International
Institute of
Social Studies

Brokers of Inclusion:

Understanding the role of school leaders in the successful implementation of Inclusive Education practices in primary schools in Zambia

A Research Paper presented by:

Esther Wanja Kamaara

(Kenya)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Social Policy for Development

(SPD)

Specialization: Children and Youth Specialization

Members of the Examining Committee:

Prof Auma Okwany, PhD
Dr. Willem Elbers

The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2021

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

International Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl
twitter: @issnl

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Contents

Acknowledgements *v*

List of Table *vi*

List of Figures *vi*

List of Appendices *vi*

List of Acronyms *vii*

Abstract *viii*

Chapter 1 Understanding Inclusive Education Policy and Practice **1**

1.1 What is Inclusive Education? 1

1.2 Framing the Research Problem 2

1.3 History of IE Policy and Practice in Zambia 3

1.4 Accounts of School Leaders in Inclusive Education 5

1.5 Demystifying School leaders' choices and behaviours 5

Chapter 2 Investigating the Brokerage of IE using a Qualitative Approach **7**

2.1 Evidencing Inclusive Education Practices in Schools 7

2.2 Sampling and Interviewing IE stakeholders 8

Table 2.1 Representation of IE stakeholders interviewed 8

2.3 Ethical considerations during research 9

2.4 Reflections on positionality and research methodology 10

Chapter 3 Conceptualising Generational and Societal Relations **11**

3.1 Linking childhood, disability, and marginality to IE 11

3.2 Associating Street Level Bureaucracy, Positive Deviancy and Agency 12

Chapter 4 Tackling Attitudes: School leaders subverting dominant IE perceptions **16**

4.1 Addressing CWD's self-esteem and confidence 16

4.2 Negotiating with parents 18

4.3 Influencing Communities 20

Chapter 5 Contesting Scarcity: School leaders optimising minimally available resources **22**

5.1 Applying themselves 22

5.2 Muddling through 23

5.3 Leveraging on their community 24

5.4 Innovating to fit context 25

Chapter 6 Conclusion and Policy Implications **27**
6.1 Positive Deviance Enhancers 27
6.2 IE Implementation Tactics 29
6.3 Policy Implications 31
6.4 Conclusion 32
Appendices *33*
References *41*

Acknowledgements

This research paper would not have been possible without the dedicated support of Professor Auma Okwany. Thank you for 16 months of gentle mentorship, sharp critique, and constant laughter. You have been an incredibly patient and persistent teacher, the ultimate broker of inclusion. Thank you for gracefully personifying a true example of a humanist and an educationist.

My sincere gratitude to Dr. Willem Elbers, for granting me the opportunity to participate in the Breaking down Barriers project. Thank you for guiding me through the research process, for your timely and constructive feedback, and most importantly, for pushing me to simultaneously navigate the worlds of academia and practice. You are an exemplary pracademic, thank you for sharing your stage with me.

To the Breaking down Barriers project partners, Nicky Bor from Liliane Fonds, Kamima Nguni and Team from Cheshire Homes Society of Zambia, Dr. Thomas Mtonga and Oscar Kahemba from the University of Zambia, thank you all for your invaluable support during my field work in Zambia.

A special thanks to Mrs. Rebecca Miano, Managing Director and CEO, KenGen PLC and Mr. Anthony Igecha, Managing Trustee, KenGen Foundation for supporting my professional growth through granting me study leave from my duties at the foundation. Thank you for nurturing my potential.

To my parents, P.M. Kamaara and Dr. Mary Kamaara, I cannot put in words what your financial sacrifice and emotional support has meant to me during the period of my masters program. Dad, thank you for your long text messages of prayers and affirmations. Mom, thank you for your regular refreshing calls, full of the latest household updates. Thank you both for being examples of what it entails to chase after one's dreams and excel. To my siblings Nduta and Mwaura, thank you for your constant encouragement. To my niece, Wanjira, thank you for keeping my spirit light.

To my friends at ISS, especially Surabhi Srivastava, Eric Mattaba, Sheriffa Awudu and Rasheed Ahmed thank you for challenging my mindset, contributing to my academic and personal growth and for your input in this paper.

Last but certainly not least, I am indebted to all my research participants who graciously shared with me their inclusion narratives; particularly the five school leaders whose exceptional actions are the mainstay of this research paper. Thank you for your resilience towards an inclusive and just society. I am deeply inspired. Zikomo Kwambiri.

I dedicate this paper to all the Children with Disabilities across Zambia, their parents, and their school leaders.

List of Table

Table 2.1 Representation of IE stakeholders interviewed 8

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 Model of dominant street-level bureaucratic behaviour **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

Figure 3.2 The Triadic Reciprocal Framework Core Agency Concepts (TRFCAC) 15

Figure 6.1 The intersection of enhancers of positive deviance by school leaders 28

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 Inclusive Education Implementation Progress (IEIP) Framework 33

Appendix 2 Interview Guides 34

Appendix 3 Link to National News Feature 37

Appendix 4 Pictures from Field Work Research 37

Appendix 5 Sample of Consent Forms 40

List of Acronyms

IE	Inclusive Education
LSEN	Learners with Special Education Needs
CWD	Children with Disabilities
SLB	Street Level Bureaucrats
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
ZANEC	Zambia National Educational Coalition
UNESCO	The United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organisation
ILP	Individualised Learning Plans
PWD	People with Disabilities
CBR	Community Based Rehabilitation

Abstract

The successful implementation of inclusive education for children with disabilities remains elusive in many countries despite ratification and domestication of international inclusive education treaties. This is caused by numerous socio-economic factors like poverty, lack of trained teachers, lack of teaching and learning devices etc. Whereas this is true for IE in Zambia, some school leaders have made commendable strides in implementing inclusive education practices.

Through analysing the generational and social relations embedded in inclusion narratives of various IE stakeholders, this study unearths how some school leaders manage to implement IE practices despite operating in unfavourable working conditions. It presents successful school leaders as brokers of inclusion by showing how they outwit the attitudinal and structural barriers they face during IE implementation.

This study encourages IE stakeholders in governance, academia, and practice to continue with the plea of ensuring the right to education is exercised by all children. It challenges them to do so exponentially by revealing that it is indeed possible.

Relevance to Development Studies

The disparity between inclusive education policy and practice has been highlighted by many scholars, citing social, economic, and political challenges that impede the successful implementation of IE policy. However, the role of school leaders in the administration of inclusion has not been extensively researched despite them being a "connecting link between a large bureaucratic system and the individual daily experiences of many children and adults" (Rousmaniere 2013). Additionally, the minimal research carried out on them is dominated by a negative narrative of their unruly practices and lack of discipline (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003, Kapingidza 2014). This research therefore contributes to the budding literature that highlights school leaders as proponents of inclusion through their actions. Its outcomes highlight informal innovative strategies that showcase the potential of IE practices. These innovative solutions can be investigated further for possible replication and scaling.

Keywords

Children with Disabilities, Inclusive Education, School Leaders.

Chapter 1 Understanding Inclusive Education Policy and Practice

Out of the millions of children with disabilities across Africa, 90% do not exercise their right to education (WHO 2011). This reality persists despite the presence of numerous policies designed to ensure their inclusion in educational opportunities. A significant challenge with the practice of inclusive education is that it is posited in a society based on inequality (Sayed and Soudien 2003: 12). Consequently, inclusive education (IE) in practice, due to negative attitudes and politicised systems remains unresponsive to the needs of children with disabilities (Reiser 2012: 20).

The glaring disparity between IE policy and practice has been addressed by several scholars (Parrilla 2007, Graham and Slee 2008, Aiyar et al. 2015, Mtonga 2015); often showcasing the gross barriers encountered during policy implementation. Few scholars like Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) and Kapingidza (2014), have addressed the crucial role of school leaders[1] in the implementation of education policy. Even fewer like Undie and Birungi (2016) have studied the role of school leaders from a constructive lens (where they showcase them as positive contributors to the policy implementation process); which is the lens my research has applied.

In this research paper, I unpack how five school leaders across three primary schools in Zambia have been able to contribute to remarkable progress of IE implementation in their schools; despite their impending socio- economic environment. Through a qualitative approach, I highlight the strategies they applied to circumvent their implementation challenges and analyse the factors and dynamics that capacitate them to do so. It is their action of outwitting their exclusionary education system, to ensure inclusion of CWD, that earns them the title; brokers of inclusion. I assert that their brokerage revolves around two main endeavours: tackling attitudinal barriers and contesting the scarcity of resources.

