation of policies becomes necessary. This suggests a shift in the top-down approach and instead encouraging a proximal devolution of powers to local contexts. Consider, for instance, Chapter Six, which shows the difficulty with which legislation of policies especially from the international contexts fails to engage with the reality of lived experiences. Such a failure to engage with contexts within which policy is to be enacted imposes other pressures on the people responsible for policy implementation.

At the core of this failure to translate good intentions into reality, there are the wider dimensions of divisions in society. Unfortunately, as Slee (2011) observes, governments are very good at inaction and the resulting silence gives stakeholders the mandate to continue old practices while masquerading under the pretext of engaging in an inclusive process. This issue was raised both by teachers and policy officials as they complained of the government's failure to support initiatives they have committed to.

As explored in the Kenyan scenario (section 2.2.3) and further witnessed in the findings (Chapter Six section 6.3.1), Kenya has glaring social inequalities. Such inequalities have been advanced alongside ethnic lines with politics taking a central role to maintain the status quo. Therefore, the advocacy for inclusive education should consider the realities of inequalities and divisions in the society in order to come up with a strategy of reducing such inequalities. Such a step would be useful in reducing divisions in the society to promote greater social cohesion and inclusion. It is therefore essential for a multi-sectoral approach to be considered if everyone is to be welcomed and included in learning institutions and society in general.

It would also be important to consider having support centres and arrangements where teachers and other school practitioners can learn more about teaching so-called SNE children. This view arises from the emphasis that teachers placed on the lack of knowledge about IE. They were therefore unsure about how to deal with certain pupils and often subjected them to unusually high pressures in an attempt to make them achieve at the same level with their peers. Such centres which apart from providing support could act as knowledge bases for all teachers can be a fundamental bridge especially in a country like Kenya where resources are limited. The biggest limitation however may arise from unwillingness on the side of teachers and even trainers to support the spirit of inclusion. As exposed by Lorna in an interview, she was aware of some government institutions training teachers but due to their vested interests

in special education, teacher trainees were encouraged to support SNE arrangements over inclusive arrangements. This emphasis has had an impact on teachers' ability to teach inclusively because they still regarded specialized training as the key to teaching so-called SNE children. This observation suggests the need to develop curriculums that address the needs of all pupils in general such that all teachers are equipped with the knowledge and skills for dealing with diversity. Furthermore, it would help teachers to know where to find support services and even link up more experienced practitioners whenever difficulties arise.

7.2.2: Methodological Lessons

7.2.2.1: *Following lines of flight*

In the spirit of developing a rhizomatic thesis, the experimental aspects of the work proved to be challenging because developing rhizomatic offshoots in research is not easy. For Scheurich, (1997), using new approaches can be tricky and even researchers claiming to question rules and assumptions about other approaches still find themselves utilising the methods they criticize. Obviously, rhizoanalysis is no exception because it utilizes researcher creativity and sometimes one might be pushed between a rock and a hard place. The fact that most writers have attempted to dwell on attaching meaning to the philosophical concepts meant that there was little literature on how to do analysis using Deleuzoguattarian concepts. This view appears to be true for Lenz Taguchi because as she argues, 'the difficult theories of Deleuze are now becoming the easy part, whereas the handicraft and inventive creative processes of doing analysis becomes what is difficult' (cited in Mazzei and McCoy, 2010; p. 505).

Lines of flight from a Deleuzoguattarian perspective are the most productive although they come at a price especially when one has to forge a new cartography and still manage a meaningful orchestration. The liberatory spaces accorded by following lines of flight allowed for connections and relationships to be made, a challenging situation which has the potential to push research and surpass conventionalized boundaries. My journey involved following different lines of flight as I struggled to open up possibilities for thinking otherwise particularly within inclusive education. Even with this promise, I still found myself struggling to shed the tree of thought. This was not a surprise because taking an experimental journey has its consequences in which confusion becomes a big dilemma. The conception of following lines of flight is a consistent approach to rhizomatic thought because in the process, rather than being constrained to methodolatory, the principle of 'and' helps in creating new knowledge. As a result, prospective researchers intending to apply philosophies of difference

in their research should be wary of this challenge, expand the range of Deleuzoguattarian ideas and look for ways of engaging with it creatively (Allan, 2008).

7.3: *Setting limits and validation*

While I cannot deny the excitement of forging cartography through experimentation, the issue of setting limits was puzzling. Through the exploratory approach, it was very tempting to wander in the spirit of a rhizome following things to establish connections and relations. In fact, as I have highlighted in the Findings chapters, I found myself contemplating on whether to extend the scope of my research to other areas that those that appeared to be related to my project. This temptation became necessary because following the relations would have enhanced the saturation of my findings. For instance, in order to offer a complete insight into the locatedness of exclusion, a deep analysis of historical, political and social economic dimensions in Kenya would have been necessary due to their relevance. I thus had to set limits to avoid encroaching into other territories which would have sent my thesis spiralling out of control.

My engagement with the research process had an impact on previously-held views about the processes and nature of knowledge production because Deleuzoguattarian ideas began to tilt my thinking. Building research based on their metaphorical concept of a rhizome meant opening up my mind's eye because as the philosophers propose, nomadic thought transgresses generic boundaries of arborescence. Therefore, I was keen to pave way for a middle that would allow me to form a rhizomatic alliance with the researched in a way that minimized the distance to avoid the duality of the subject-object relationship. This was of particular importance because research on inclusion has been critiqued for failing to bring any significant change in practice due to its alignment to positivistic paradigms (Allan, 2008; Oliver, 1992). In my attempt to overcome researcher–researched dualisms, I countered relational gaps through the influence of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), who assert that meaningful changes cannot take place where people engage in relations of exclusion.

As highlighted in Chapter Three (see the introduction section 3.1), Deleuze (1995; pp. 7-8) suggests, reading a book can either involve treating it as a 'box containing something' and looking for signifiers or treating it as 'a non-signifying machine'. Following the latter option, I was confused on how to read, choose and apply these philosophies into the existing epistemological and ontological positions. Despite choosing particular stances, their definitive nature became questionable as I sought for a better orientation and the possibility of future repositioning has become inevitable. Mainly, my thoughts were caught up in the

dualistic branches of the tree, between positivist and interpretive research paradigms. Deleuzoguattarian concepts added to the contrast between the static scientific world and the rhizomatic becoming nature of the social world. As a result, I found myself beginning to orient myself towards a more becoming view of the word and the possibility of wearing different theoretical and epistemological perspectives has always been a perspective. This is not to compare myself with *cross-border* theorists (e.g. Michel Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari) for struggling to tread their paths. Nevertheless, even as I admit to a desire and passion for the productivity such thought might bring forth, I have had to contend with the dilemma of forging an analytic and validating approach which could be acceptable within the established norms of doing educational research.

The rhizomatic outcomes of my research suggest a view of validity that is not fixed but rather in a constant state of movement. In building up a rhizomatic understanding, I faced the challenge of fitting within the already known ways of validating findings. As Lather writes, rhizomatic validity dissolves inferences 'by making them as temporary and invested' (Lather, 1994; p. 46) and troubles the single rootedness which positivistic assumptions underpin validities (Le Grange and Beets, 2005). Owing to the evolution of validity following the emergence of new knowledge paradigms, philosophers of difference advocate for a new approach to validation (Allan, 2008). Being a new territory, my analytical approach lacked a workable procedure or rules for analysing data. However, as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) advise, I borrowed, refined and played with concepts of validity from traditional research into the Deleuzoguattarian machine and set understanding as a means of validation.

7.4: Research limitations

Contrary to my expectation, there was limited literature on IE policy in Kenya because most schools were practising inclusion without comprehensive policy guidelines. This made it difficult to identify the exact policies purported to be guiding the practice because even at ministerial level, policy officers acknowledged this problem. However, they argued that there was already a committee in place attempting to develop Special Needs Education (SNE) policies as IE policies.

Getting information was another problem because some policy officials and other ranking officers who would have provided more insights claimed to be 'tight lipped' to outsiders as there was no freedom of information at that time. Thus, un-co-operative ministry officials on releasing 'confidential information' on inclusion in the country meant that I had to move in circles trying to get some help. Some of the officials who participated in the

committees mandated to explore and develop a comprehensive policy document claimed to be too busy to be interviewed.

Refusal by some key policy officials was compounded by the bureaucratic procedures of obtaining research authorisation permits. Thus, despite having a research permit from the national body, ministries and other departments demanded additional research authorisation which were at times futile. This meant repeated referral to various offices, at times cycling back to the same offices in my pursuit for government policy documents. Lack of a Freedom of Information (FOI) Act ensured that officials had the right to deny access to information.

Interestingly, finding a member of my tribe made it easier to understand how institutions worked to exclude some people. As has been exposed in a recent article in a national daily paper (*The Daily Nation*, see section 6.4.3), ethnicity plays a significant role in institutions and thus the ethno-based bureaucratic protocols encountered appeared to support this concern. As a result, there is need for a different approach towards bureaucracy as a step towards challenging and eradicating all forms of exclusions in our institutions. This trend of ethnicity as discussed in Chapter Six has a negative impact even in learning institutions because teachers are likely to prefer working in their ethnic strongholds to avoid victimisation. The consequences of this trend are diverse but are likely to undermine the spirit of social inclusion and national cohesion as citizens may feel unwanted in particular areas. However, with the current globalisation and economic explosion, the country may need to provide a conducive environment for freedom of movement and exchange of knowledge to steer the economy forward. This view re-energizes the perspective of the importance of IE, as a way of inculcating inclusive values which can be beneficial to everyone including systems.

Other than difficulties related to information finding, the research was conducted in the final term of the academic year. At this time schools are very busy preparing for national exams and progression exams to the next level of study. Thus, as warned by a teacher in my first visit to the school, I was cautious not to waste their time as they prepared pupils to pass exams. This had the effect of having to delay or reschedule interview times to accommodate teachers and provide minimal interruptions. Furthermore, a large number of teachers left early in the course of the term to mark the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) exams. Additionally, some pupils had little understanding of the concept of inclusion and had limited expressive skills in English. As a result, sometimes our discussions used both languages making it possible for some information to be lost or inexpressible because not all English words have a Swahili equivalent.

7.5: A becoming comprehensive policy approach

> *Special needs education ... focuses attention on the difficulties experienced by some learners and deflects attention from those experienced by others ... It deskills teachers ... [and] helps to marginalise inclusion policies from general education policies and to further fragment them in documents about special educational needs, social inclusion and exclusion and ethnic minority education teachers*. (Booth, 1999; p. 165)

In doing this research, I was concerned about developing a framework from which a comprehensive policy approach to inclusion appeared. However, rather than present a blue print on how to forge inclusion, I have throughout the thesis attempted to offer insights based on my experiences which might be useful in developing policies. Towards this goal, I have engaged with discussions throughout the thesis in an attempt to offer insights which might be useful in the process. This view is informed by literature which points at the disintegrated nature of polices which as I have argued in the Kenyan Scenario chapter, risked a trend in which two tracks of policies were in place. The critique for such a situation rests on the view that, when policies are disintegrated, they may fail to meet the agenda for inclusion because it may be assumed that IE is intended to address difficulties experienced by some at the expense of other children.

This concern becomes useful especially because when policies are specifically developed to address the problems of particular children, they are likely to entrench a dualist (for instance *ab/normal*) view of children. For instance, having a special needs education policy is likely to advance the view that inclusive education should attempt to identify children with special needs and attend to their needs while the needs of the average majority are ignored. Of course, there is no problem in attending to children's needs because every child is different but the problem lies in historical developments. Every time special education is mentioned, a deficit view of children comes into play because most of those carrying such labels were educated in special institutions. An inclusive ethos becomes more responsive when cultures within schools are challenged and new practices emerge that place the child at the core of learning to enhance a certain level of participation and achievement. On the other hand, a two-track policy approach may advance the specialist approach to teacher training and maintain the status quo — that education of certain children remains to be the responsibility of someone else.

However, even in proposing a comprehensive policy approach to inclusion, I am still living Minnow's (1985) dilemma of difference. This is because, having such a policy may be seen to politicise sensitive matters because of its failure to consider the significance of having specialist knowledge. This view then begs the question as to whether having a comprehensive policy would be beneficial or detrimental to the education of some. In my view, an initial step in dealing with the dualistic approach might be to merge both policies in order to make teachers think seriously about inclusive education. Contrary to the view expressed by teachers that specialised support is needed in the school in order to help regular teachers facilitate inclusion, emphasis on specialised training is likely to marginalise inclusion to a few specialists. After all, in my view inclusion is not simply about reforming schools into special education institutions but changing schools' culture in order to meet the demands of a changing society.