I use this first chapter to provide an overview of the research topic. I begin by showcasing how inclusive education is defined by various stakeholders and framing the research problem. Then, I highlight the history of IE policy and practice in Zambia and showcase the recorded accounts of the roles school leaders in inclusive education practice. I conclude by presenting my research questions and elaborating on the organisation of the rest of my research paper.

1.1 What is Inclusive Education?

As I set out for my research, I defined it as a process where education stakeholders ensure all children learn together and progress according to their learning abilities in an environment that is physically and socially favourable. This definition is in line with the one from a school leader who participated in this study, who defined it as "the type of education offered to learners with special education needs together with those that do not have special needs; where they all learn side by side in the same class or in the same environment."

[1] School leaders is this research refer to teachers who have administrative responsibilities in their schools

From the perspective of Luyando Maria Dimuna, a nine-year-old, Zambian deafblind girl, inclusive education means, "learning and playing together with children who are disabled and non-disabled" (EENET, 2018). This streamlines the definition from policy bodies like United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and Zambia's Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education (MESVTEE) who define it as "a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which covers all children of the appropriate age range and a conviction that it is the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children" (UNESCO, 2005: 13) and "a process of enabling all children to learn and participate effectively within the mainstream education system" (MESVTEE 2015: 4), respectively.

The Zambian MESVTEE recognises three ways in which schools practice inclusion of CWD; social, academic, and functional inclusion. Social inclusion refers to instances where schools have a special education unit where all learners with special education needs (LSEN) are placed during learning periods and socially interact with others during break times. Academic inclusion refers to able-bodied learners and LSEN often learning in the same class, but LSEN are separated, and in some instances go to a resource room to concretise lessons. Functional inclusion refers to all learners with or without special education needs experiencing all aspects of learning together in the same classroom (ibid).

1.2 Framing the Research Problem

Historically, formal education was simply not offered to children with disabilities. They faced severe social exclusion and were only institutionalised for rehabilitation. When it began to be offered, it was termed special education and it involved enrolment of children with disabilities to special schools (Winzer 2014). These special schools offered education to children with the same disability e.g., school for the blind, school for the deaf etc. Placements into schools were based on the prevalent disability of the child. It is argued that this inclusion of CWD into the education system created physical inclusion in schools, but still perpetuated educational and social exclusion. That it simply moved children with disabilities from isolation to segregation (ibid).

The special education versus inclusive education debate persists amongst scholars in education and people with disabilities arenas. Some scholars are proponents of special education, stating benefits like teachers' ability to offer required focus on the children and increase in children's self-esteem by being around others with similar disabilities. On the other hand, opponents of it state severe problems with special education practices like delayed academic achievement and that it encourages labelling (Wang 2009). They assert that inclusion into mainstream classes would be a means of equipping CWD into better self-supportive adults in the future (Jenkinson, 1997 in Wang 2009). Despite debate, IE is currently promoted as the golden standard as it is centred on the principles of human rights. However, the shift from integration to inclusion faces many challenges as its implementation is rooted on the fact that societal exclusion of CWD prevails.

A recent situational analysis on education provision for CWD in Zambia by the Zambia National Educational Coalition (ZANEC) notes that the challenges facing IE implementation include poverty, lack of acceptance by parents, long distances to schools, lack of assistive devices, lack of teaching and learning materials, lack of trained teachers and unfavourable infrastructure designs (Simui and Mtonga, 2014). These grave challenges mark the point of departure of my research as I analyse how some school leaders' manoeuvre around them to make notable progress in IE implementation at their schools. In the next subsection, I elaborate on the history of inclusive education policy and practice in Zambia.

1.3 History of IE Policy and Practice in Zambia

Formal education as Zambian children experience today was brought forth in the 19th century by missionaries. Before that, the small tribal groups that lived in organised societies in present Zambia generationally passed down knowledge in an "informal, utilitarian, conservative, geographical and religious" manner (Mtonga 2015: 4). After independence in 1964, the government of Zambia sought to align the county's education practices to the global ones which were centred on education as a human right.

- **Inclusive Education Policy**

Several international education treaties have been created to implement the right to education. In 1948, Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stated that 'every child has the right to education and education shall be free in the elementary and fundamental stages' (United Nations, 1948). In 1989, Article 28 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) stated that children and young people have the right to education no matter who they are: regardless of race, gender, or disability, if they're in detention, or if they are refugees (United Nation,1989).

Further, to cater to the educational exclusion of children with disabilities (CWD), in 1994, The UNESCO Salamanca Statement, provided a framework with the guiding principle that 'ordinary schools should accommodate all children, regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic, or other conditions' (UNESCO, 1994). This was followed by Article 24 of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) in 2006, which states that children with disabilities should not be discriminated against and should be able to participate in the general education system (United Nations, 2006).

Zambia has ratified all international treaties and has made several domestication efforts to implement inclusive education. The most recent of these efforts include the development of the Inclusive Education Needs Implementation Guidelines (2015) by the MESVTEE. The guidelines clearly depict recommendation on administration and management of inclusive institutions, enrolment, assessment processes of CWD, curriculum and classroom practices. Furthermore, Zambia National Policy on Disability (2015) commits to 'providing access to appropriate formal and non-formal education and skills training including life-long learning by putting in place inclusive education at all levels.' IE in Zambia has been shaped by three education policies: The Education Reform Document (1977), Focus on Learning (1992) and Educating our Future (1996).

- **Inclusive Education Practice**

The initial provision of formal education to CWD in Zambia was first by missionaries, over 100 years ago in 1905 at Magwero School for the blind which only catered to blind children. Prior to that, no CWD had access to formal education (Chitiyo et al, 2015). After independence in 1964, the government of Zambia made progress in ensuring the education of children with disabilities by nationalising all mission special education schools and introducing a college for teachers to be trained on special education in 1972 called Lusaka College of Teachers of the Handicapped (LUCOTEH) (Simui and Mtonga, 2014).

In 1997, the Zambian government introduced inclusive education through a pilot programme (Inclusive Schooling Programme – INSPRO) focusing on selected primary schools in Kalulushi District in the Copperbelt Province with the support of the Finnish International Development Agency. In 2002, a positive evaluation of the programme led to its expansion to 16 more districts across Zambia (Kangwa et al. 2003: 6). This was followed by several inclusive education projects by NGOs e.g., by the Irish Aid in 2000 in Kasama and Mbala Districts of Northern Province, by Leonard Cheshire in partnership with Cheshire Homes Society of Zambia in Chongwe District between 2010-2013, Lusaka and Monze District between 2014 -2017 in Southern province. These projects involved enrolment of children with disabilities to mainstream schools (Mtonga et al, 2018).

In 2002, Zambia implemented a universal basic education policy causing an increase in pupil enrolment by 78% in 2003 (Ndhlovu et al 2014: 3). Zambia National Education Coalition (ZANEC) – a coalition of non-state actors in Zambia - reported an increase in government investment in primary schools to cater for the enrolment surge (Chondoka and Machila 2013 :42). Nonetheless, this trend did not apply for children with disabilities as out of the 1.6 million CWD only 2% go to school (ibid). Additionally, Zambia Agency for Persons with Disabilities (ZAPD) reported that only three out of five CWD would enrol at first grade level. Out of those three, only one would reach twelfth grade (ZAPD, 2009). When these statistics are analysed, it is noted that they vary considerably depending on the type of the disability, the degree of disability and other factors such as gender, location, and age and their intersectionality (Simui and Mtonga 2014).

Despite ratification and domestication of global treaties, implementation of inclusive education in Zambia faces many challenges with only 1.5% of learning institutions being classified as possessing inclusive characteristics `(ibid). These challenges are caused by a myriad of factors such as lack of funding, insufficient planning of measures to respond to the diversity of learning needs, weak inter-ministry/sectoral/service links, education apathy, poverty, lack of acceptance by parents, long distances to schools, lack of assistive devices, lack of teaching and learning materials, lack of trained teachers, unfavourable infrastructure designs and competing factors such as child labour (Reiser 2012; Simui and Mtonga, 2014).

The weight of these impending factors is particularly felt by the local administrators of IE implementation, school leaders. In the following sub-section, I showcase school leaders' narratives in response to these implementation challenges.

1.4 Accounts of School Leaders in Inclusive Education

The dominant narrative of school leaders regarding their coping mechanisms to IE implementation challenges is negative. It connotes that school leaders contribute to the barriers of IE implementation through their negative attitudes and manipulation of a frail system.

Kapingidza's (2014: x) research on 'The Social Impact of the Zimbabwean Crisis on Access and Quality of Education', corroborates this narrative by showcasing that demoralised secondary school teachers in rural Zimbabwe adapt to their poor working conditions by engaging in unruly practices like deliberate absenteeism, abuse of power and corporal punishment. Additionally, Khochen and Radford (2012) and Shiwani et al (2021), state that the negative attitudes of school leaders are the main contributors to failure in IE policy implementation in schools.

Nonetheless, in this paper, I argue that this is an imbalanced and incomplete narrative of the contributions made by school leaders towards the implementation of IE. My claim is in line with Undie and Birungi's (2016: 166-180) research findings on school principals' engagement in the school re-entry policy implementation in Kenya. While they acknowledge encountering the dominant narrative of unsupportive principals in their research, they submit that school principals are not a monolith. They illustrate this by expounding on the strategies and innovations made by some principals towards successful implementation of the policy.

Complimentarily, there are recorded accounts of progress made towards implementation of IE caused by school leaders. One example is through a collaborative effort of two school leaders in Solihull, England who work with children, families, and schools to ensure that early interventions are made to get CWD to join mainstream schools as their first school encounter. They did this by offering preschool support to CWD, before assessment and placement into schools for their early childhood education (Herbert and Moir 1996).

Another example is the 'Democratization of the Classroom' initiative by a teacher in Mpika town in Northern Zambia, where a mainstream classroom was successfully transformed to an inclusive classroom by recruiting children with disabilities. The teacher succeeded at this through the support of his headmaster and by using his able-bodied students as recruiters. Additionally, he created a buddy system where he paired an able-bodied child with a child with a disability and introduced cooperative learning (EENET, 2021). As a result of this successful endeavour the 'Twinning for Inclusion' – A Child to Child Project in Zambia was established and ran across sixteen primary schools, with the aim of improving education opportunities for disabled children (EENET, 2021).

1.5 Demystifying School leaders' choices and behaviours

As illustrated by scholars in the preceding sub-section, some school leaders give into the impeding socio-economic barriers and fail to implement IE policies. Contrarily, others break down those barriers and contribute to the progressive implementation of IE in their schools. However, limited research has been carried out on *how* some succeed, and others do not. By nuancing inclusion narratives of different IE stakeholders, my research attempts to address this scholarly gap. Consequently, my main research question is, "How have some school leaders been able to contribute to the progressive implementation of inclusive education?" and my sub-questions are:

1) What strategies used by school leaders contributed to the progressive implementation of inclusive education?
2) What influences school leaders' choices and behaviours?
3) What characteristics do the school leaders who contribute to progressive IE implementation embody?

This paper is organized into six main chapters with this first chapter serving as an overview of the research topic and the second chapter presenting the qualitative approach, I took to carry out my data collection. In the third chapter, I display the conceptual frameworks that inform the critical lens I use to analyse the anomalous nature of the school leaders who contributed to IE implementation progress. In chapters four and five, I showcase the two thematic strategies engaged in by these successful school leaders and highlight factors that capacitate their actions. Lastly, I submit policy, research, and practice implications for the successful implementation of inclusive education.

Chapter 2 Investigating the Brokerage of IE using a Qualitative Approach

For my study, I carried out field work research in three schools across three provinces (Eastern, Southern and Lusaka provinces) in Zambia, between 7th July and 26th August 2021. In this chapter, I showcase my research methodology by beginning with a display of my school selection process, then showcasing how I sampled and interviewed diverse IE stakeholders. In the concluding sub-sections, I present the ethical considerations I took in during my field work; and reflect on my positionality as well as my methodology.

Before detailing my methodology, it is prudent to highlight that my research is part of the Breaking down Barriers project, whose research outcomes inform the designing of evidence-based programs at Liliane Fonds (a Dutch NGO). Liliane Fonds' focus is on offering tailor-made support to children with disabilities on healthcare, education, and the labour market through local partner organisations. After a successful first phase of the Breaking down Barriers project between 2016-2019, Breaking down Barriers 2.0 was launched in July 2021 with its focus theme for the year being Inclusive Education. The project involves carrying out cross-country research in three countries across Africa: Sierra Leone, Cameroon, and Zambia.

To ensure ownership & local relevance of the research, each country has a local academic partner and local organisation partner. In the case of Zambia, the local academic partner is Dr. Thomas Mtonga from the University of Zambia. The local organisation partner is Cheshire Homes Society of Zambia led by Mr. Kamima Nguni. As part of the project, I worked with a research partner, Mr. Oscar Kahemba; a local masters student pursuing his M.A in Education at University of Zambia.

2.1 Evidencing Inclusive Education Practices in Schools

To ensure I worked with schools that met the inclusion criteria suitable for my research, I created an index that would indicate considerable progress in IE implementation by schools. This index comprised of the following eight aspects; learning facilitated in appropriate communication methods, suitable infrastructure, appropriate educational materials, continuous training of teachers, assessment and evaluation of LSEN, sustainability measures, exemption of fees and parental or guardian involvement. I call it the "Inclusive Education Implementation Progress" (IEIP) framework[2]; and derive its aspects from the main attitudinal and structural IE implementation challenges as highlighted by the Zambian IE guidelines (MESVTEE) and the dimensions focussed on in the Index for inclusion by Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education (Reiser 2012: 234).

Two schools from each of the selected provinces were proposed by the local research project partners, Dr. Mtonga and Mr. Kamima. I then took the total of six schools through the framework to purposively select three (one per province to ensure variance in location) that would be good representatives for my research. My analysis of their school's progress was based on coding of transcripts from investigative semi-structured interviews that I

[2] See Appendix 1

carried out with head teachers from the six schools. I prepared interview guides[3] prior to the interviews that revolved around four themes: the school background, IE policy and practice, school leader contribution to IE and sustainability measures. The three schools that met the IE implementation progress criteria were: Mchini Primary School in Eastern Province, Shungu na Mtitima Primary School in Southern Province and Kansenje Primary School in Lusaka Province.

2.2 Sampling and Interviewing IE stakeholders

In several contexts, school leadership is synonymous with the head teacher, however in my research, I recognise a school leader as a teacher with an administrative role within the school. This could be the head teacher, the deputy head teacher, or the heads of departments. To easily identify the school leaders who made notable contributions to the progress of IE implementation in their schools from the ones who did not, I dubbed them 'successful school leaders'. As I interviewed my research participants, I clearly communicated these two definitions.

I carried out semi-structured interviews with 35 diverse inclusive education stakeholders, who I identified through snowball sampling. I avoided the bias that comes with snowball sampling by defining clear characteristics of the stakeholders I preferred to interview (King et al 2019: 62). This method was beneficial as it controlled one consequential aspect of lived experience (inclusive education), but varied other important aspects (e.g., hierarchy, disability, gender), allowing me to highlight how the successful implementation of IE was experienced by different policy actors. I present the IE stakeholders I interviewed in Table 1.1.

Table 2.1 Representation of IE stakeholders interviewed

Schools	School Leaders	Community Leaders	Teachers	Parents	CWD	Able-bodied Children
Mchini Primary School	Head Teacher, Head of Special Unit	District educational board secretary	1	3	2	2
Shungu na Mtitima Primary School	Head Teacher	District educational board secretary, social worker, police officer, nurse.	N/A	2	3	4
Kansenje Primary School	Head Teacher, Head of Special Unit	District resource centre coordinator	1	2	3	1

[3] See Appendix 2 for the interview guidelines I used

Interviews with the diverse stakeholders enabled me to identify the successful school leaders through purposive sampling which ensures that "all the key constituencies of relevance to the subject matter are covered" (Ritchie et al. 2003: 79). I then carried out separate semi-structured interviews with the identified successful school leaders with the aim of getting a personal perspective of how they circumvented some IE implementation challenges.

My decision to use semi-structured interviews was because they "allow one to develop rapport and trust; provide rich, in-depth data; allow verbal and non-verbal data collection and are flexible to explore interesting tangents" (O'Leary 2014: 217). This was beneficial to my research as it revealed the diverse contributions made by successful school leaders as well as provided a clear understanding of how they carried them out. I carried out these interviews at the schools and respective administrative offices of the community leaders apart from one with a CWD which was carried out at his home due to communication and transport barriers[4].

For analysis of my data, I transcribed the recorded interviews and created codes from recurrent aspects from my participants transcripts. I then used these codes to cluster similar findings, compare differing ones and presented them in narrative form.

Towards the end of my field work, I presented my pre-liminary findings at a learning event organised by research partners which was attended by 21 diverse IE stakeholders. These stakeholders included representatives from the Ministry of Education, national organisations for persons with disabilities, civil society organisations, strategic partner organisations and the media. The event was featured on national TV on the 25th of August 2021[5], as part of an address to the recently elected Zambian president to prioritize the inclusion of people with disabilities (PWD) in the implementation of his national development agenda.