As Slee (2001) observes, the retraining of teachers in special education is retrogressive because it is likely to reinforce the idea that IE is about children with special needs. Such an approach in my view might entail incorporating an inclusive education component in the training of all teachers as a way of reconstructing educational thinking to benefit all children. In addition to such training, 'what is required is a single set of policies that support communities, schools and education systems in reaching out and responding to the full diversity of learners' (Booth, 1999; p. 165). As argued by teachers in Hope School, it was not possible to meet the needs of 'special children' unless specialized training was available and they seemed to be comfortable with the idea of having special institutions where some children could be admitted. This view appears to be supported by the government because the education policies encourage more funding for special schools rather than encouraging funding for mainstream schools. Thus, in spite of the country's effort to become inclusive by developing single policy documents, it is supporting the two-track policy approach by commissioning a committee to formulate an SNE policy document. This is likely foster the exclusion of disabled learners to special institutions where more funding and specialised training are available.

A comprehensive policy approach can be an initial step in making teachers innovate ways of dealing with all children because they are likely to consider their responsibility for teaching all children. In adopting a comprehensive policy approach, the government needs to encourage the conduct of research in schools in order to understand the contexts in which policies would work. Research based on the local contexts is likely to make recommendations responsive to the challenges affecting schools rather than importing ideas from unrelated

contexts. The homogeneous assumption about schooling conditions often accompanying imported ideas sometimes can lead to a range of complexities. Consider for instance the open policy on admission which did not consider the funding implications. A rights-based approach to education as I have argued in Chapter Six does not necessarily guarantee education for all because there is either lack of political will or strict legal frameworks accompanying that law. My research in exploring the struggles of Hope School has highlighted both good and bad practices. One such good practice relates to use of pupils to support the teacher in ensuring that learning taking place. However, there are a range of other practices which I believe are a real barrier to the development of inclusive cultures. These practices range from teacher attitudes towards so-called SNE children, excessive use of corporal punishment as a way of forcing pupils to learn and comply with school rules as well as giving emphasis to academic competition which favours the principle of survival of the fittest.

7.6: Suggestions for future research

7.6.1: ***Moving practice forward***

Exclusion is conceived as a fluid concept that does not only include disabled children but also other categories of children facing difficulties within schools. This became clear from the conceptualizations of stakeholders yet policy on inclusion from the government policy appeared to give prominence to children with disabilities. In order for schools to make inclusive education workable, a new perspective is needed which would entail a change of culture and diversification of inclusion to all children. After all, some of the children excluded from the school were not disabled. Thinking of inclusion as a continuous process of identifying barriers to learning could change the fixation in thinking that a small minority of students are in need of inclusion. As a result, this process of change could help to make teachers exploit pupils' becomings instead of treating them as fixed beings.

A major source of this fixation arises from attitudes which as explored in Chapter Five, appear to originate from historical beliefs about disabled children. While it is not easy to dictate the best place for parents to take their children, the existence of special schools running parallel to mainstream schools can encourage teachers to exclude because there are other suitable places for them to go. This tendency is likely to create unconscious exclusions. Both parents and teachers need to be challenged to rethink their attitudes to children and the importance of inclusion reinforced. For instance, there were two contrasting arguments given by a disabled parent of Hope School and a policy official whose child is deaf. In the latter

case, the official views inclusion as beneficial and has transferred her son to a mainstream school whereas the parent insisted on special schooling as the best option due to his experiences. These point to the importance of further consultation in seeking ways of engaging all stakeholders in discussing matters of schooling in order to arrive at an informed decision where parents make choices.

There are practices within the school which are contradictory to the ethos of IE. For instance, corporal punishment which despite being outlawed still found its place in the school. This can partly be blamed on the government's inaction although teachers have a responsibility to adhere to the values of treating every child as different. However, it is still difficult for teachers to promote inclusive education without clear guidelines and support from the government on what inclusion entails. For this to be achieved, there is need for the government's continuous support and direction to the range of services teachers can utilise in order to tackle problems as they arise.

Academic competence as the only criteria for pupils to remain in school should be reconsidered. This could take the form of exploiting the capabilities of pupils outside of academic performance because it is possible for them to succeed in other non-academic oriented subjects. As discussed in Chapter Four, pupils rarely participated in extra curricula activities as they were seen to interfere with the academic purpose of the school. Such activities could provide opportunities for pupils to interact and for teachers to discover other aspects they could be good at. In addition, the marketized approach to schooling needs to be reformulated and the importance of all children emphasized rather than assuming some children are of more economic importance than others.

Finally, there is a range of exclusionary forces which are located within the wider socio-economic dimension within which schools function. As Chapter Six has exposed, I share similar concerns with Alwy and Schech (2004) in their advocacy for placing ethnicity at the core of research in schools. Thus, ethnicity and tribalism should be further explored in order to understand its manifestations in schools. This would be an important step in establishing its links with the ethno-based bureaucratic protocols in public institutions. Such research could enhance developing strategies for incorporating citizenship in the curriculum as a way of encouraging social cohesion, harmony and inclusion in the society. Only by establishing the wider dimension where inequalities and hidden exclusive forces originate can we forge a way forward.

7.6.2: ***Experimenting with Deleuzoguattarian concepts***

Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concepts provide a framework for thinking and can find applicability in a variety of settings. Within the Kenyan context for instance, they can be used as a lens for challenging practices in schools in an attempt to make them more inclusive. Government policy as a mechanism within which new agendas are formulated and implemented to bring change has been given a new perspective. It is thus possible to utilize the ideas by establishing relations and connections between them and those of local theorists in order to offer new insights of thinking and acting.

By acknowledging the rhizomatic nature of functioning in schools, the 'unchanging' fixed 'originals' about what need to be done to change school practices is challenged and instead new innovating ways are encouraged (Rajchman, 2000; p. 36). The application of Deleuzoguattarian thinking thus becomes a useful tool for invoking creative imagination especially when addressing policy issues and designing implementation strategies. A key suggestion for thinking would be to encourage teachers to treat pupils as becoming subjects with the potential to develop in different directions. Thus the development of a one size fits all policy becomes problematic because pupils have potential which cannot necessarily be explored in the same ways. This approach suggests a multifaceted approach to policy formulation such that all children are allowed to follow their lines of flight within the school.

In order for such a way of thinking to become effective, teachers' daily routines of teaching are challenged and instead they are encouraged to explore and share other alternatives. Therefore, other than adhering to the methodolatory of teaching, new ways of approaching pupil diversity are considered. For teacher reflexivity to be effective, I consider action research in and between schools as a potential incentive in challenging and changing teacher practices as part of revolutionalising our desire and beliefs held about so-called SNE children (Deleuze and Guattari, 1996). Otherwise, failure to engage teachers in meaningful dialogues about changing practices to accommodate diversity is likely to reduce inclusion to an empty slogan. In addition to teachers' engagement in dialogue and reflection on their practice, schools could form communities of practice as a forum for learning from each other where less developed schools can benefit from schools that have made more progress in the practice of inclusion.

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APPENDIX 1: PROJECT INFORMATION SHEET

Date: …………………………………….

Dear: ……………………………………

Ref: Inclusive education policies in the context of Kenyan Primary Schools

I am a student at the University of Winchester studying for a degree in MPhil leading to PhD. As part of my degree course, I am conducting research on the above subject in order to understand the tensions between written and lived policies. Therefore, this letter is an invitation to consider your participation in the study. The aim is purely for academic purposes as I expect to enrich my skills of conducting research. In the following paragraphs, I provide further information about the project and what your involvement would entail.

Despite the unprecedented popularity and the global dimensions inclusive education has taken over the years, limited progress has been reported worldwide. This is in spite of government policy agendas emphasizing on the provision of inclusive education to all learners as a human right. One of the challenges identified is the disconnectedness of IE policy from the general education policies which creates complex policy dilemmas; forcing many countries to operate in two or three tracks of policies (e.g. general education, special education and IE). Therefore, this study aims to bridge this gap by exploring the educational spaces and practices worth of including people, in order to illuminate the tensions and discrepancies between written and lived policy and how it can provide clues for formulating comprehensive IE policies. In addition, the outcome of this research may be used to inform inclusive school practices and policy formulation, research presentations or for teaching purposes.

Participation in this study is voluntary and will involve an interview at a mutually agreed upon location and time. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences.

With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. Should you wish to read the transcripts of your interview, an opportunity will be offered to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. All information you provide is strictly confidential. Your name will not appear in my thesis. However, with your permission, pseudonyms and

anonymous quotations may be used for research presentation and teaching purposes. Data collected during this study will be stored securely and there are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me on 07727610369 or by email at victor.kioko@winchester.ac.uk. Alternatively you may contact Dr Bridget Egan, Chair of the University RKT Ethics Committee on 01962841515 or bridget.egan@winchester.ac.uk. I look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours faithfully,

Victor Kioko

APPENDIX 2: CONSENT FORM

I have read and understood the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Victor Kioko from the University of Winchester. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional requirements of my participation.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses. I am also aware that anonymous quotations may be used in the research.

In addition, the arrangements for data storage and usage have been explained to me. I have been informed that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

With full knowledge of all abovementioned, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations.

☐ YES ☐ NO

Participant Name : ………………………………………………….

Participant Signature :………………………………………………

Date : ………………………………………………………………….

APPENDIX 3: DIARY NOTES AND REFLECTIONS

D/1/09

On my first day in Hope Primary School, I went straight to the headmistress's office and introduced myself once more. She then allowed me to 'sample' the school through the help of the school's clerk. My intention was to get a general overview of the school and get acquainted with the school's routines, make the purpose of my mission known as well as get to know teachers and pupils. I was not introduced officially to all staff. Every time I went to class I have had to introduce myself.

However on my third visit to the school, I was lucky to introduce myself to all staff and reinforce my purpose. I made it clear that I was not some kind of an undercover agent but on pure academic mission. The teachers have so far accepted me and willing to hold dialogue with me. I have noticed that out of the 35 teachers, only 7 are male. Surprising they seem to come from a particular region – maybe I will discover more.

Later I visit Class Six where Jane, one of the three deputies is busy preparing a performance report which she invites me to check. I decide to question about it in addition to grouping of pupils because from the names I suspect an overrepresentation of particular ethnicities. 'It is true there are some missing tribes but I can talk about it in detail later As for the arrangement, I order pupils according to ability in order to be able to manage them easily and also to give more support whenever needed. This is almost the culture in our school because it also helps pupils to compete in order to be promoted or demoted to another row. The rows are not permanent because even pupils who sit in row A (best performing row) sometimes find themselves dropping to other rows and vice versa. As you can see from the list, there is only one pupil from the [Z tribe] (a synonym) which was not the case before 2007. After the election violence, particular tribes were targeted and cleansed from the slum. Even some of the tribes that were not much targeted became afraid and relocated to other regions thus withdrawing their children'

She briefly talks about the struggle she went through to be accepted in the school. Since she hails from the country's vice president region perceived to be 'a betrayer of an aspiring president, the local community felt that the aspiring president's tribesman should become the deputy! I have so far looked at one class's register and it's evident that some tribes are over represented. May be this could have been caused by skirmishes after elections in which some tribes were completely evicted from the region. I wonder what the pupils think; perhaps they have a different opinion.

D/2/09

Many of the classes I visited are overcrowded averaging 75 pupils. The pupils were excited to see me, stood up and 'recited' a welcome greeting standing up until I told them to sit. Despite this general welcome atmosphere, one teacher sounded a bit tough and even warned me against interfering with their mission. 'I am happy to have you in the class but not to waste our time because this is the third term and we busy preparing pupils for the end of year exams. As long as you do not interfere with the learning process, you are welcome'. Perhaps a pointer at the importance attached to academic performance? I will discover some more.

On two other occasions I have felt unwelcome because of the teacher's insistence that there was nothing to see as the children were busy doing assignments. Upon a second attempt, I managed to visit these classes. In one of them, the teacher was busy preparing either notes or writing a lesson plan. In the other class, the teacher had to come up with an emergency lesson to 'entertain' me. Perhaps these teachers don't trust my presence and I have to offer further details.

In terms of inclusive education, there is an issue which become visible on the first day; that teachers and pupils are there for a mission, to enhance good academic performance and give a positive outlook of the school. Although I have not been there long enough, I can sense teachers' emphasis on exams appears to threaten an inclusive orientation. I'm also yet to discover about what happens to those who lag behind. The other issue is about congestion; in fact it is very hard for the pupils to accomplish class tasks in such a seemingly uncomfortable settings. Some have to write on the backs of others while others have no exercise books or pencils. A real struggle is here portrayed and it reveals the effects of poverty on education which can challenge good policies intended to meet education for all.

D/3/09

Students take lunch in school to allow for extended school hours. This helps to clear the syllabus and improve academic standards. I think making pupils pass is a real agenda. Is this similar to what is called 'running an ambulance service for an accident prone education system? Actually as a result of this extra coaching I am told most classes clear the syllabus by term two and leave term three for revision and 'drilling' to pass their end of year tests.

It's amazing how the school manages to perform well but this comes with a lot of sacrifice. Teachers have to sacrifice their time to offer extra coaching despite the meagre

salaries earned. Pupils from standard four to eight (ages 10 -14) report to school at 6:30 am while standard one to three, report at 7:30 for morning preps.