2.3 Ethical considerations during research

In alignment with Erasmus University Rotterdam's policy on field work research during the Covid- 19 pandemic, I sought and received authorization before travelling to Zambia from the Deputy Rector for Educational Affairs of my institute.

By virtue of carrying out this research in partnership with Cheshire Homes Society of Zambia, I was authorized to carry out research within the country. I attained permission to execute research in the three schools through the District Education Board secretary's office of their respective districts. Further, I sought voluntary consent[6] in writing from my research participants as "informed consent implies that participants are competent, autonomous and involved voluntarily" (O'Leary 2014: 64).

To minimize Covid-19 risks and protect both myself and my study participants, I made sure that all participants made health declarations prior to the interviews. I also ensured that the interviews were held in environments with good ventilation, we adhered to the social distancing requirements, wore face masks, and made hand sanitizers available. After my field work period, I stored the data collected securely to ensure confidentiality and protected the

[4] See Appendix 3 for pictures from my field work
[5] See Appendix 4 for the link to the national news feature
[6] See Appendix 5 samples of signed consent forms

anonymity of the students (and their parents) who participated in my research by using pseudonyms. The school leaders gave consent to the use of their real names and the names of their schools.

2.4 Reflections on positionality and research methodology

As a Kenyan who works in the education sector, I experienced both an insider and outsider perspective during my field work. My experience with the African context enabled me to relate to some aspects such as hospitality in reception from my host organisation and the research participants as well as the challenges faced in implementation of education policies. However, my outsider perspective, enabled me carry out the interviews objectively and made the study participants explain their context in detail as I had minimal knowledge of it. I experienced what Adu-Ampong and Adams (2020: 591) assert that "identity as an insider and/or an outsider is never a settled status but one in constant flux and negotiation."

My research benefitted from being part of a larger research project in three main ways. First, it enabled me to have a host organisation which ensured my local accommodation and travels were well planned. Secondly, the research project enabled me to work with an academic partner Dr. Thomas Mtonga and research partner Mr. Oscar Kahemba. Dr. Mtonga was instrumental in guiding my collection of secondary data from Zambian scholars and my field work process, while Oscar acted as a translator in the few instances where I required translation from Nyanja (the local language) to English. He also provided insight on the education system in Zambia as he works in the Ministry of Education as an Education Standard Officer in charge of inclusive education oversight in Chilanga District. Lastly, it enabled me to present my findings at a learning event where I received valuable feedback from diverse IE stakeholders.

As I reflect on the process, I recognise that there were possible risks of relying on these local experts such as playing into their personal biases. Additionally, their long-term donor-partner relationship with Liliane Fonds influenced their guidance as they had presumptions of professionally desired outcomes.

While my study covers the successfully implemented inclusion practices in three schools across three different provinces in Zambia, I am alert to the numerous differing contexts across the country and therefore cautious to presume that this study reflects the entire country. However, I agree with O'Leary (2014: 186) who states that "the core principle of qualitative research is not representativeness but rich understanding that may come from the few rather than the many." Therefore, the findings from the three schools will provide deep understanding of how successful school leaders contribute to progress in inclusive education implementation which can be used contextually across the country.

Chapter 3 Conceptualising Generational and Societal Relations

This research paper sets out to analyse how school leaders negotiate within their impending working environment to ensure that CWD have access to educational opportunities. To do this effectively, I considered the generational and societal relations that occur between CWD, school leaders and their communities. I then created an analytical framework based on relevant concepts, theories, and approaches.

I begin this chapter by situating CWD in an able-bodied adult dominated society by linking the concepts of childhood, disability, and marginality. Then, in the following subsection, I use the street level bureaucracy theory to highlight the unique position of school leaders in the IE policy implementation process; and the positive deviance approach and concept of agency to showcase their behaviours and choices.

3.1 Linking childhood, disability, and marginality to IE

Society's dominant perception of childhood revolves around aspects such as vulnerability, weakness, inferiority, and dependency. Therefore, I submit that if education policies are to succeed in practice, they must be designed and implemented with a child-sensitive approach. This approach considers physical vulnerabilities, dependence-related vulnerabilities, and the institutionalised disadvantage of childhood (Roelen and Sabates- Wheeler 2014: 292).

The experience of childhood, however, is not monolithic. It varies from child to child and is influenced by several intersectional factors such as age, gender, disability, spatial location, socio-economic status etc. One of the factors that causes a stark difference in childhood experiences is disablism. CWD's childhood vulnerability is intensified by their disabled status as most depend highly on their care givers and face increased societal barriers.

Regarding their access to education, CWD are 10 times more likely that their able counterparts to be out of school (Able Child Africa, n.d.). Their exclusion or inclusion is based on the disability perspectives of their parents, school leaders and community. Disability perspectives are formed from the three disability models: the charity or traditional model, the medical model, and the social model. The charity model views impairment as "a personal tragedy that can be fixed by the support and rehabilitation that charity provides," (Reiser 2012: 36); this model is critiqued for embodying patronising attitudes and paternalism (Villegas 2020: 15). The medical model is said to view disability as a problem that needs fixing where medical practitioners try to make PWD as 'normal' as possible. Whereas the social model is presented as one that values children, prioritizes their diagnostic needs and learning progress and emphasises on the need to ensure PWD participate in society (Reiser 2012: 36).

Pertaining policy design, CWD experience marginalisation as they are located at the periphery with able- bodied children at the centre as the dominant group. This marginalisation is evident globally with the designing of education policy and practices, where the designing is done with able-bodied children in mind and the incorporation of the learning needs of CWD carried out an afterthought. Therefore, inclusive education demands for a

"denaturalisation of normalcy" to create an education system with no ideal centre (Graham and Slee, 2008).

In some countries that are closer to achieving universal free primary school education CWD are the majority of those left behind (Simui and Mtonga 2013). Zambia Agency for Persons with Disabilities reported that only three out of five CWD would enrol at first grade level and out of those three, only one would reach twelfth grade, a statistic that varies based on the type and degree of disability of the child and other intersecting factors (ZAPD, 2009).

When access is achieved, barriers caused by the mainstream designing of schools causes further marginalization of CWD in schools. It was noted by Simui and Mtonga (2013), that most learners with physical disabilities "did not access toilets because they had narrow entrances and had to walk long distances to answer the call of nature in the bush." This illustration also highlights the importance of considering the heterogeneity, continuum and intersectionality of disability when implementing IE. This would acknowledge that CWD face different forms, intensities, and layered experiences of marginalisation.

Furthermore, CWD often find themselves in school but still excluded from the social aspect of schooling – a state Villegas (2020: ix) terms as "excluded from within" in her research on IE for CWD in the Philippines. She asserts that inclusion of CWD into mainstream schools does not guarantee an unproblematic integration of students or an automatic notion of community (ibid). Mtonga (2015) complements this narrative by stating that Zambia has "lamentably failed to implement inclusion equitably; the picture of inclusion in Zambia is more of exclusion within the class rather than inclusion."

CWD contribute to social reproduction in IE by either being passive or active agents when faced with systemic and/or deliberate marginalisation. By exercising their agency to resist their marginalisation in IE, they engage their intersectional voice in reconstructing the dominant narrative of IE for CWD. Examples of this resistance occurs when they ask to join mainstream schools, when they intentionally seek to thrive in mainstream schools, when they work on their self-esteem and confidence, when they create a community around them etc.

While the resistive agency of children is encouraged and applauded, the responsibility of ensuring IE implementation thrives falls on school administrators. It is the mandate of the state through its school leaders to ensure that the marginality that exists in society is not mirrored in the school environment. This means that school leaders must be reflexive about the generational gaze, able gaze (for those who are not disabled), and institutional gaze they have towards CWD.

In the next section, I introduce and discuss reinforcing concepts that I will use to analyse the positionality and choices of school leaders.

3.2 Associating Street Level Bureaucracy, Positive Deviancy and Agency

Societal relation is the interaction between two individuals or individuals and societal structures. The mainstay of my research is the social relation that occurs between CWD and their

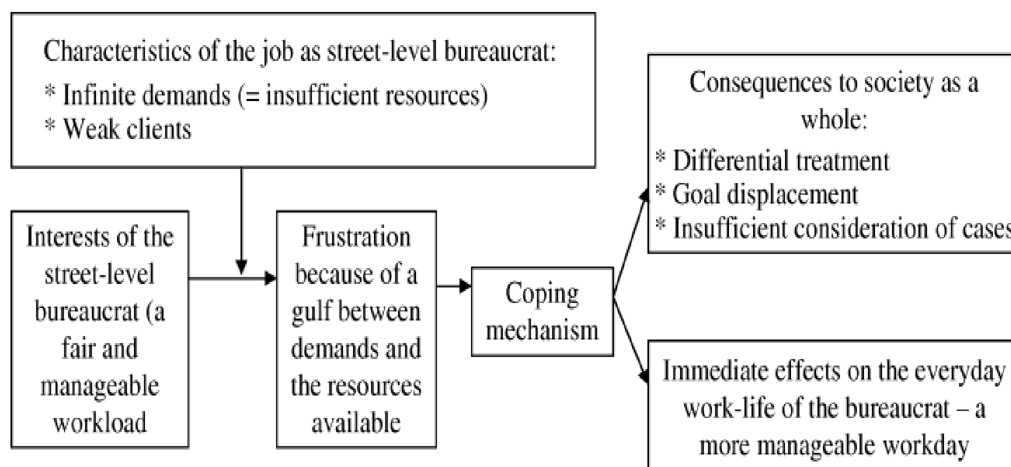
school leaders pertaining inclusive education. In this section I present and associate the theoretical framework of street level bureaucracy that elucidates the structural position of school leaders within the IE implementation process, the positive deviance approach which explains the anomalous actions of successful school leaders and the concept of agency which highlights their ability to make choices. This association will be pivotal to the analysis of my findings.

Street Level Bureaucracy as first explained by Lipsky (1980) is a theoretical framework that explains the role of public servants in policy implementation. He submits that street level bureaucrats (SLB) are integral in the success of policy implementation because they have direct contact with service recipients. He adds that the decisions they make and the strategies they invent to cope with work pressures become the public policies carried out, making them both policy implementers and policy designers (ibid).

This theory explains the position of school leaders as they operate at the nexus of IE policy and practice. It has been used in the studies of Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003: 245) and Kapingidza (2014), to highlight the "unique and uniquely influential position" of school leaders in the education policy implementation process the USA and Zimbabwe respectively.

Below is a graphical representation (Figure 3.1) of the dominant street-level bureaucratic behaviour as expressed by Nielsen (2006). It will help to understand the characteristics of Zambian school leaders, the structural constraints they encounter as the implement IE and their expected coping mechanisms which disserve CWD.

Figure 3.1 Model of dominant street-level bureaucratic behaviour



Source: Nielsen (2006: 856)

Contrary to what Nielsen (2016) presents, I agree with Musil et al (2010) who argue that there are two forms of responses to the structural constraints school leaders face. They can either adapt to their working environment in ways that disadvantage CWD (as indicated in

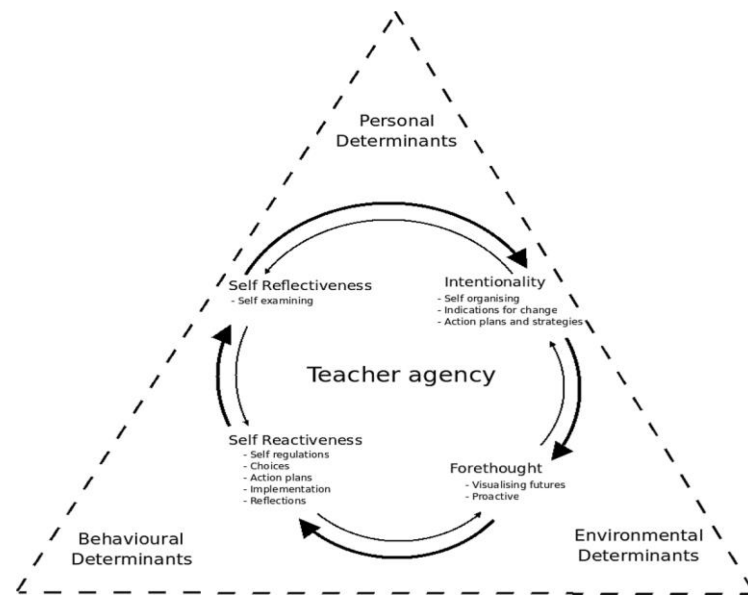
Figure 1) or they could challenge their working conditions to achieve more professionally and socially acceptable practice. My study focuses on the latter response which situates successful school leaders as positive deviants.

The approach of positive deviance is based on the observation that "in every community there are certain individuals or groups whose uncommon behaviours and strategies enable them to find better solutions to problems than their peers, while having access to the same resources and facing similar or worse challenges" (Pascale et al 2010). In relation to policy implementation, some positive deviants seek to develop innovations intended to effectively implement existing policies whereas others are entrepreneurial towards policy design. Petchey et al (2008), calls the latter 'policy entrepreneurs.' Heckert (1998: 23) assigns positive deviants five attributes: altruism, charisma, innovation, supra-conforming behaviour, and innate characteristics.

Okwany and Wazir (2016: 20-21), use the positive deviance approach is to highlight several education research findings in Uganda and Kenya. They showcase how parents in two urban poor slums in Kampala deviate from the usual poverty narrative by ensuring their children are educated ; how student mothers in both countries unexpectedly re-engage well in learning by manoeuvring through hostile school environments and childcare responsibilities; and how school principals in Homa Bay County, Kenya employ innovative strategies to ensure the implementation of the re-entry policy for student-mothers, contrary to the negative portrayal of school principals as exclusionary.

The act of positive deviance by school leaders indicates that their constrained working environment does not deny them of the freedom of exercising their agency. Agency is "the ability to define one's goal and act towards it" (Kabeer 1999: 438). Jenkins (2019: 167) in his longitudinal qualitative case study on teacher agency stated that teacher agency is enacted when teachers "attempt to control or influence policy effort to achieve their desired outcome." He generated and used the Triadic Reciprocity Framework Core Agency Concepts (TRFCAC) model (Figure 3.2) to demonstrate it. Through his analysis, he submitted that teacher agency was determined by three aspects; personal determinants, environmental determinants, and behavioural determinants; and that it was influenced by self-reflectiveness, self-reactiveness, intentionality, and forethought (ibid: 178).

Figure 3.2 The Triadic Reciprocal Framework Core Agency Concepts (TRFCAC)



Source: Jenkins (2019: 170)

His analysis also revealed that teacher agency manifested itself in three ways; proactively, reactively, and passively. Proactive agency occurred when teachers initiated change in response to perceived need, on their own volition. Reactive agency occurred when teachers implemented top-down instructions given to them, while passive agency occurred when teachers failed to engage with policy (Jenkins, 2019: 172).

The manifestation of agency as highlighted by Jenkins (2019) falls under the classification of personal agency where an individual enact change on their own (Bandura 2011: 12). Other classifications of agency include proxy agency; where one influences others who have the resources, knowledge, and means to act on their behalf; and collective agency; where people pool their knowledge, skills, and resources towards achieving a similar desired outcome (ibid). These different classifications of agency as well as the Triadic Reciprocal Framework Core Agency Concept (TRFCAC) will be useful in analysing the agency of the five positive deviant school leaders in my research.

In conclusion, the conceptualising of generational and societal relations between CWD and their school leaders in this chapter presented a three-fold power dynamic; childhood to adulthood, disabled to able-bodied and street level bureaucrat to service recipient. In the analysis of my findings in the next two chapters, I took into how consideration how these power dynamics influence the agency of the successful school leaders within their structurally constrained working environment.

Chapter 4 Tackling Attitudes: School leaders subverting dominant IE perceptions

I observed from the analysis of my data that the barriers facing the implementation of IE could be classified into two, attitudinal and structural. These barriers are formed when "society turns an impairment into a negative aspect" by labelling bodies that deviate from physical normalcy as 'others' (Gannicott 2018: 213) and when structural systems abide to this when designing and implementing social policies. Consequently, I submit that successful school leaders used strategies focused on overcoming these two thematic barriers to present a two-fold analysis. I begin, in this chapter, by elaborating how they subverted dominant IE perceptions by tackling stakeholder attitudes and detailing how they contested scarcity by optimising minimally available resources in the next chapter.

Societal attitudes towards CWD are anchored on the three models of disability: charity model, medical model, and social model (Reiser, 2012). While these models can individually shape attitudes, people's attitudes are often shaped by nuanced intersecting aspects from two or more models making them very diverse. However, the prevailing attitude towards the notion of CWD exercising their right to education is negative. All school leaders experience these negative attitudes from different stakeholders as they strive to implement IE, but the successful school leaders who I feature in my research take it upon themselves to tackle these attitudes. I assert that they do this is three ways; addressing CWD's self-esteem and confidence, negotiating with parents and influencing communities.