They have short breaks which they hardly use for relaxation because of the assignments given. I have noticed isolated cases of pupils dozing in class. The learning conditions appear impossible but somehow teachers manage. However, it is evident that despite the government efforts to improve access, there is an impending danger of pupils dropping out of school. It's beyond imagination how six pupils share the same desk and manage to write notes.

However they appear very lively. The school's catchment area is a slum, the biggest in the country. Most of the parents cannot guarantee a meal for their family because of the current droughts and general unemployment in the slum. Thus, children have to rely on the food they get from the school. In fact the headmistress has told me that some children come to school because they get something to eat. This is likely to create a situation in which pupils come to school for a different mission, not academics. In such a case, the teacher has to be innovative to look for ways of accommodating such children. However, what I have seen so far in my opinion doesn't reflect attempts to accommodate everyone but to make them fit within the school system?

D/4/09

I now remember what the clerk said during the orientation day, that some children are 'naughty' and strict discipline standards have to be maintained. No wonder after building some trust among teachers, it is not uncommon to see teachers walking around dangling a 'small whip' perhaps to maintain order?

Of course the 'whip' seems to play a big role in this struggle. This is contradictory to the government policy on eradication of corporal punishment. Surprisingly, the head teacher is aware of this and has even cautioned teachers against that in a recent staff meeting – I think this is just a formality because it's still on. One teacher thinks that without the 'whip' and given the large numbers of pupils they teach, they have no choice (for discipline and punishment?).

On every occasion I visit the classes, the first thing I notice is overcrowding and pupils struggle to assimilate knowledge during the learning process. Then I begin to wonder how pupils experiencing difficulties cope.

D/5/09

On my first visit to Class Three, I am perturbed. Children are asked to take off their pullovers. One boy complains to his desk mates about feeling cold and is hesitant to follow the orders. Eventually he is forced to succumb. I wonder whether the boy has underlying health problems unknown to the teacher or she just ignores it. Do the pupils have any voice or is it overshadowed by discipline?

When I look at the sitting arrangement, it appears disorganised though clearly, some pupils have no clear view of the chalkboard and have to strain to have a clear view because much of the work is written on the board.

As I constantly move around talking to the pupils quietly not to interrupt the lesson, the question of who is missing comes up. Every child looks okay and happy. Then my eyes fall onto this little girl with a curious look throwing occasional glances at me. She looks different I conclude, but how do I confirm my suspicion? Maybe someday. Later, I quietly express my dilemma and the teacher confirms that the girl is HIV positive and her skin is affected by rashes. There are two cases in the class although the other is absent. This information is confided by their parents. I wonder what would happen had other children known of their conditions, perhaps they do, What if such pupils are subjected to further 'torment' through 'whipping?

The children are reciting Swahili sentences, then suddenly the teacher orders one boy out of the class for reciting wrongly and not being attentive. She (the teacher) puts on a very tough face dangling the whip, perhaps to sound some warning to others. She hasn't used the whip yet but what happens to the excluded boy later leaves me guessing.

I now begin to relate the teaching to some form of policy working through the teacher and to the pupils — I am yet to find it because whatever the teacher does must be geared towards either delivery of the curriculum or some internalized behaviour accumulated over time.

D/6/09

Copying notes is one of the most challenging exercises because of the limited space. Additionally, some pupils sit at angles which make it impossible to see. Surprisingly, the pupils have their techniques of coping — some use their laps (not laptops!), others stand or move to suitable corners, while the rest are forced to 'twist' in different angles to afford for space. So are the class spaces sufficient? Of course not, I feel that some space is needed here. For inclusion to succeeded, this ought to be provided because I have learnt from an informal

discussion that many pupils have been forced out of the school due to lack of space or overcrowding.

Other than this 'educational space' I begin to think about the impact of poverty. Most of the children are obviously in need of well-groomed uniforms. Some uniforms are tattered, dirty and the classes are very dusty.

I notice two boys just sitting while others are doing their assignments. Upon some prompt the others say he does not have a pencil, then his friend from another corner walks over and hands a small pencil. It's too small but he has to sharpen it, no matter what — otherwise the teacher will soon demand to mark the work. Perhaps there is some tension between government policy on free education, commitment to provide resources and teachers focus on performance.

Upon prompting the teacher about the seemingly clumsy or maybe rhizomatic sitting arrangement, she explains her reasons for that. She has come up with a creative way of ensuring that every pupil is visible to her in spite of the large class size. Furthermore, such kind of arrangement enables every pupil to police one another and report any incidences of misconduct or lack of concentration. In fact this sounds very good because she is using the pool of resources in the class to help her class management. If only a similar strategy could be used to facilitate group work.

A similar creative idea is noticed in Class Six where each group has a leader who calms down its members and reports noncompliant pupils to the class prefect. The prefect in turn hands names to the class teacher for reprimanding. Such strategies demonstrate an aspect of creativity and struggle by teachers to be innovative in dealing with seemingly challenging situations. On the other hand, the strategies applied by teachers could have a disciplining aspect because a surveillance mechanism ensures conformity to rules and regulations in order to make the learning process manageable.

D/7/09

On my first visit to Class Two, the teacher was reluctant and said that they were busy writing notes forcing me to withdraw and arrange for a future visit. However when I came in the following day, he still insisted that they were busy copying notes and thus rendering observation useless. I think he was uncomfortable allowing a stranger in. But why? I have been introduced! Eventually he is forced to switch to a different subject. Unless teachers are very sure of your mission in the school, they will probably not trust you. Thus the importance of holding dialogue and making your mission very clear becomes very crucial.

It's very interesting how the end of a lesson is marked. A boy walks around ringing the bell to make sure the whole school is alert.

D/8/09

On my second visit to the class, the teacher is busy marking while pupils are doing an assignment. However, he decides to teach maths, perhaps to make me observe something. When a pupil gets a sum right, she is applauded as she dances to a chorus recited by the rest of the class. I have noticed another girl whose sight is probably low, so I decide to observe her keenly. Clearly she has a problem but I cannot tell what because she isn't done a sum yet and is afraid to face the teacher just in case she is summoned to attempt!

Later, a boy volunteers to attempt a sum on the chalk board. When he gets it wrong, he is 'hit' on the head with a whip! This is very scary in my opinion and contracts the philosophy of creating a free learning and welcoming attitude. I can only imagine what children experiencing difficulties feel, perhaps they may never volunteer to answer or attempt any sum. While it's shameful to be punishable, there is no glory in punishing. If anything it makes pupils live in fear and their level of confidence is reduced even when they know the answer. It is very intimidating to punish in public, right?

However, when the lesson was introduced, the teacher made reference to exams and that pupils should be well prepared to pass their exams and move to the next level. Perhaps I should find out about the repetition rates or dropout rates as a result of this emphasis on exams. How possible is it for such young children to come to school at 7:30 am? Running an ambulance service in an accident prone school? They leave school late and yet they have to wake up early probably on an empty stomach as I am told by a teacher about the hunger situation.

D/9/09

This is another day in the school. I visit Class Five and the usual welcome salutation is repeated. The teacher is busy writing notes in front (I guess) but leaves almost immediately to sort out an issue with a concerned parent. I am left with the pupils who continue to recite note, like a song, perhaps to make the ideas song. I hereby see an attempt to make sure that their mission is accomplished. Then I link it up with what a Class Two teacher mentioned, 'We always struggle to clear the syllabus by term two so that term three is for exam preparation'.

Overcrowding is emerging as a struggle and keeps on cycling back in whenever I visit classes. I see some pupils dozing and a general look of tiredness.

The teacher who left in Class Five reappears towards the end of the lesson and talks about the issue she was sorting. A girl has been missing from home and school for a week. She had confided to the teacher that her aunt had threatened to whip her for stealing 10 shillings. It appears there is more to this because the girl wants to go home and live with her mum, some 200km away. Isn't this a good example of exclusionary pressure? Fear of being reprimanded at school and home? Later on during a staff briefing by the head teacher the girl's disappearance is clarified. Her aunt runs a brothel. The girl doesn't like it or is probably forced into it!

The teacher also expresses her feelings about overcrowding. The class size was 100 but parents withdrew their children leaving only 86 pupils.

To mark their work, pupils give a hand to the teacher. They exchange books, the class prefect writes the answers on the board and then marking is done by pencil. Only the teacher's work becomes that of using a red pen following the pencil marks. Interesting how teachers come up with innovative ways of dealing with large class sizes. Does the government know this? Is this part of their creativity to deal with difficult situations? I think not every account of teacher creativity can be replicated in policy legislations. I should probably look at practices as the makers of lived policy.

D/10/09

On the 18th of Sep, going to the school was quite problematic. Traffic jams, scarcity of *matatus* (passenger vehicles) which made me to imagine the trouble both teachers and pupils undergo to make it to school at 6 a.m. I finally arrive at the school and find the staffroom space occupied by pupils. At first I think a very important meeting is taking place. As I stand outside wondering where to go a teacher comes by and tells me that an Islamic education class is taking place in the staffroom! Later on I am made aware that Islamic Religious Education (IRE) and Christian Religious Education (IRE) take place in separate classes .However, due to lack of class spaces, they have to come to the staffroom. I think one of the key ingredients to inclusive education is provision of space where everyone can fit. Doesn't this suggest that more space is needed to include all, or is this not an example of creative imagination and utilization of the meagre resources wisely?

As I sit watching the lesson, I realize that it is hard to converse with any teacher because they are always busy. It appears to me that, due to the large pupil size, teachers

hardly have any time to idle. I start critiquing the teaching strategy, borrowing on the ideas of Freire Paulo, I see the teacher as a banker of knowledge. This strategy has been very common in the classes visited. Perhaps it has roots from the school/ government emphasis on performance. Teachers have to hurry and complete the syllabus as early as possible in order to drill pupils in readiness for exams.

D/11/09

On another visit to Class Five, the teacher appears reluctant and almost determined not to let me in. She gives some excuses to put me off and instead directs me to another class. She however offers to talk about her experiences in the school just outside the class. She is very informative in terms of her experiences and the trouble teachers have to go through every day. Despite the little pay she argues that, teachers are urged to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the children, a Christian virtue of dedication for heavenly reward. She is however happy that in spite of all these obstacles, teachers have managed to deliver. As I later discover, this teacher is a strict disciplinarian and has been involved in cases of slapping pupils and punishing excessively. Perhaps she will never let me witness that?

Later on I visit Class Four and the usual nightmare of overcrowding greets me. The children are very happy though and salute me while standing in unison. I notice a boy who is not writing as he has no pen. He can only accomplish his assignment when a friend lends him his pen. I think there is a lot of silence from the government on how to deal with certain circumstances. In fact what one sees are teacher's own strategies of dealing with circumstances.

After the end of the lesson, another teacher comes in and the reception is very good. Teachers are very assertive and I can see the distance they have to keep with the children to exercise their authority. There is always insistence on order and quietness. Within such a setting, it becomes very hard for pupils to open up to teachers for fear of consequences. However, when I talk to teachers they claim that such a distance allows them to maintain disciplinary standards given the large school size. There is an obvious power hierarchy here — one that resembles master and slave?

What I see in the class is appears to be drilling — a case of preparing pupils to pass their exams. Children recite answers to possible exam question and are even given the various options a question might be asked. Then what follows are mnemonic devices to make sure they memorize answers. This strategy arises from the government emphasis on exams forcing teaching to come up with their own strategies of making this goal a reality. For

instance, pupils have to come to school early and leave late, parents also have to meet a certain cost for tuition. As a result, pupils hardly have adequate time to relax and play because they have to pass their exams!

D/12/09

Later on the day, we had a staff meeting where proceeds of a previous school heads meeting were reported. It was regrettable that teachers were not treating visitors and parents kindly besides the harsh treatment of pupils. In line with this, the head teacher urged teachers to change their attitudes and stop corporal punishment. I think such an emphasis gives an indication of the struggles which have to ensue before full change takes place in school to accommodate diversity. However, teachers appear to be resisting this change. Instead they want to maintain status quo for easy management of children. The process of inclusion may be propagated unless there are radical changes within schools to allow for flexibility rather than forcing children to fit into existing systems.

It also become apparent that competition to ensure good position in the 'league tables' was necessary. In fact, one parent had confronted the head teacher in the morning due to the dropping standards of performance (the headmistress reports of this ordeal in a staff meeting). A case of a girl who has escaped from her aunt is told — oh, this is the girl I was informed of by a Class Five teacher, I connect. The headmistress uses this case to caution teachers about the pressures children come to school under. She asserts that, if the school is not friendly and the home environment is even harsher, an exclusive force develops which forces the pupil out of school automatically. This example calls for a change in attitude and creation of a welcoming attitude in the class — not 'whipping' children when they volunteer and give wrong answers. The child is attempting to share own understanding and this should be an opportune time to learn the child and give guidance.

D/13/09

Eventually on the 23rd of Sept, I managed to get into standard five class. The teacher had initially managed to keep me away but there was no turning back this time. I could see she was unwilling to let me in for the third time but somehow my determination pays off. My success in getting to observe turns into a disaster because she fails to teach and claims to have completed her work — a suspect teacher? I once more wonder why.