4.1 Addressing CWD's self-esteem and confidence

The identity of a disabled person is produced through the hegemonic power of an able-centric society. Gannicott (2018) refers to this power as "a controlling force that influences not only the depiction of disability within society, but also the proliferation of an othering that a person with disabilities will consciously or subconsciously conform to." Children with disabilities are more susceptible to this power, as it intersects with their dependency on adults who view children as vulnerable through their generational gaze. Therefore, the self- esteem and confidence of CWD are sculpted on the backdrop of an able-bodied adult centric society.

In the case of Mpaso[7] - a 17-year-old boy who has autism and experiences hypersalivation, both him and his mother (his primary care giver) had very low self-esteem before he was enrolled into an inclusive school five years ago. His head teacher a recalls "the family was actually of very low esteem; I saw that they carried a lot of shame". Mpaso had been medically assessed and his disability considered severe, this coupled with the family's low socio-economic status affected their self-esteem. Prior to his admission to his current school, his mother sought enrolment for him for two years in public schools in vain. The other head teachers rejected him after referring to his medical assessment which indicated that he should be admitted to a special school which his mother could not afford.

Five years ago, the Head teacher at Shungu na Mtitima, Mr. Malumbe leveraged on his position as a street level bureaucrat to discreetly make an autonomous and non-conforming

[7] Not his real name. I used pseudonyms to protect the children's identities.

decision of offering Mpaso admission. His inclusion in school transformed his low self- esteem to self-acceptance and increased his confidence. His head teacher shares, "If you saw him then, the child did not look like someone who could fit in. So, we took him in for the social aspect not for intellectual. And you can see now, the levels of confidence are high, Mpaso is a happy boy, he interacts with everyone. He is a boy that everyone feels should be around. You can see he is clean, can seat with others and came in a jacket." An inadvertent benefit of Mpaso's educational inclusion was that mother who began work at the market during the hours he was at school. This lifted the socio-economic status of the family leading to their social inclusion. This inclusion narrative is a vivid illustration of school inclusion leading to inclusion within one's society or as Hossain (2010: 1264) argues "education signals social inclusion."

Mr. Malumbe practiced reactive agency as he implemented the existing the IE policy by enrolling Mpaso despite his medical assessment. As I sought to understand what influenced his deviant action, he revealed the following during our semi-structured interview. He was trained in special education, inclusive education, and phycology which enables him to effectively assess the situation of CWD and act appropriately. Additionally, he illustrated how an experience influenced his perspective on the access to education of CWD: "in high school my roommate was a disabled person and I used to get my food and his – he was lame so he could not move well. For two years of junior secondary school, I was caring for him whilst I was a student. I watched him excel in studies. I did not know that I was being prepared for life."

Another instance of addressing the self-esteem and confidence of CWD that I came across was the case of Chipo - a child with low vision and Mr. Jere - the head of the special unit at Kansenje Primary School. Chipo, when asked had the following to say regarding his favourite teacher; "my favourite teacher is Mister Jere because he used to teach me how to read. In those days, I did not think I was going to know how to read or write but he focused on me and made me know how to read. . . Those days, I was in the special unit and then I went to the mainstream, where I was learning with normal people." The phrase 'he focused on me' insinuates that Mr. Jere encouraged him and gave him both the emotional and academic support he needed to thrive in school. Consequently, once Chipo's attitudinal barrier was broken down, he was able to engage fully in his individualised learning plan and transition from special unit to a mainstream class. At the time of my interaction with him, he had recently completed his grade 9 national examinations - an achievement both him and Mr. Jere were very proud of.

Mr. Jere who was trained in special education attributed his intention to disseminate the negative attitudinal challenges of Chipo to his own learning experiences as a person living with disability. He shared "as person with disability, I understand what these children are feeling, what they are going through and I want to help them. They should not go through the same challenges that I went through."

From the two instances illustrated in this section, I observed that the school leaders' deviant actions were determined by their past experiences with CWD in education as well as their training inclusive education. Additionally, I observe the CWD as agentic IE policy actors, as both Mpaso and Chipo participated in shaping their own IE experiences as the changes imply that they both prioritized their education.

The attitudes of CWD towards their own education can determine whether they are victims of the failed implementation of IE policy, the perpetuators of its failure (consciously or subconsciously) by not fully engaging with available IE practices or both. As Honwana and de Boeck (2009) put it, children are made and broken and are also makers and breakers. Therefore, acknowledging and addressing their attitudes is pivotal to the success of IE.

4.2 Negotiating with parents

The language of denial is ubiquitous in regard to parents of children with disabilities (Lalvani 2014 :1224), so much so that whenever trainings in IE occur, there is an emphasis on how to overcome it. My research however argues that the dominant ways in which school leaders attempt to circumvent the denial of parents with CWD is dismissive and ineffective.

School leaders are often trained to implement IE as though parents should unquestioningly accept their professional opinion, framing those who do not as 'problematic'. This technique causes school leaders to respond to parents' hesitance to their IE advice with statements such like "Please don't live in denial! It's a waste of time" (Lalvani 2014: 1227). Nonetheless, this blatant situating of parents of CWD as living in denial robs them of their agency, deems them ignorant of their children's needs and assumes that they do not want the best for their children.

Successful school leaders take this into account and recognise that parents of CWD are simply trying to make meaning of their children's conditions. Consequently, they sensitively present them with educational opportunities available for their CWD and negotiate their next steps with them. They empathise with them because they understand that their perception of disability was formed in an able-centric society and that for most of them, their child is their first encounter with disability. The inclusion narrative of one of the parents corroborates this when she says "Tapela cannot walk, she crawls. . .but she was okay when she was born, all of my children were okay when they were born (she has five other children) and then she was beaten by her friends and fell. Then she became like this." Tapela's mother initially presented her child as able-bodied when looking for admission at Shungu Na Mtitima Primary School out of fear of rejection.

The reframing of parent's denial by school leaders' willingness to negotiate with parents ensures the inclusion of parent's unique perspectives in their children's right to, in and through education. It displays that school leaders were reflexive of the street level bureaucrat to service recipient power dynamic and did not use it to undermine parent's agency. Instead of the dominant dismissing of parent's denial as a psychological defence, they consider it agentic and purposeful. This is in alignment with Lalvani (2014: 1229) who perceives parent's denial as "resistance to the dominant interpretations of disability and normalcy" and "resistance to stigmatizing labels." She explains these forms of resistance as parents shielding their children from emotional and mental despair that comes with dominant disability perceptions and stigmatizing labels.

In 2019, Dalitso, a 16-year-old child with cerebral palsy experienced formal education for the first time. This transformational moment was because of implementation of the IE policy by a Mrs. Mumba, the head teacher at Mchini Primary School; particularly an exercise

called child-find[8]. Dalitso's parents have four other able-bodied children who they enrolled in schools at their appropriate ages, but this was not the case for Dalitso due to his disability. They often hid him from their community due to shame. During the child-find exercise and for months after 'finding' Dalitso, Mrs. Mumba intentionally engaged in dialogue and relentlessly persuaded his parents to allow him to be admitted to school. Eventually, they came to a common agreement, and he started school.

Negotiation ensued after he was admitted when the family faced a transportation challenge. Initially, a family member would carry Dalitso to and from school daily, but this was no longer possible due to other obligations. When the parents brought this up with Mrs Mumba, she leveraged on her administrative position to lobby for a wheelchair donation from an NGO and got one.

Another similar instance where school leaders tackled attitudes through negotiation with parents is the inclusion narrative of Lushomo. Lushomo's aunt is a teacher at Mchini Primary school, who upon witnessing CWD learning at her school, introduced Mrs Ndhlovu the head of the special unit to her autistic nephew. Mrs. Ndhlovu then carried out a non-medical assessment and recommended that he should join her class. Despite acknowledging that he needed support, Lushomo's parents did not find the school fit for their son as it was a public school that served a lower socio-economic class than theirs. After months of lobbying, they engaged Mrs Ndhlovu in home schooling[9] their son. She designed an individualised learning plan for him whose main objective was to develop independence due to the severity of his disability.

To ensure continuous negotiation of parents regarding the IE of their children, both able-bodied and CWD, Mrs. Mumba, the head teacher at Mchini Primary school implements an exercise called family pack. Family pack is stipulated in the Zambian IE policy guidelines, it involves inviting parents to observe how their children learn in school. Parents sit beside their children and observe their learning for half a day. After this, the parents have a meeting to discuss their observations and air their grievances and/or recommendations. Their input is then incorporated in the school's policies or in the individualised learning plans of their respective children.