I am greeted by the usual congestion in the class, perhaps an indicator of the limitedness of space in the school. But I begin to wonder why the teacher is so unwilling to

let me in! Perhaps she doesn't like strangers, but I'm not a stranger anymore, I have been introduced formally. No welcoming attitude, a nuisance to the school routines? Perhaps there is something she doesn't want me to know. She can't teach in my presence. I connect this to a later meeting in which she is accused of slapping a child and refusing to apologise to the teacher. The parent has threatened to take legal action against her.

Perhaps I should talk to her pupils and find out about their experiences and how comfortable they are while learning, someday. It's evident that learning is a real struggle and I can only imagine what would happen to those who cannot perform well.

The children also have their innovative ways of dealing with difficult situations — twisting in different angles and sharing text books to afford for extra space. While all this is happening, the teacher is seated busy writing, perhaps marking or preparing notes for the next lesson. I leave the class but conclude that increasing access is a good idea from the government. However failing to expand facilities is like expecting pupils to fit into existing systems, an integrative measure.

D/14/09

I visit Class Three. I am now concerned about overcrowding but it has reached a point where it's beyond 'elastic limit'. I have visited two classes today averaging above 100! Four pupils are seated on the floor while another is 'standing'. I suspect that a class teacher is absent and probably they have shared the pupils. This is a common practice which allows for learning to go on as usual. But it cannot be business as usual because different classes are at different levels of learning. This makes merging classes a strategy for control rather that to facilitate learning.

The teacher is very strict, hitting pupils on the head whenever they 'mess up'. This is very dangerous and could even harm them. Such strictness can only succeed by instilling fear and scaring them away from school. Since I'm told parents in the slum areas punish their children a lot, the child has only one option — run away from home and school to look for solace in the streets. I think most of the street children may have gone through similar circumstances.

An innocent child has volunteered to attempt a sum. She knows how to go about it and even gets it right. However, she has to voice her 'moves' in exactly the same way as the teacher. She can't do it and is 'rewarded' by 3 hard shots. In such a situation, children are likely to shy away and not even attempt to volunteer.

Pupils are very keen to suggest volunteers just in case the teacher misses out on some. Its beating and beating! Can't there be another way of punishing? Is it really necessary to punish a child's inability to perform? Children come to school to learn but due to individual differences, some understand faster than others. By forcing the child to be at the level with others is like treating unequals equally and expecting to achieve equity — this cannot work. I think for inclusive learning to take place, a new strategy of encouraging and supporting children rather than punishing should be born.

D/15/09

This is yet another observation in which I see another strategy of attracting attention — having the pupils repeat a phrase or constantly asking 'are we together?' The teacher told me of the struggle she has had to go to come to the school due to her tribe. Tribal politics also appear to play a big role in the school administration. Parents demonstrated when they learnt she was joining the school and wondered why an M deputy could not be appointed. This also relates to what a teacher told me in the staffroom. She and her fellow tribe mates had been labelled traitors and were threatened with death because a member of their tribe (vice president) refused to work with an aspiring president. The dominant tribe regards the school as theirs and are ready to rally support to exclude people from particular tribes by inciting refusal of admission. Incidentally, Jane is a victim of such 'rallies'. As I learnt, she was transferred to the school as part of promotion process to join a group of two other school deputies. Unfortunately she belonged to one of the 'unwanted' tribes and worse still her surname resembled that of an unwanted leader. Thus, her coming was met with a lot of resistance from the community. Some openly confronted her and where she thought she could find solace laid the biggest agitator as the story would unfold. A former teacher who wanted to take up her role had mobilized the community to block her from joining the school. It was as a result of this incitements that parents began to insist on having a deputy from 'one of their own' because the school belonged to them Eventually the teacher who wanted to take Jane's role had to be transferred in case he caused further incitements.

There are isolated cases of ethnicities, I mean under representation of some ethnicities due to post-election violence which saw the eviction of some tribes. In a class of 76, there is only one pupil representing one of the largest tribes in the country.

Overcrowding as I'm told is also partly caused by the good performance in the school. Parents believe that their children are more likely to do well if they enrol in a well performing

school. It’s surprising that neighbouring schools are half full compared to overcrowding witnessed in the school.

To deal with the class sizes, pupils are grouped according to ability per row and are managed by a group leader. The group leader constantly attracts the pupils attention and reports unruly ones to the teacher or class prefect — a power hierarchy? (ability grouping)

D/16/09

On the 28th day October, I woke up quite early. I wanted to be on time for the morning assembly because I knew it took place twice a week. Unfortunately the teachers (usually two teacher are on duty simultaneously) on duty decided not to congregate pupils for the morning assembly.

I keep wondering about my research and sometimes the feeling that of the struggles I have gone through and the thought of capturing the school practices floods my thoughts. However an intrinsic motivator keeps reminding me how I far have gone and feeling of hope re-energizes me. As a whirlpool of sensations blanket my mind I think about rhizomes, becoming. I am already beginning to grow rhizomatic offshoots and knots of arborescence, but how is this related to what I see, I will definitely need to be creative to apply Deleuze and Guattari’s ideas, yes I can, I conclude. I believe that what is transpiring in my mind is a state of confusion and conclude that I am in a process of transition where no right move is correct. I am a becoming and the desire in me is burning. There appears to be so many things needing my attention but somehow I can’t manage them all.

D/17/09

I have been promised the school documents and when I went to collect them, I was told strict confidence must be adhered to. Not even a teacher is supposed to see them — I have to keep them with me always or return to the secretary at the end of the day.

As I go through the minutes I come across the Advanced Teacher Scheme (ATS) which I’m told is higher than the ordinary training level for a primary school teacher. The school already has graduate teachers and some are enrolled in masters’ programmes! Although the school serves a poor social economic area, committee membership is apparently from a particular tribe. I wonder whether the government knows this and whether decisions passed are likely to lean on one side — exclusionary?

Within the minutes, free primary education is presented as a collective responsibility of everyone with the phrase ‘Our children are our responsibility’. From the document, it is

evident the school has managed to produce ‘top brass’ pupils making it to the top 100 in the country. The policy on admission is first come first served and children are allocated money equally. I think money should be assigned on the basis of the pupil’s need and not body. While I’m pondering on this, a parent comes in and appears to stoop too low! It appears there is a lot of hierarchy here. He knocks at the door of the staffroom and submissively makes an inquiry (policy? power?).

The documents emphasis on the committee’s commitment to remind parents that education was free and that they should bring school-age children to school. What an impressive move taken by the committee! Since the incision of free primary education in 2003, it’s apparent that the chairman warned about the impending reorganisation in the school. It appears that they are preparing for any eventualities but I begin to wonder. Given such a good policy on admission, how come everyone looks the same, at least physically? Where are the disabled counterparts?

There is also an indication that parents are endowed with the responsibility of meeting extra costs deemed necessary. The budget indicates that funds are insufficient and the committee has the responsibility of mobilising parents to provide extra resources. In order to relieve pupils of the burden of cleaning, a cleaner has been employed. However, he cannot manage the whole school, perhaps only the toilets because every lunch hour I see pupils cleaning their individual classes.

Parents are quite happy to have the children in school because they are safe and help to reduce environmental hazards. Since the inception of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003, the biggest challenge has been budgeting and teachers even have to cope with more records for accountability.

D/18/09

The day is over and on the following day, I decide to visit Class Seven. I am given the opportunity to introduce myself and expound on my research purposes. Surprisingly, overcrowding is less, I wonder why. However, I begin to make connections and realise that the best can only manage to climb the ladder. It appears that strictness partly contributes to this decline meaning that some pupils drop out of school before reaching Class Eight. I notice the tone of the teacher, it is very friendly! Everyone seems competent; I think I should find out. Perhaps pupils are filtered in the system such that examinable classes contain only the best.

The usual signs of tiredness emerge again. Pupils are yawning due to waking up early, long school hours, lack of breaks or not having breakfast? This is a big issue that ought to be addressed!

D/19/09

Later on I'm 'listening' to the school minutes. Much of what I see seems to centre on FPE and not much is talked about attempts to change the school culture. Then an issue of a disobedient boy is raised. He wants to go on the streets and has even dared teachers to expel him. He always comes to school late and seems to care less. He claims to have been sodomised and appears to have psychological problems. To include him will need a lot of creative imagination and counselling. I later on learn that the boy has problems with his parents and has been admitted to a psychiatric hospital (external pressure?)

Incidentally I move to the administration and here is a parent being asked to pay 1300 as a precondition for the child's interview, still free education, I wonder? What happens to those that cannot afford the money given the poverty levels especially in the slum area. It appears there are lots of other non-fee requirements which parents have to 'cough' in the process of enjoying 'free education'.

Back to the school documents, I can see the efforts made by the school committee to send a team to investigate how a neighbouring school has managed school meals. On the basis of this the school managed to initiate a similar programme that has been very beneficial to the pupils. Particularly during this time when there is hunger in the country.

D/20/09

There is emphasis on extra tuition to help improve academic standards. This doesn't come free of charge though. Parents are forced to 'cough up' coaching money against government policy. While the government continues to insist on school times, schools which adhere to them don't perform poorly compared to those that don't.

Against this backdrop, I realise an unusual commitment amongst teachers to raise academic standards. How can they manage to make it to school as early as 7am and leave as late as 5pm? Informal discussions provide the answers; teachers get money from the pupils. In fact they get paid more by the parents than the Teacher Service Commission (TSC) — the official government body for employing teachers.

I'm told that classes one to six pay 300 shillings per pupil while classes seven and eight pay 500 per month! Given the huge student population, this implies that teachers see it

as added advantage to teach there; no wonder they manage to raise scores. But in such an environment where all are treated as equal because they are subjected to the same exams, is it really possible to achieve equity?

There is also an added disadvantage to the poorest because those that cannot afford to pay for tuition are not allowed in the classes. As a result, they tend to lag behind academically because curriculum content is delivered in their absence and due to the high performance based demands and whipping, they are more likely to drop out of school. In a way, this is an exclusionary pressure which the government creates through the imposition of high academic standards. Obviously one teacher made it clear that if they follow the strict government guidelines (policy) on school times they will not achieve their expectations. Therefore, lived policy dictates otherwise, 'let's coach these children in order to achieve government intentions'. (yet again tuition and asking for payment has been banned).
This slogan of coaching appears to be very common in private schools where rich people take their children to school. Unfortunately, most policy makers seem to be happy with their children being subjected to what they are opposed. Does this then imply applying double standards to two strands of children, rich and poor? I think this can be a very good question for a policy official, why celebrate and even pay for your son to get extra coaching but oppose the same in public schools?

D/21/09

The following day I visit Class Three and see the now mandatory weapon for maintaining order in the class. It appears the children are very excited to see a visitor. A general word for aquatic animals is mentioned in a Swahili lesson as (samaki) and one pupil wonders whether it's ok to call a crocodile the same! This could have aroused a very interesting debate but the time doesn't allow for this. The teacher has to rush through the prescribed curriculum and bank knowledge. Although there is no correct recipe for delivering the curriculum, it appears that pressures for performance have to dictate what Paulo Freire was against, 'banking theory of knowledge' (pupil voice lacking?).

Pupils continue to throw occasional glances at me amidst disturbances due to noise from the neighbouring class. I see reciting as a strategy to attract attention and maintain focus in the class. Pupils have to repeat after the teacher certain clauses routinely. It's quite evident that the pupils are very tired perhaps due to overcrowding, coming to school early and lack of time for recreation. Pupils hardly have time for themselves because of the pressure of work. Surprisingly, there are particular periods for P.E but teachers opt to teach instead because P.E

is not examinable. How can pupils develop talents if they cannot be afforded time to discover themselves? Academic subjects are important but I think games and sports are equally important. In fact from my personal experiences some pupils who are good in sports are forced out of school due to the importance attached to their talents. However I believe that we can all fit in the same size and thus the need to look at inclusion from that perspective. Inclusion is about maximising pupil's potential!

D/22/09

While sitting in the staffroom, I see pupils come to take their IRE lesson there. I am made to understand that Religious Education (RE) takes place in different classes to make sure everyone is accommodated. I don't see this as segregation but the harsh reality of being whom we are; either Muslim or Christian. The fact that children learn in the staffroom signals a resource demand, space for inclusion. While pondering about space, I realise that girls are seated on one side and boys on the other. I wonder how they sit in class and promise myself to find out when I visit the classes. Children are constantly reminded of how RE questions are likely to be framed; a constant reminder of their mission there, pass your exams well and maintain the good name of the school.

Teachers look for innovative ways of dealing with inevitable situations especially given the large class sizes. This was very evident in Class Three where each subject has leaders who 'man' the class in the absence of the class teacher. During marking the teacher relies on the best pupils again. He marks the work of the best pupils and uses them to mark that of others.

Problems are inherent among the pupils due to poverty levels. One pupil helps her mother in selling vegetables. This makes the child very tired and thus affects her attendance and subsequent concentration. This is one aspect of exclusion that could force many pupils out of school or make them feel uncomfortable in school.

D/23/09

I decide to talk to a teacher friend (Roger) about violence in the region. He explains how terrible the situation was during the skirmishes. 'Kioko, this place was bad, it was war! The school was inaccessible because of blockades and riots. When the election results were announced, I woke up early to assess the situation because I feared for my life having watched skirmishes on TV. I saw a group of youths stopping motorists ransacking them and pulling out the passengers after some deliberations. After a chat with my neighbours, I

realised that they were targeting people from ethnicities that supported the presidential winner. I knew I would be a victim and immediately packed a few of my belongings and drove to my rural home about three hundred kilometres away'. He goes on to give his view on the whole issue of election violence. For him, people do not hate each other because of tribal affiliations but blames politicians. 'Politicians use every trick and powers at their disposal to get into or hold onto power. For instance, look at what happened in 2007, the politicians made us kill each other because they wanted to get into power for their selfish gains. I also want to say this, there is a lot of poverty and unemployment amongst our youths which makes them easy to manipulate especially if they are given money. Many things need to be changed because once our innocent pupils are thrown in the harsh community; they become easy to compromise and can take sides especially if they reap some benefit.

Following the post-election violence, many people were forced out of the slum and their properties destroyed. Particular ethnic tribes were ejected out of their homes which led to enmity amongst tribes. I wonder whether this has a wider effect in terms of pupil socialisation and creating welcoming attitudes in the school. Is there a possibility for bullying to run alongside those lines? I think there is need for policies to be made to destroy tribalism, promote social cohesion and citizenship. In fact I am told by Jane of a case in which pupils fought due to political differences.

I notice many things happening and realise how teachers/schools have to be strict with pupils in order to instil discipline. Pupils have to seek permission to visit toilets as part of this disciplinary strategy to maintain order and monitor them. Break times are underutilized — pupils remain in classes to attend to their homework and to minimise the risk of fighting and escaping (ethnicity?)

D/24/09

The other day I visited Class Four but found teachers clustered outside. They asked me to leave because they were in the middle of a discussion. I realise that occasionally teachers come together to strategize on how to deal with classes in case a teacher is absent or discuss issues affecting their classes.

Looking at the class, it is evident that reaching everyone is very difficult because of large class sizes. I have seen in this particular class pupils engaging in funny things, conversing and less participating. Thus, according to one of the key indicators of inclusion, less participation implies an interruption of the process of inclusion. It then becomes

necessary for future policy initiatives to consider what aspects can promote participation of pupils.

Some school uniforms are dirty already, on a Monday morning! I wonder whether it's because of the dusty school environment or poverty levels which leave the pupils either without other clothes to change or no soap to wash them. Oh, it's in this class the aggressive boy comes from! He had confronted the class teachers and decided that he had seen enough of school. Additionally, he was abused at a young age and wants to go back to the streets. I think his parents have neglected him because I'm told he is now in hospital undergoing psychiatric treatment (former street boy?)

D/25/09

Surprisingly, as a visitor I see trouble, suffering and tiredness on the side of both pupils and teachers but this is not always the case as the children are very happy and teachers are very committed, a moral responsibility to educate the young ones.

This becomes apparent when I visit Class Three. The teacher says that some of them have to wake up as early as four am in order to make it to school for morning preps! This doesn't seem to bother him because it's a routine they are used to. This is a strategy teachers have employed in order to advance their good name of good performance. Despite the limited number of teachers, the administration has worked on a strategy to employ volunteer teachers (3 of them). Every teacher is a class teacher and collects tuition money from each pupil per month (300 from classes 1–6 and 500 from 7–8). I think money is a motivation in itself because teachers can't complain because their time is adequately compensated. This happens despite a government ban on extra tuition because parents want their children to perform well. They believe the only way to achieve this goal is by engaging their children in school; otherwise they will be lured or recruited into the slum's activities. This is a clear example of a tension between rhetoric and reality. No matter what the government wants, the school administration through support from parents will always find a good way of achieving their goals.

D/26/09

Another example is that of the *nyaunyo* (whip). Whipping has been banned because of its harmful effects though parents have allowed teachers to whip their children without the government's awareness. I have seen it happen in classes but when I ask pupils whether they are whipped they say 'no'. However, if you appear to have witnessed this, they say whipping

a little is good for discipline purposes. This reminds me of what a teacher friend told me, whatever happens in the school is kept secret and not even parent or pupils can dare disclose them to a stranger, they have been trained. I'm told during visits from the government, teachers hide their *nyaunyos*. (DISCIPLINE)

D/27/09

Dialogue with Class Four

I was allowed to talk to pupils and thought I should ask them things they liked about the school and their dislikes. My intention was to elicit as much response in a free and relaxed environment because I thought focused group discussions would limit this.

Bullying come out clearly. Bigger pupils bully smaller ones and even demand money from them, otherwise they will be beaten! Fear seems to engulf the schools because some pupils felt that whipping made them fearful of particular teachers. They also exposed diet as a bad thing in the school because only one type of meal was eaten throughout without salt. Time slots for PE were not adequately utilized because teachers preferred academic lessons. This means that pupils have less time to play and explore their talents as well as relieve their tensions. It appears that for the school to be more inclusive it ought to provide more space for play. This would facilitate the participation of those who feel at best in games. In essence, inclusion ought to encourage the participation of all in the overall school activities not just in academics. I remembered when I was in primary school; we used to have both academic and sporting geniuses. At least each group recognized the abilities of the other and respected them for that! Why can't this happen in the schools for pupils to be afforded a chance to not only be there but to participate and enjoy their school experiences?

Although holding dialogue or talking to pupils informally might not have a recognized place in the world of doing research, I strongly believe in its strengths. In fact, it might be the best way of eliciting or capturing pupil's opinions as opposed to formalized situation like focus group situations. Pupils spoke freely and although the list is not exhaustive, lack of adequate facilities repeatedly sprung up. For instance the school lacks enough toilets, desks, library, enough teachers etc. The government policy on admission is that no child should be denied admission in their neighbourhoods yet the concept of enough should be exercised. Obviously when resources are outstretched, proper participation may not be realised and thus schools need to have a limit on the capacity of children they can admit within their limited resources.

The school has dealt with that by charging and interviewing children before admission to ensure that the school's quality of performance is not compromised. I was told of stories where parents lied about the classes their children had taken before joining the school so as to accelerate the learning of their children.

D/28/09

Later on, after holding dialogue with Class Four, a staff meeting was convened in which many issues were brought forward. The head teacher regretted that teachers were using too much force in whipping pupils. Several incidences of teacher parent confrontation were highlighted although teachers thought that it was the only way discipline would be maintained in the school. In fact a parent had demanded that morning that a teacher apologizes for allegedly slapping her daughter but the teacher refused. It's the responsibility of teachers to be in *loco parentis* and therefore some of the actions against innocent children cannot be justified whatsoever. It's strange how teachers manage to get away with such incidences. Something ought to be done, perhaps empower children and educate them on the right channels to follow and launch complaints to higher authorities. I agree that teachers have to confront bad behaviours but not in a manner that scares children. Inclusion cannot work in such instances, it calls for tolerance, being assertive and understanding the child.

Drilling is also an aspect that cropped out indirectly where teachers were encouraged to be focused due to a desire to top the league tables. However, as long as unequivocal systems remain to reward only the best with better resources stands, inclusion goals might never be realized. Inequalities will still remain unless a rethink or a new think tank initiates an effort to change the status quo.

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW TRANSCIPTS

INTERVIEW WITH JANE

(Background information has been provided and the interviewee assured of the education nature of the research. I provide more details about my project and make reference to the project information sheet before inviting her to sign it).

ME: What do you understand by inclusive education (I.E)?

J: Children in the categories of disabled, slow learners and maybe those that are very intelligent learning together. But I think although this term has been used so widely in schools, many times it is not truly practical because the policies are there but the government does not follow on the ground to see whether it's truly happening. The government adopts policies from the western world without even knowing how to implement it. Look at the size of our classes and tell me whether we can manage children with severe cases of special needs. When it comes to the ratio of teachers and pupil numbers especially in government sponsored schools you find that it is quite difficult, it cannot be achieved because of the number of pupils. For instance, in this class I have 76 pupils and I teach most of the subjects. In addition, I am also an administrator which makes it even more difficult for me to attend to the needs of a child with special needs. This is a common problem in government sponsored schools ... (She goes to argue for the lack of early identification of children in other areas experiencing difficulties. Partly this she attributes to lack of parental awareness 'because all parents like children who are complete'). ... Many children with special needs education are identified in early years of school. However due to academic emphasis, they are left out. I think it will take some time before we start practising inclusion fully. But some work hard and through our efforts they can still survive in the system. "To be honest with you, (points at a girl) it is a miracle that this girl has managed to come this far (to Class Six) because most of her counterparts leave school at lower primary. We have worked very hard to help because her poor sight limits her ability to copy notes from the board ... you know due to lack of mechanisms for identification and given the academic emphasis in our school, most disabled children cannot manage to compete with the average pupils. It becomes difficult for them to cope with the system and most of them just drop out of school especially children from low social-economic classes ... children with special needs in public schools are only integrated with limited learning. Parents, who can afford, take their children to special school. However, most parents like 'complete' children and some do not see the need to take them to schools...

on the other hand, private schools cannot admit them because it's a business – their mean scores advertise them.

(We are briefly interrupted by a pupil seeking advice from the teacher – the interview had to take place in the classroom because this was the only available space).

ME: You are very informative and appreciate that. What if any does the government play towards IE?

J: The government develops policies and even comes up with a syllabus to be followed. This creates a lot of pressure for teachers because they have to complete the syllabus, ensure pupils pass and our school is competitive. Remember, teachers do not have clear guidelines on how to do inclusion ... we work in difficult circumstances.

ME: Do you then think that IE can be realised in the school?

It can be achieved but I think policies on IE should be fully descriptive on what needs to be done. The government is silent on directing us how to do inclusion. Again as I have told you, there are no mechanisms of early identification on all forms of pupils' difficulty. Also, parents lack awareness or ignore their children because all like children who are 'complete'. When these children come to school and cannot match up to the tough demands of academic performance, they are forced to drop out.

ME: In your opinion, what do you think can be done to enhance the participation of every child?

J: You know, there is what we call developmental learning where you plan to teach every child and there is planning to teach slow learners. We do not see them as pupils with special needs but we call them non-readers. So, especially in the lower classes, they are left behind to catch up while the rest go out for lunch break. This is remedial teaching which is done to those that are poor in reading because we believe if a child cannot read it will be difficult to access other subjects. This is only practical in lower primary because in the upper primary teachers have very limited time. It's not possible to separate them during your teaching, *ingawa* (Swahili for although), kind of, I say kind of, these children here are seated according to ability groups. So after the lesson, I always go to the lower ability group to assist them. We try to discuss and see the difficulties they are facing and how best they can be assisted. So the only way to intervene is by grouping them according to their ability.

ME: Does this kind of grouping have an effect on the children?

J: At the end of the day we are individuals. Some are positive and not others. In fact some come out openly to express their weaknesses and seek for help in order to improve. They are not stationed permanently, once a child performs better and attain particular marks in

assessment tests; they are rotated to other groups. In this way, children are motivated to work harder and as they compete with one another in order to move to the best group.

ME: That looks like a good to a strategy you have been using in class, so what exactly informs your approach to teaching?

J: I will attribute this to school culture as well as you as a personal teacher. Do you teach because you have come across a pupil or because you love your job? I know there are teachers who report on duty while others come to work. The teacher looks at the entry point to motivate her children and the things that make her move on with pupils. She tries to come down to the level of children and then they move on together. So for me, the way I present myself and introduce lessons matters a lot.

ME: Having gone through all the classes, it appears ability grouping is common; would you call this a culture?

J: Not necessarily, it entirely depends on the individual teacher. I do not think it's a culture within the school.

ME: And by the way, what is your opinion on using the Whip?

J: Since I came here, I have never used the whip and the students know it. What I normally do is lay down my strategies and I'm very strict – I use my mouth. Most of the times, I use counselling, I sit here the whole day trying to find out the problems of the children. I believe those who use the whip lack power within themselves. They only have power of the physical and thus use the whip. They think whip helps you as a teacher and this is something I disagree with. It makes children wild and belief that learning is just but a punishment.

ME: So are the effects of the whip?

J: It has a lot of effects. Oh yes! It does and in fact most of *chokoras* and other children you see in the streets are as a result of this!

ME: Are there any other practices that are likely to exclude children from learning?

J: Although this does not happen here, I know there are schools where pupils are categorized as per the income of their parents, the status in the community. There are also other labels children are given based on where they come from all of which amount low self-esteem and some eventually leave school.

ME: Do children then see one another along those categories?