In each of these narratives, the school leaders, make room for parents to exercise their personal agency over the IE of their CWD as they simultaneously practice reactive agency (implementing of top-down instructions from the IE guidelines) as street level bureaucrats. The implementation of IE practices in schools was made easier through the synergized efforts of parents and school leaders. Additionally, it has a positive effect on the children's learning progress as they experience similar mindsets at their home and school environments.

Parent's with CWD's are not only ones who appear as barriers in IE but so do the parents of with able-bodied children. Simui and Mtonga (2014), in their situational analysis

[8] Child-find is an exercise in the Zambian IE implementation guidelines (2015) where school members are expected to go into communities to search for out-of-school CWD with the intention of admitting them to schools.

[9] Home schooling as a home-based education service is recognised in the Zambian IE guidelines as education provided to CWD at their home. It is to cater for CWD who by reason of the severity of the disability or condition, are unable to attend school within their community.

of IE in Zambia present that some parents with able bodied children did not support IE as they believed CWD would demand more attention from teachers robbing their children of a full learning experience. I did not encounter such parents in my research but argue that similar dialogue and negotiation skills would be effective addressing their concerns therefore also giving room for them to exercise their agency.

4.3 Influencing Communities

My findings present that successful school leaders nurture good relationships with their internal and external school communities because they acknowledge the importance of their social capital in the successful implementation of IE policy in their schools. This is consistent with Ross and Berger (2009: 13) who list 'recognizing the expertise of community members' as one of the efficient research-based strategies by school leaders that emerged from their study on equity and leadership. I observed that they nurtured these relationships in three steps. First, they create an inclusive vision for the school, which was highly determinant on the school leader's perception of inclusion. Secondly, they embody the inclusion vision through their actions and lastly, they create IE ambassadors to influence others in their community. From my analysis of the five school leaders, I noticed that their vision was consistent to existing IE policies and was influenced by their moral commitment to social justice.

During my field work, I encountered the inclusion narrative of Misozi a 7-year-old lame girl. Her mother recounted her agonizing journey of seeking Misozi's admission in five other schools, in vain. She highlighted that in one school, a head teacher blatantly told her "We do not accommodate such people," and added that those five schools included one where the rest of her children attended with whom she thought she had a good relationship with.

Misozi was admitted a year ago to the pre-school class at Shungu na Mtitima primary school. This caused a stir within the local education ecosystem as enrolment of CWD in preschool level was unheard of. This was the case because formal pre-school was a relatively new concept in the district with only a few schools offering classes. Additionally, younger CWD face more marginalisation from the education system than their older counterparts due to their increased dependency. Further, Misozi was viewed as increasingly vulnerable because of her female gender. This showcases that the community's perception of CWD attaining education is rooted not only on childhood and ableism, but also on the age of the child and their gender.

The deviant act of Mr. Malumbe, Misozi's head teacher indicates that he is unafraid of being a trail blazer in the implementation of IE. His actions influence his community's perception of IE for CWD as in addition to Misozi's controversial admission, his school is the only public school within his district that practices IE. He reported noticing a change in the attitudinal and behavioural changes in the teachers in his school, the parents through the parents-teacher association (PTA) meetings and the community at large by the support he has received from individuals and corporates alike.

Mr. Malumbe attributed his success to having a personal vision and a vision for his school. I observed that his vision not only went beyond compliance with existing policy but that it was also influenced by his moral commitment to social justice. This agrees with Salisbury (2006: 74) who notes that moral commitment is an influencing factor on the outcome

of successful inclusion in elementary schools. He added that school leaders who saw CWD as "part of the fabric of the school" due to their moral philosophy were successful.

Mr. Malumbe added that he communicated his inclusive education vision to the students, parents, and teachers not only for them to implement it but also, for them to act as ambassadors of IE in their communities. This domino effect of influence is rooted on Mr. Malumbe's altruistic nature, charismatic demeanour, and his comprehension of inclusive education practices.

As I conclude this chapter, I assert that successful school leaders are agents of social reproduction. They recognise that IE practices are nested in a systemically unjust society and use their uniquely influential position to create a deviant narrative of both IE and their role in its implementation. They broker the educational and social inclusion of CWD through tackling the negative dominant perceptions of IE held by different stakeholders.

Chapter 5 Contesting Scarcity: School leaders optimising minimally available resources

Street Level Bureaucrats are caught up in the tension of being bound by the state to implement policy, harnessing their managerial drive to meet their professional targets, and experiencing a gross inefficiency in the resources required to work successfully. In the words of one "they are pushing us, but not supporting us" (Ellis, 2007).

Jones (2002) argues that people's values and good behaviour, coupled with the careful use and re-distribution of resources results in successful implementation of inclusive practices more than solely allocating IE a high level of resources. Stubbs's (2008: 74) research on this in Lesotho and India, supports this argument as its showcases that barriers of IE being overcome more effectively in poor and rural schools more than in well-resourced urban schools. Her analysis accredits the success of poorer schools to "a stronger sense of community inter-dependence, a welcoming environment and a greater tolerance to difference" compared to the better financially resourced schools which were "elite, formal, less welcoming and placed more emphasis on assessment."

As illustrated in the chapter above, the successful school leaders featured in this study embody constructive attitudes and behaviours; therefore, they do not perceive the strain of minimal resources as an incapacitating barrier. Instead, they embrace the contradiction (Lipsky, 2010) and leverage on their uniquely influential position in the IE implementation process to capitalize on the resources available.

In this chapter, I submit that the progress they made in IE implementation in their school's involved contesting the scarcity of resources in four ways; applying themselves, muddling through, leveraging on their community, and innovating to fit context. I expound on these four techniques the sub-sections that follow and conclude by analysing the motivations behind their deviant actions.

5.1 Applying themselves

School leaders as street-level bureaucrats are often expected to be more than benign and passive gatekeepers (Lipsky 2010: 72) and this is explicitly articulated in their training. In practice, however, they have the agency to perceive their jobs as strictly professional positions, an opportunity to serve their community or both. Those who accommodate an altruistic approach do not look at their job as a mere conduit for a pay-check but view it as an opportunity serve their community as well. They go out of their way to tap into their resources to ensure implementation of IE practices. Lipsky (ibid) commends altruism by stating that "it does not translate to the ideal policy implementation, but it ensures that SLBs are well intentioned."

My research on the number of teachers professionally trained in IE in Zambia discloses that only 5% are trained (Mtonga 2015: 32). This secondary data was corroborated by the three schools that participated in my research as the ratio of professionally trained teachers to those who are not was 1:30. This nominal number affects the efficiency of the vital enrolment and continuous assessment of CWD in inclusive schools. Consequently, although

stipulated in the IE policy guidelines, assessment is rarely carried out. The successful school leaders surmount this scarcity by stretching themselves thin when it comes to assessment of CWD, designing of their individualised learning plans and teaching them. For example, at Mchini Primary school, only two professionally trained teachers, assess all children when admitted at grade 1, create and follow up on the individual learning plans (ILP) of 18 CWD in mainstream classes, prepare and facilitate implementation of ILP for the 11 CWD in their special unit.

This illustration weaves a contrary narrative to the dominant one when it comes to street level bureaucrats' actions. In Aiyar et al (2015) article on 'Education reform and frontline administrators: A case study from Bihar, India', they highlighted that school leaders always pointed to the larger systemic problems when asked about the hinderances to education reform and never saw challenges that they could address on their own. Consequently, they describe school leaders as embodying an apathetic, legalistic, unaccountable bureaucratic culture and coined the term 'post office syndrome' to explain the nature in which school leaders perceived themselves – like post officers with little authority to make decisions (Aiyar 2015).

Besides the direct application of their skills to the IE practices, successful school leaders train their peers on inclusive education practices. Across the three schools, the school head teachers run the 'Continuous Professional Development Program' regularly. The IE guidelines mandate the carrying out of this is a program at all schools with CWD to ensure that teachers are progressing well in teaching in inclusive classrooms. It provides the teachers with a regular platform to learn from each other. These outliers took this program further as in one instance a head teacher sought training of her teachers and PTA committee members in IE by an NGO and in another, another head teacher invited teachers from their neighbouring school to share with them their strategies on carrying out on IE practices successfully.

5.2 Muddling through

Purposive muddling is an experimental process of finding solutions to a problem (Lindblom 1959 in Andrews 2015). School leaders in this study use it to challenge scarcity. In IE practice, it entails using currently available resources to start an IE practice at their schools without having all the necessary resources required to sustainably implement it. It takes on an incremental approach as solutions are expected to emerge through a process of experimentation and continuous resource mobilisation. Andrews (2015: 11) refers to it as 'finding and fitting' as it involves multiple steps of trying out what works and why for both the contextual realities of CWD in inclusive schools and the school leaders' capacities and constraints.