J: On the question of whether children look at each other along the categories, whether rich or poor, children socialise very well and have no problems. However, there is this problem which came up after elections as I told you before. In fact like the school I was teaching around the time of presidential elections, children fought and almost killed. It all started when

one pupil stood up in class and spoke in favour of a preferred presidential candidate. Another student was opposed and instead supported the election of a presidential candidate from a different ethnic group! The pupils started arguing and ganged along two groups and eventually fought forcing the headmaster to close the close. As you might be aware, things got worse after the elections when the loser raised issues of vote rigging. This reminds me of your observation about names in this class. Your observation was correct about the names on the report because many pupils have been forced to transfer to school outside this region afterwards. Parents had to flee from their homes and even leave their properties for safety; never to return back. Actually the violence after 2007 polls shocked everyone because the scale of enmity between people along tribal lines and political blocks became very clear. Most of the tribes affiliated to the president's party especially those that joined the coalition are seen as betrayers of the main opposition. So I came to realize that tribalism is very common among children from low income areas. Even teachers can be victims especially if they come from a rival tribe as was my case. However, all this boils down to how hard working you are because the children take the message home. If the children like you, the community will like you as well. When I came here, parents were opposed and insisted on having a teacher of their own to become a deputy head teacher as they chanted *tunataka mtu wetu* (we need a deputy from our own community)**.**

ME: I am sorry for what you experienced. What then would be your ideal school, a school that can accommodate everyone?

J: My ideal school would be a place where parents are not tribalistic about anybody. Since FPE was started many parents withdrew their children to private schools looking for status. Therefore I would like a situation in which the government intervened to normalise the situation, to make all schools the same and do away with the status parents look for in private schools. Children ought to learn with others from all status in the society, for instance learning with the child of a minister etc. will motivate those from low status. Again, there needs to enough resources to avoid the burden you see in our school.

ME: Thanks very much for the interview and in case of any issues I will come back and hold another dialogue with you and then we can take it from there.

END.

INTERVIEW WITH JOSHUA

(Interview held in the staffroom with occasional interruptions by teachers and visitors)

ME: What do you understand by IE?

Josh: I think inclusive education is difficult and is not easy to define. I have been reading a lot of material related to it because I am undertaking a degree in special education. One of the modules is about IE and my understanding is based on what I have read in the international literature and the little training I have from the seminars I have attended. As every child has a right to education following the government Free Primary Education (FPE) initiative, IE is a way of opening doors for everyone to learn together especially now that schools are free. The only problem is that it is hard to do it here because pupils are many. We try to do our best but there is a big challenge. My current research is about the impact of FPE in schools and maybe I will provide information about the challenges faced for new solutions to be sought ... Again, we do not have trained personnel in the field of IE sometimes leaves people guessing how to do it in reality. Sometimes, we might talk about what inclusion is after reading definitions in international documents but in reality do not understand what it is. For instance, by admitting children with disabilities in our school, we may belief that we are practising inclusion. The only problem is that, most of the pupils especially those with a high level of difficulties drop out of school. Sometimes the lucky ones get admission to special schools. Maybe, we still need to learn and do more.

ME: Do you think your school is making progress in an inclusive direction?

Josh: As I have said, there is lack of understanding. Teachers still need guidance because they try to do whatever they can in darkness as there is no clear policy or training on how to do it. If you visit our classes, you will notice that the current class sizes do not leave enough space to attend to all children. I do not want to say this but also think that the current government policy on inclusion cannot work unless we have smaller class sizes. All the same we are trying.

ME: Why do you think government policy cannot work?

Josh: Government policy sometimes is hard to follow especially when we have no direction. However, we have no choice because when inspectors come and want to know how well we are following the policy, they observe and ask questions directly. We are accountable for our actions and thus have to try hard even when it doesn't seem to work. When you look at our classes, they are quite big and managing them is a problem now. We therefore have to offer and charge extra tuition so as to complete the syllabus in time which is a struggle. I think for inclusive education to work well, we need smaller classes and more resources. You know, the

biggest pressure arises from government expectations especially for children to do well in exams. Teachers have to do anything to achieve that.

ME: I understand that the school was affected by the recent post-election violence. What is your view on that?

Josh: The violence was very bad and our school had to be closed because of fighting. This area is notorious with riots and people do not want to see that again; but I think there is something more to what people saw or read in the media. Although the Z tribe was mostly affected, it was more than that…

ME: What more?

Josh: People are getting poorer and tired of inequalities. In fact, we even had a few issues in the school and some pupils have left because their families were either affected or decided to relocate. Politics has had a very bad effect and even if people do not necessary differ at individual levels; they have to move for safety purposes, just in case they are targeted. For instance, there is this problem of having same tribal leaders. People are tired of having the same leaders or recycling older leaders who undermine change with the same ideas. In fact, what people fought for was change of leadership that would have enabled the younger generation take up leadership roles in order to improve the living conditions of people. Look at this slum for instance which has been neglected by previous governments. People here were optimistic that change of government would almost certainly develop the region and create jobs for the youth. When this did not happen, they felt betrayed and transgressed their anger on perceived sympathisers irrespective of their political affiliation or social status. The only problem is that innocent people and schools are being caught up in wrangles. In fact, what people fought for was change of leadership that would have enabled the younger generation take up leadership roles in order to improve the living conditions of people. Look at this slum for instance which has been neglected by previous governments. People here were optimistic that change of government would almost certainly develop the region and create jobs for the youth.

(After a series of interruptions, the interview came to an end when Joshua, a senior teacher had to leave to discuss an urgent administrative matter with the headmistress. We later completed the interview informally and thus not captured in this section)

INTERVIEW WITH TOM

(Interview held in the staffroom. I tried to encourage participants to be as free as possible and emphasized the academic purpose and exploratory nature of my study; just trying to explore the inclusive inclination of Hope School. For instance, how prepared are schools are in Kenya for I.E ... it is really an exploratory study, not a fact finding mission. Later the teacher suggested that he would have preferred the recorder to be concealed because he had already given consent).

ME: What do you understand by I.E?

T: It is the sort of education that assists children who are disabled, children who would have been out there in the streets Children in the categories of special needs, slow learners and maybe those that are very intelligent learning together irrespective of their conditions. Therefore, despite my limited knowledge about inclusion, I find it to be geared towards involving the pupils experiencing challenges in schools. Most of these children are taught in special schools and therefore inclusion targets them. However not all of them can learn in mainstream schools because of the competition. For instance, not all of us have special needs education training and we have to ask our trained colleagues for assistance. Luckily, we have a team of trained teachers here but still our challenge is a bit unique due to the large student population.

ME: Do you think the school is committed to IE?

T: Not much especially in some aspects, e.g. the blind. Most of the teachers in this school don't have the skills of handling children with impairments because they lack training in special education. Very few have learned it.

ME: In your view do you think there are certain practices likely to encourage inclusive learning?

T: Yes they are there is, hmm... like teacher trying to use different methods of teaching to help those that are slow learners, in the discussion groups, trying to help children to bring answers on their own trying to compete with one another. Sometimes not easy especially for those that are really disabled.

ME: Do you think such practices are happening in this school?

T: Yes it's happening here. Us teachers, we are very committed especially to slow learners, we try to help them even during our free time. That is why we have more time added in order to cater for the needs of slow learners

ME: Are there any pressures from the government which might affect the way you teach?

T: Yes there is because what the government wants is for the teacher to be well prepared with lesson plans, and other documents but the time is usually shorter ... as a teacher you have to use other strategies that you will not have learned but through experience.

ME: What other challenges if any do you face as a teacher wanting to teach inclusively?

T: Lack of materials, teaching aids, sometimes we don't have charts, sometimes eh, they also have radio lessons so that they can communicate, some are also coming from poor families where they cannot afford corrective glasses or maybe their families may not have noticed that. You may think a pupils is a slow learner but there are other underlying factors which affect their attention

ME: So, what is the sort of changes you would like to see in this school to make it a better place for everyone?

T: So many things, I think children should be categorized according to their difficulties. Sometimes you go to a class and you don't know them. Teachers should be advised according in order to know the materials to use in class.

ME: Can you tell me what guides your teaching?

T: Sometimes we follow what the school practices while sometimes we follow what we learned in college especially when Ministry of Education officials come to school, what they want. However, most of the times if you follow that you will not finish the syllabus, or even the book. So you have to use other methods because the children are not the way we are told, 'some have nothing in their heads'. For instance, discussions can take even one hour, yet you are supposed to discuss only for 10 minutes. Furthermore, we have a lot of children to cater for and therefore following the stipulated methods may not succeed.

ME: Do you have opportunities to offer your views on government policies which affect your teaching?

T: We don't have because our only forum is our staffroom. We sit and discuss on ways we can apply to achieve objectives. Furthermore, you should know the government wants children to be in school but not to pass. They want to be in class and doing your work but passing exams is not their problem.

ME: Finally, what is your view on the recent post-election violence?

T: Politics was at the centre of our differences in the staffroom in the days of skirmishes. Nowadays, it does not seem to matter much because we no longer have chaos. Normally, teachers here belong to two camps - from the dominant political parties but that is likely to change before the next elections as new political alliances are formed, you know, eh ... I think people are increasingly becoming sensitive to politics because it is seen as a means through

which their communities become part of the government. I think politicians need to do much more to ensure everyone is treated fairly. As you might know, it is easier to secure a job if a member of your tribe sits in an interview panel or is the boss. People are therefore happy to have one of their tribesmen elected into government in the hope that they are likely to benefit from such favours.

END.

INTERVIEW WITH ROGER

(Interview held in class which was very noisy. There were occasional interruptions but the interview went on irrespective of this. This was because the interviewee had to manage his class and the school day had to go on as planned. My intention was to minimize interruptions of the school routine as much as possible.

ME: What do you understand by inclusive education?

R: It is the sort of education that assists children who would have been out there in the streets. The children who were more unlikely to access school before. In fact, the situation before 2003 was very difficult for all children especially those with disabilities and the poor to join schools (the year in which FPE program was initiated by the government). Most parents were unable to afford their children's education but as a result of government intervention, most of them have been able to join school. But I still think that it is the disabled who have benefitted more because they would be out in streets begging if they failed to find a place in special schools. So, I think therefore, inclusive education involves the education of disabled children with non-disabled peers.

ME: Do you think there are some challenges as a result of increased number of children?

R: Challenges are there to everybody especially due to handling large numbers and marking books. Furthermore, those who joined school from the slum (not previously enrolled) were problematic being modelled to fit into the system. However they are now used and the situation has stabilized.

ME: Has there been any changes in the school as a result of having a diverse number of pupils?

R: Like having more classes especially the science labs have been converted into learning spaces.

ME: What about in terms of teaching, has there been any practice change as a result of these new pupils?

R: There is always a change although the government ought to provide more resources to facilitate learning.

ME: Are there any government pressures which affect the way you teach?

R: The pressure is on the workload due to large numbers. The expectation from parents and government mean that teachers have to work extra hard. Also the average performance has gone low leading to extra pressure in order to improve the score.

ME: As a result, I think you must have your own strategies to cope up with this. So what actually informs the way you teach?

R: It a combination of all factors, both of what you learnt in college and the prevailing situation. For instance there are many gifted and talented children in the class who are easily trainable to help you with marking and writing notes on the board. The teachers apply their own strategies mostly borrowing on the pool of resources in the class. The fast learners get bored if not given more work and therefore we use them to assist others because they understand better that way.

ME: I am just wondering whether this happens in neighbouring schools or is a culture here.

R: It a culture we have developed here in this school.

ME: Are there any changes which you would like to see that will make it a better place for everyone?

R: As for teaching and learning more resources ought to be availed by the government, parents and other stakeholders to make learning better.

ME: What spaces are worthy of including people or in other wards do you think there is anything that restricts participation of everyone in the school?

R: The curriculum is well organised but only suits the average but not those below average. Perhaps there should be a special unit to cater for the needs of those that lagging behind the curriculum.

ME: Finally, what is your view about exclusion of some tribes from the school after the violence?

R: Children do not necessarily view ethnic or tribal affiliations as a problem because they communicate using the same language. However, when they see their friends not coming to school they are likely to question it and mostly their parents might influence the way they perceive other tribes. On the other hand, those that are barred are also likely to learn something negative about the rest. But this can be changed if we guide and all pupils to understand the nature of the problems

END.

INTERVIEW WITH MARY

(Deputy head teacher – interview held at her office over lunch hour)

My intention was reinforced before the interview and I clarified the content of the project information sheet as a precursor to the interview. I tried to emphasise the importance of dialogue throughout the interview because of her concern that the question might be hard to answer. In fact, I realised that when interviewing people on subjects that they are not conversant with, they tend to struggle unless an elaborate effort is made to simplify what you mean. Whether this amount to contamination, it is neither necessary nor important in so far as facilitating dialogue is concerned.). I emphasized on the exploratory nature of my study in trying to understand how IE could be made a reality in the school before posing the first question

ME: What is your conception of IE?

M: IE helps children to learn together. The problem is that teachers are not well equipped with materials because we have so many diversities in the classrooms. Those with special needs are a bit difficult to include because not all teachers understand what to do with them. Teachers have a problem because of the number; hence there is hardly adequate time to attend to all especially the average and below average learners. Although we try to group them according to ability, sometimes the fast learners complete their assignments fast and while you attend to slow learners they start making noise. This leads to a situation in which all are treated as equals. (Clearly she raises a very important issue here, it is almost impossible to reach out to every learner when the class sizes are large and it's even worse when there are other groups of pupils with additional learning needs. How can equity then be achieved by equal treatment of unequals?). The government however expects a good mean score from us.

ME: Are there any pressures from the government which affect you?

M: We don't have any limitations on enrolment. We are supposed to enrol children throughout. The government doesn't expect us to turn children away. It doesn't matter when. In fact if you refuse to enrol a child, it is usually a problem the parent can report you. These pressures are complicated due to lack of facilities – infrastructure, there are no facilities to cater for all. Teacher ratio is also a problem, there are very few teachers.

ME: Given the fact that FPE has facilitated access, have there been any changes within the school to accommodate diversity?

M: Yes there is. We have teachers who are trained in special education and IE who assist those that don't have the skills. There is a teacher who is in charge of the special education

side of it (IE) especially those who have visual impairments. These teachers assist others who cannot handle particular situations and by so doing, diversity is accommodated.

ME: In your opinion, do you think there are pressures which are likely to exclude certain children?

M: Performance is one of the main pressures especially to those already experiencing difficulties, if they can't make it; there is no place for them here! Eventually they go away. If the number of staff was higher, I think it could be better because teachers are very stressed with a big work load. They are doctors, accountants' etc.; at least a ratio of 1:50 or 1: 40 would be better than the current 1:70.

ME: Despite this large class sizes, I'm surprised you still manage to perform well, what are your tactics?

M: The school has a good culture that has been carried on from generation to generation through joint partnerships between parents, pupils and teachers. The main emphasis here has been education and good performance. Most of the students are hardworking and we do our best to support them. Although the government does not pay well, we are trying hard. In fact, we treat pupils as our children (some teachers had their children studying there) and as a Christian; I know God will pay me. Teachers know their role is to teach, pupils to learn while parents support these efforts. This is the school motto which was started by Mrs N the first head teacher and has now been incorporated into the school culture. Some of the teachers who were there are still here and still pass it over to new ones. There has always been a believe that this is a good school and therefore we must work hard to maintain that name – very committed (I think parents don't care whatever happens to their children as long as parents promise good grades. This is evident because in spite of government banning of extra tuition and canning, it still happens and parents nor pupils report it to local education authorities).

ME: What informs the way teachers approach their teaching?

M: It's a wide variety of things. Teachers are in-serviced (trained on the job); they also have their own attitudes as a result of attending seminars and also borrow on the culture of the school.

ME: What is your opinion on student whipping?

M: It should not be there although to a certain extend it is good, just a bit of it (smiles). Personally, I do not administer corporal punishment but teachers have to be aware of this competition and will try to do what they can to remain competitive. Some of the children are very naughty and are either disrespectful or disobedient. It also depends on the environment

because the children come from areas where brutality is the order of the day. However, in order to include them, the school should be better than the community they come from. Our pupils come from rough backgrounds where parents are harsh and smack them. Even if they get whipped here, it cannot be compared to what happens at their homes. At least when they find that there is no brutality like in their homes, they feel more comfortable at school.

ME: In order to make schools barrier free as a government commitment to inclusion, every school was given some money to achieve this, do you have any information on this?

M: The money given was small compared to the work it was meant for. However it was utilised properly to that effect.

ME: Do you cater for children with disabilities?

M: They are there although it's not severe and mostly of their problems are invisible. We also have cases of children with behaviour problems (hyperactive) and also visual impairments … they are there but not the serious ones because we have special schools around us where they are enrolled.

(I promised to come back to her in order to be assisted to identify those with special learning needs. However, after an afterthought, I decided to embark on a 'discovery mission' for the fear of embarrassing the child – One teacher talked openly in the presence of others about the limitations of a particular child and I feared this could arise again in the identification mission.)

END

INTERVIEW WITH PETER

Peter is disabled policy official in charge of quality assurance in schools. This interview was held in an open office although there were minimal disturbances. The essence of my research was made clear and as a way expounding on the project information sheet, I used one of my research aims to elaborate my research. Mr Peter became paralysed following a road accident. He has been working in schools to ensure quality and is also specialised in the field of special education. He is currently anticipating pursuing a PhD course.

ME: What do you understand by inclusive education?

P: To start with, I want to say that we do not have policy on I.E but we have policy on special needs education. IE is good because it enhances the experiences of others and children benefit by being educated together. The major problem is that only a few teachers are trained in special needs education. But, given the large class sizes, there is a wide range of abilities some of which have special learning needs, below average, above average and behavioural problems, hyper, they can't sit and you are the only teacher in the class. Teachers have a problem because of the number; hence there is hardly adequate time to attend to all especially the average and below average learners. Of course IE comes as part of it (special needs education). [We are slightly interrupted by his colleague from another office but after he leaves I brought him back to our dialogue.] As pointed out earlier on, IE falls under special education, it is provided within that framework for learners with disabilities. This policy state that pupils with severe disabilities can attend special schools and those that are less severe can learn together with other pupils in regular schools. The ministry has been trying to modify infrastructure to make it possible for those with disabilities to be accommodated. (No wonder it gave 10,000 to each school to this effect. What of other forms of disabilities). That's why the money was disbursed to modify the environment. It is documented in sessional paper 2005. (In the dialogue I make an observation that having visited several schools, these improvements are not visible to which compares to the difference between policy and practice). In reality, many teachers don't understand the concept unless they have undergone training in it. Besides, some teachers have negative attitudes towards disabled children and don't care about the quality of education such children receive. Parents of learners without disabilities may not encourage schools practising inclusion. Also, teachers have low expectation for children with disabilities and therefore in class, teachers attend to those that have no disabilities. Because of performance base, teachers look at the children who are likely to perform better in national exams. They take their sweet time with children who have the potential to perform well.

ME: What are some of the exclusionary pressures?

P: Performance is one of them in addition to competition between schools which makes teachers keen on mean scores.

ME: The government is committed to international declarations and conventions whose content is laden with IE, which make our government committed to IE.

P: Yes the government is committed although the theories are not fully followed/ practised and that is why there is a difference between practice and theory.

ME: What is your role?

P: My role entails dealing with special education and also facilitating IE in regular schools by ensuring that schools reduce the barriers or get rid of barriers.

ME: Have there been any curricular changes to accommodate diversity?

P: These are done at KIE although they are meant for children who cannot cope with the regular curriculum, because other children who can cope are admitted to schools under IE without any adaptation at all. Some of the adaptations include differentiation of subject content.

ME: Are teachers informed or trained on IE?

P: Only those with special education training.

ME: In your opinion what needs to be done to accommodate diversity?

P: The teachers (whether trained or not) need to understand that children should learn in least restrictive environments, and should advocate to ensure that all barriers are removed – social, psychological. The government can pass this message to teachers because they have a huge responsibility in overcoming these barriers.

(I apologised for having kept the gentleman waiting and thanked him before posing a general question).

ME: Could you tell me about the policy process, how does policy come about?

P: Stakeholders in special needs make suggestions for government policy. These include national council for people with disabilities (NCPD), and other associations managed by various disability groups. The minister of education then sends it to the parliament for verifications. The government then designs a policy framework and implementation strategy is developed followed by inspections.

INTERVIEW WITH LORNA

(Lorna is a policy official in the Ministry of Education. She has a master's degree in IE and also works for quality assurance in schools. She was very co-operative and was concerned that the interview couldn't take place smoothly in the office. She had to take me to an alternative office where we concluded our dialogue. As a routine precursor, I made the necessary assurances about the academic nature of my research, ethical implications and expounded on the project information. There was an initial disturbance from a mobile call, perhaps someone was inviting her for lunch because it was almost lunch hour. Could this timing have affected the outcomes of our discussion? I think not because she pushed the interview forward so that she could set me free. We bumped onto each along the office corridors when she made the proposal)

ME: What is your personal opinion on what IE means?

L: From my opinion, inclusion as a concept means accepting each and every child who seeks for admission in any given school. So, first you give the access and relate the child's ability adequately and being able to use effective methods in the teaching of these children, not just telling them come in but someone should be able attend to their needs. In Kenya we are still at this 'teething' level where we are persuading teachers and parents to take them in which is better than when they were locked out of school. Previously the situation was not as good because those who could not get admission in regular schools sought it in special schools. Given the limited places in special schools, many had to be locked out or wait and in the process matured up. So at least the doors have been opened for all children. As it is the concept of inclusion remains at the level of opening doors first.

ME: Do you think FPE has facilitated IE?

L: Actually not fully because children with severe disabilities especially the mentally challenged are still refused in schools. Only a few cases of totally blind children are admitted but on condition that support is available. However in comparison to previous years, the initiation of FPE in 2003 has led to significant changes in schools. As IE has come to this country and the doors are now open, the ministry in liaison with support organizations will try to mobilize support and offer training to teachers … As teachers learn to accept disabled pupils in their classes, so will parents because some are opposed to IE. They see it as a way of dumping their children in the regular schools without necessarily learning anything. For instance, I have a deaf son and I similarly thought inclusion was bad. My son was previously attending a special school due to my opposition to the idea of inclusion. After my master's degree in inclusive education, my thoughts changed and I started to support inclusion and

even transferred him to a regular school. He now has learned to socialize with hearing peers and is happy to proceed in such education to secondary.

ME: What are some of the changes that need to be done in order to accommodate the diverse range of pupils?

L: A lot needs to be done especially to change teachers' beliefs and attitudes about teaching disabled children. We also have to enlighten parents about issues of disability because some still associate having disabled children with taboos and don't even want the public to know if their child is disabled. At least they need some form of enlightenment. There is need at the curricula level. Teacher curriculum needs to be reviewed so as to include IE element in it. Every teacher should be prepared to handle each and every child irrespective of their intellectual abilities. This curricular change needs to be an initial step. Teachers should understand the diverse needs of children in order to assist them without necessarily paying attention to disabilities. The next step would now be to change the curricula in class. It should be flexible in order to allow teachers to apply a range of materials and methods to deliver the curriculum. On the side of curriculum adaptation, we need to do more especially in regular schools and sensitize teachers on that. Having a special curriculum for special teachers in special schools is in itself exclusionary/ segregation. So we have been advising them to teach the same to all teachers so that regular school teachers can be able to adapt.

ME: One of the policy goals is set up regional centres to facilitate inclusion. How far has this been achieved?

L: We working towards that but because of funding limitations, the process will take some time. Once we have the required funds, we expect adequate support to be available for schools and even provide opportunities for assessing needs of children.

APPENDIX 5: PROJECT EXECUTION: 'TOOL BOXES'

This project execution section endeavours to give a flavour of my theoretical basis for applying my research tools. Additionally, it forms part of an 'audit trail' on how information was gathered. Nevertheless, it is not intended to show an expert understanding and knowledge about using the research tools because it is gives a simplistic and almost hierarchal approach to data gathering. For instance as Chapter Three exposes, not all plans could go ahead as planned and the tool box on the qualifying criteria for policy documents suffered a significant blow.

Documentary analysis

Documents as texts are created as the result of a series of processes, under various influences, and their communicative features are worthy of study if there is an interest about the conditions of their production and reception. The analysis of documents is an important aspect of establishing author's intentions and as a starting point; it is important to assume lack of knowledge of the document's origin and expressed intentions of the author.

Besides, the task of analysis becomes one of establishing the 'correct' interpretation of the text since documents are construed as expressions of particular information, ideas and intentions (Codd, 1988). As a form of enquiry, analysis of policy documents provides either the informational base upon which policy is constructed or the critical examination of existing policies (ibid.). To understand whether the latter aspects of policy are coherent or based on contradictory goals, questions such as what is the nature, context, purpose and content are very important (De Clercq, 1997). Consequently, the analysis can have a significant impact on closing the gap between what is and what can be. Thus, the precincts of my inquiry were aligned to the latter aspect which was simply analysis of policy as opposed to analysis for policy.

Although documentary analysis takes place in various stages, my analysis was guided by the research focus. Therefore, to achieve my objectives, a purposive sampling strategy focusing on aspects of policy that relate to IE will be used (Robson, 2002). However, such an approach is not without limitations because the selection and interpretation is open to biasness. This is because, texts can be decoded differently depending on the contexts they are read. Besides, just like in observations where researchers are directed by their tacit knowledge in deciding what is recorded as salient personal experiences and perceptions may

influence the analysis. Thus, clarity and transparency in selection of policies and criterion for making sense become very crucial.

The first step involved requesting for education policies and statements on IE from the director of education in the Ministry of Education and heads of the selected schools. Besides, general and SEN policies were also requested to provide the perspective under which IE operates. As part of providing clarity, IE policies were defined as explicit statements about inclusion that have been approved by government or school authorities to govern the direction and the limits within which action are taken (Duhaney, 1999).

In ascertaining which policy documents /statements on inclusion were selected for further review, a preliminary analysis was carried to choose those that revolved around the following criterion:

i. Documents using the terms; inclusion, full inclusion, inclusive schooling or inclusive education,
ii. Those that explicitly indicate their position on inclusion. For instance, statements making reference to total integration of SEN or disabled children if such a typology of inclusion has been adopted,
iii. Statements embedded in the general education policies/statements that may not directly point at IE but may have an indirect influence to the practice. Such decisions will be informed by theories of inclusion.

The second phase of this analysis would pay attention to details of the policy content using an integrated framework building on the work of Peters (2007) and Duhaney (1999). In examining the content of policies following their framework, the values, assumptions and ideologies underpinning IE policies will be scrutinized. This was expected to generate statements and standpoints whose analysis would provide clues about conflicts between government policy on inclusion and the lived reality in school. Within this process, making sense would be guided by creative imagination and theoretical ideas developed from literature review. After the analysis, conflicts and contradictions as well as attributes of policy will be grouped into either policy resources or barriers to inclusion in order to advance arguments for a comprehensive policy approach. Mainly the purpose of having the ‘tool box’, helping me to understand the aspirations contained in policies. Thus, the following guidelines became very necessary:

1. What is the philosophy in them?
2. Are they connected to any implementation strategy?
3. What legal aspects of inclusion have been addressed?
4. What educational components on inclusion have been identified?
5. What is the range of personnel issues discussed?
6. Based on these policies, where should related services be delivered?
7. What placement issues have been identified?
8. Can they work within the current school context?
9. To what extent are they [dis]connected to the wider educational policy?

The analysis began at formal level through scrutiny of various official documents in the Ministry of Education and schools. However specific focus was made on discourses that either directly or indirectly addressed inclusive education to identify the prescriptions and contradictions in them. After this analysis, my focus turned to the complex process of relating policy discourses to the actual experiences in schools.

Focus Group discussions

Creswell (2005) defines them as a process of collecting data by interviewing a group rather than an individual. It is further seen as systematic questioning of several individuals simultaneously. However Cohen *et al*. (2004) emphasize that the group is specifically chosen to discuss the issue being examined. The researcher asks questions and moderates the group to ensure each person is given a chance to contribute and at the same time keep focus (Creswell, 2005). This can either be exploratory or help to understand information gained from other sources.

Focus groups are traditionally associated with business and marketing research, used to ascertain people's views on particular issues, such as the features of a new product, the delivery of a service or voter responses to the direction of policies. The development and instrumentation of focus groups in corporate fields has largely been framed within a positivist, empiricist perspective, with the ultimate aim of measurement and approximation of attitudes. (Bloor *et al.,* 2001).

Focus group discussions are useful in studies geared towards investigating interactions within groups and gaining insight into the attitudes and perceptions of individuals on a wide range of issues. Bloor *et al.*, (2001) suggest that there are three reasons for this increased interest, they posit that: (i) 'focus groups can yield data on the meanings that lie

behind group assessments' (ii) 'yield data on the uncertainties, ambiguities, and group processes that lead to and underlie group assessments' and (iii) 'throw light on the normative understandings that groups draw upon to reach their collective judgements' (p. 4). Besides, the economies of scale a focus group offers adds to its appeal, since large amount of data from a range of people with differing perspectives may be gathered in a short time, at minimal cost.

In addition to emerging issues from the data, open dialogues were geared towards stimulation of discussions that revolved around the following areas of inquiry:

1. What IE meant to them
2. How pupils felt included/excluded in the school?
3. Who was missing out of education or should come to school
4. What sort of things/changes would make learning more inclusive

Observations

During an observation many things are 'brought to light' and can be used to validate data collected from other tools. As a technique of data collection involves noting phenomenon and recording it for several purposes. Although it may be thought as an act of looking, much of what is seen is connected to the brain and the thought process evoked leads to various interpretations. However it's susceptibility to observer biases and demand on time can make researchers use other means of data collection. In addition, observer biases can influence the researcher and may originate from undue concern with theory which holds back development of Knowledge (Moore *et al.*, 2003). Other than providing opportunities for things that routinely escape conscious, the researcher can learn things the participants may be unwilling to talk about in the interview.

Among the various typologies which illustrate the researcher role in observation, (Robson, 2002), the design of my role was a non participant (not involved in their teaching) observer. Besides taking a non participant stance, I will approach the observation from a wide angle; an approach synonymous to what Hopkins (1993) refers to as 'open observation'. In this approach, a blank piece of paper is used to record the lesson by noting key points or making a verbatim record of the classroom transactions and then reconstruct the lesson (ibid.) in relation to my research focus.

Observation was considered an important tool in my research because it can illuminate important elements that may not be captured by other methods. Although considered to be a supplementary technique in the collection of data, I used it to set in perspective data obtained from interviews and documentary analysis.

During an observation many things are 'brought to light' and can be used to validate data collected during interviews. For instance the policy document emphasized the importance of preferential sitting and encouraging all students to assist each other during group work as part of encouraging social interactions; something that teachers may claim in the interviews even if that is not the case.

Although it may be thought as an act of looking, much of what is seen is connected to the brain and the thought process evoked leads to various interpretations. However its susceptibility to observer biases and demand on time can make researchers use other means of data collected. In addition, observer biases can influence the researcher and may originate from undue concern with theory which holds back development of Knowledge (Moore *et al.*, 2003). Other than providing opportunities for things that routinely escape conscious, the researcher can learn things the participants may be unwilling to talk about in the interview.

The directness involved in observation helps to capture 'real life in the real world' and the resulting information can be used to complement other techniques (Robson, 2002). Despite the limitations associated with observations such as seeing what you want to see and inherent difficulties especially regarding personal biases that may lead to certain features getting more attention, Willig (2001) argues that a careful and well planned observation can help illuminate even the most familiar of events. Furthermore observations make it possible to see in detail things taken for granted by those involved (Robson, 2002). This was a suitable approach for my research as it enabled me capture the whole class and then decide on what elements were relevant to my research. Of course it is disadvantageous in that many things happen within the class and thus the researcher is likely to ignore certain aspects of the class. Despite the disadvantages of such an approach, it provides an opportunity to explore and develop rich descriptions of class dynamics.

Although my presence in the class would have created some tensions and 'artificial behaviour' I relied on my own sensitivity to the observation and the trust that our previous contacts and declaration of my purpose in the class brought things to normal. Furthermore, despite the advantage of getting real life in the real world, I realised it is not easy to capture the class life within a short time due to the dynamics within a class.

I did not have a checklist for the observation as I wanted to get a whole picture of what happened in the class. Despite this carefulness to capture the whole class activities, I still found myself paying more attention to features such as learning in overcrowded conditions, discipline and punishment, and how teachers managed diversity within the class which is consistent to Wolfinger's (2002) claim that researchers are directed by their tacit knowledge which influences what is recorded. All the observations were recorded in a note book and full narrative accounts developed afterwards.

Interviews

In depth data from insiders can be obtained through probes and prompts on issues raised by the participant (Cohen *et al*., 2004). Besides, there is an advantage of gathering non-verbal data (Cresswell, 2005, Bryman, 2004). Semi structured interviews combine the characteristics of both un and structured.

As one of the main tool of generating information, interviews are quite useful especially in following up prompts and clarification of any doubts from observation or analyzed documents. Many aspects come out during interviews because the interviewees reveal their beliefs values and many aspects that help to illuminate the research question. As highlighted by Bell (1999; p. 135) 'a skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings, which the questionnaire can never do'. The way in which a response is made can provide information that a written response would conceal. Besides, interviews enable one to probe respondent's opinions and feelings because there is room to clarify doubts.

Consequently, the engagement in a conversation with the interviewee gives a chance for the researcher to understand the values, beliefs and perception of the research problem (Bosworth et al, 1993). An additional advantage of using this technique relates to the fact the engagement in a conversation with the interviewee gives a chance for the researcher to understand the values, beliefs and perception of the research problem.

However, Povey *et al.*, (2001) acknowledge that despite the advantages such as observing facial expressions and body language, it may create tension and anxiety that can be worsened by environmental distractions. Environmental distractions are particularly disturbing when an interview is conducted in a noise environment that is devoid of privacy. For instance, when conducting interviews in an open place like a staffroom, teachers may not be free to give their opinions in case their colleagues 'pop in'. Such distractions cannot be ignored because they were a common occurrence in my research because interviews were

contacted in noisy surroundings. This can form a basis for the view that, teachers may fear giving negative opinions against the school when a member of staff is present thus opting for brief or provide positive responses.

Among the different typologies of interviewing, Powney and Watts (1987) have classified them into informant and respondent which are used to suite different situations depending on the purpose of the research. While in respondent interviews the locus of control is the researcher, the respondents are the locus of control in informant interviews and are geared towards gaining insights into the perceptions of people (ibid.). With this in mind, my interviews were designed to elicit as much information as possible which would then be interpreted to illuminate my research problem and therefore warranted a semi-structured respondent approach. However an attempt will be made to make the interview a purposeful conversation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) in order to bridge the relational gap.

The interviews were designed to take place in two phases; phase one after class observations while phase two would follow after the focus group discussions. This however proved to be impractical given the busy school schedules and preparation for end of year exams. Instead, the order was ‘abolished’ and availability of participants became a priority. Following the difficulties which led to changes in the design of the research techniques I concur with Bassey’s (1993) idea that a case study research has neither unique set procedures nor specific methods of approach for data collection or of analysis. The process is rhizomatic, ‘eclectic and in preparing a case study researchers use whatever methods seem to them to be appropriate’ (ibid., p. 69).

The interviews were one-to-one and were considered useful in the research because apart from being easy to manage, they allow issues to be kept confidential and are more straightforward to analyze (Powney and Watts, 1987). All interviews were to be tape recorded but when it was not possible, a note book was used to write main issues.

Despite the merits of a one-to-one interview, the way it is conducted can adversely affect the outcomes of the inquiry. In particular interviewer and interviewee biases may distort the collected data depending on the interview is conducted and whether a dynamic situation is created. On the other hand interviewees can be a great source of bias especially when they decide to say what they think you want to know or decide to conceal some information. This was appeared to be the case when I interviewed policy officials because other than wanting to assert their authority and demonstrate their commitments, they appeared to emphasize on the points they thought I should take home.

To capture teachers' world views and descriptions of their practices and perspectives of the reform process, observations were followed up with dialogic interviews. Interview questions were designed to be dialogic in order to make them more conversation. Thus, rather than have a list of questions, I had developed areas of inquiry salient to my research upon which the face to face interviews with policy officials and teachers were based. The areas of inquiry that acted as the middles/ guidelines from which my data gathering progressed were as follows:

1. How inclusive education was conceptualized
2. How processes of inclusion and exclusion were experienced
3. Whether / how IE policy affected school practices
4. What direction they thought would be better for IE ethos to be realized
5. To what extend had school practices changed/ anticipated towards an inclusive direction
6. The challenges experienced in the struggle and the way forward?

APPENDIX 6: A SUMMARY OF KENYAN POLICY ON INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

Introduction

- As a multi-ethnic state, there are more than 40 ethnic languages. Kiswahili and English are official
- Regional imbalances and disparities in development and a widening chasm between haves and have nots
- Since education and politics are hardly separable, politics plays a big role in educational reform (Muuya, 2002)
- E.g. the inception of free primary education in 2003 was a political strategy which helped a new government to come in power
- However it is faced with competing priorities with limited resources
- This has led to a tendency of relying on external funding to run her initiatives

Antecedents and policy evolution

- IE has a knowledge base in traditional special education (segregated schools supported by charities and NGO's)
- Through task forces, commissions of inquiry, education for disabled learners has been at the core of policy development (MOEST, 2005 – limited implementation)
- In an attempt to 'chase the wind' like other developing countries, policy on inclusion is largely influenced by western ideas (Muuya, 2002; p. 230)
- In line with the Dakar framework for action (2000) education at primary level is free
- This led to an estimated increase in enrolment by 1.5 million learners (MOEST, 2005) - IE seen as 'opening doors'

NB/ Adults as old as 85 years old enrolled in class one (for 6 year olds)

Inclusive or exclusionary education?

- Despite the diverse range of other groups of learners, a disability focused approach to inclusion is still predominant
- This is despite the open door policy for all
- From a special education knowledge base, experts are needed to support/ deal with the individual deficit with bureaucratic processes of resource calculations and stigmatization (Kearne and Kane, 2006)

- Narrow policy views which are tree like (problem-solution oriented ignore the real issues

Personal Reflections

- Policy assumes a certain degree of conformity and tends to impose order (if you get it right, things will work)
- From a rhizomatic perspective, IE as a process develops through *involution* and is fraught with complexities and competing priorities (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987)
- Works amidst other exclusionary forces (e.g. Competition, poverty, attitudes, regional inequalities etc.)
- However, the striations in policy, lead to complexities at the interface with practice (cuts across sectors of the economy)
- Solution based approaches are sought without looking at 'wider sectorial reform' approach (looking for connections)
- Education is still seen not just as a way of acquiring knowledge to participating in the global arena but a means to an end (economic)
- Within a competitive education climate, only the fittest survive and the winner takes all.