In Zambia, grants are released to schools through their respective district offices quarterly. From the grant given, the government urges administrators to allocate only 5% to learners with special education needs (Mtonga 2015: 43). Simui and Mtonga (2013) speculate that this lack of budget prioritisation could reflects IE apathy among stakeholders. However, because implementation of this is at the discretion of school leaders, positive deviant leaders leverage on this to reprioritise budget allocations pragmatically and autonomously to meet the needs of all the children they serve.

Reallocation does not imply smooth implementation of IE practices as a general shortfall of finances persists in public schools. Hence, school leaders result to muddling through

as an implementation strategy where they are not paralysed by the lack of adequate resources to start an IE practice; because they know they can manoeuvre through the challenges they encounter in the future by either tactful budget reallocation or resource mobilisation.

To showcase how this method was implemented, I revert to the inclusion narrative of Dalitso and Mrs. Mumba. After the negotiation between Mrs. Mumba and his parents over his enrolment, Dalitso at age 16 joined the mainstream grade 4 class at Mchini Primary School. At enrolment, he could neither read nor write. Given his impaired hand motor skills, Dalitso's would need an assistive device to be able to develop writing skills. The school did not have the device. This did not stop Mrs. Mumba from persisting on his enrolment, admitting him, and placing him in a mainstream class despite the differing opinion of some teachers in the school. Since his admission, Dalitso has developed social skills and learnt how to read basic words. His writing skills remain evasive due to lack of the assistive device. Mrs. Mumba has been petitioning for the assistive device for two years. As she shared this narrative, I curiously observed, yet again, her persistence and determination to ensure Dalitso's educational inclusion and asked her what fuels it. I noted the presence of innate characteristics of justice and egalitarianism in Mrs. Mumba's response as she expressed "I just have a heart for it. I really just want those children who are hidden to come out . . . It pains me so much to see people still hiding those children when they deserve education just like any other person.*"*

5.3 Leveraging on their community

As illustrated in the previous sub-sections, resources needed for the successful implementation of IE do not only refer to financial resources, other resources like skills and time are equally vital and scarce. However, Stubbs (2008: 74) asserts that most resources needed for inclusion are within communities and proposes that they should be sought after and utilised.

Several scholars (Musoke and Geiser 2013, Pouw and Gupta 2017, Kuipers and Sabuni 2016) and IE organisations e.g., Christian Blind Mission, Norwegian Association of Disabled and International Disability and Development Consortium have proposed and implemented the Community Based Inclusive Development (CBID) approach towards ensuring inclusive education for CWD. This approach's main objective is to reduce poverty and improve the lives of everyone in the community. It uses the Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) strategy to ensure participation of all community members. (Heinicke-Motsch 2013: 19). This approach has proven to be effective in the implementation of IE because of the societal support garnered by involving the family, the community, and all relevant institutions (Pförtner 2014).

I analysed that the successful school leaders subconsciously use this approach, by leveraging on the networks within their communities to amass resources of different kinds. Across all three schools there was an active and supportive PTA, where suggestions on improved IE practices would be discussed. The PTAs would occasionally raise funds to implement on off inclusive education practices such as low-cost infrastructural support like ramps.

In Shungu na Mtitima primary school, the head teacher created and inclusive education team whose mandate was to spear head inclusion at the school. The committee comprised of teachers, parents, a social worker, a nurse, and a police inspector. He recognised the need to included other multi-sectoral state level bureaucrats such as the nurse and police officer

to achieve educational inclusion as they would help to ensure that other vital aspects of CWD lives such as health and safety were accounted for. This peer relation across public service sectors is common between street level bureaucrats because they understand each other's challenging working conditions and therefore unite to make each other's work simpler (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2013: 58). This act of collaboratively working together displays collective agency.

My research reveals that collaboration in IE causes a ripple effect the inclusive development of the community. The nurse expressed that she learnt a lot about inclusive education practices through her interactions with the school. She added that the relationship between the clinic and the school was strengthened through the collaboration. It resulted in sharing of resources e.g., the school would share printing papers with the clinic and the clinic would provide personal protective equipment (PPEs) to the school when the Covid-19 pandemic broke out. The relationship with the police officer led to holding of sexual reproductive health educative sessions at the school by the victim support unit of the local police department and in turn the police would often use the school record system to attain information about children that they lacked when children/parents from that school were involved in cases. From this I analysed that the collaborative effort with different stakeholders is more effective when the benefits are reciprocal. This agrees with Gross et al (2015: 26) who present that the mutual benefit for the school, its constituents and community partners was an important factor to the success and sustainability of the collaboration.

In another instance of school leaders leveraging on community networks, the Head of Special Unit at Mchini Primary school, applied to the District Education Office to have a special unit opened at the school to cater for children with severe disabilities. Upon consideration, the District Educational Board Secretary (DEBS) granted approval and funding for the special unit, which now has 11 learners. This is a display of proxy agency where she leveraged on her authorities' influence and resources to ensure IE implementation and emphasises on the importance of systemic alignment for the success of IE implementation.

5.4 Innovating to fit context

In the previous sections, I have presented techniques that school leaders use to challenge scarcity by capitalising on the resources available to them. In this section, I submit that they also challenge insufficiency by developing new solutions. Opponents of innovative approaches to IE often argue that innovations are resource intensive while proponents of innovation argue that the cost of implementing failing solutions and the cost of developing new ones is the same. Consequently, they present that lack of supporting innovation is an attitudinal problem (Stubbs 2008: 73).

The school leaders who innovate notice gaps within prevailing IE policy on how to overcome the distinctive implementation barriers they encounter and perceive those gaps as an opportunity to generate solutions. I observe that they succeed because at this because of their comprehension of both their unique context and the concept of IE. By being innovative on their own volition, they engage in proactive agency (Jenkins, 2019: 172) and establish themselves policy entrepreneurs (Petchey et al 2008) because the solutions they develop become the policies carried out. Stubbs (2008) warns that sustainability must be considered when coming up with innovative solutions to barriers of IE implementation, because new methods usually do not garner immediate support from stakeholders.

Innovation, in relation to street level bureaucrats is debased and SLBs are often apathetic towards it. Their indifference is caused by the tumultuous alterations in the structure of service delivery they encounter, rationalized as positive change (Lipsky 2010), within the tension of a challenging working environment. Therefore, only positive deviant SLBs innovate.

My analysis indicates that success in innovative IE implementation strategies is dependent on the vision of the school leader. Their vision needs to be gripping enough to address IE stakeholders' uncertainty and gain their support towards attaining attractive goals. Jesacher-Roessler and Schratz (2019) refer to school leaders who innovate to bring about positive change within schools as 'mediators of change and innovation.'

In the implementation of IE, one of the prevalent challenges is the lack of teaching and learning materials (Simui and Mtonga 2014: 10). At Mchini Primary school the head teacher, Mrs. Mumba set up a popcorn selling business, whose proceeds went towards supporting the buying of learning materials for the 30 CWD in her school.

Mr. Malumbe, the head teacher at Shungu na Mtitima primary school, expressed how he used his position to create an inclusion kitty to counter the persistent barrier of school fees faced by the parents from the low-income community that his school serves. Mr. Malumbe encouraged IE stakeholders i.e., teachers, parents, community members and local organisations to contribute to the kitty to ensure that CWD who cannot pay fees are still admitted at his school. He conveyed that through the kitty "we have deliberately put in a policy for such children - no fees."

To address the scarcity of the resource of time, where parents with CWD would complain about the time it takes them to drop off and pick up their CWD from schools daily, a child-to-child transport system was created at Kansenje Primary School by Mrs. Phiri. This system involved the creation of a duty roaster where children without disability who lived close to/ in the vicinity of where a CWD lived would be assigned the role of picking them up before school and dropping them off after school. This innovation also contributed to the social inclusion of CWD within the school as friendships emerged out of it.

My analysis of successful school leaders' response to structural barriers which revolve around the scarcity of resources indicates that they recognise their agentic power as street level bureaucrats and act on it. They acknowledge that IE practices require them to be strategic about the utilization of available resources and innovative about solutions. This displays their leadership competencies as it requires knowledge in IE practices and skill in stakeholder management.

Chapter 6 Conclusion and Policy Implications

I embarked on this research to understand how school leaders contributed to the progressive implementation of IE in their schools despite the myriad of socio-economic challenges they encountered. My research involved investigating the inclusion narratives of 35 diverse IE stakeholders, with a focus on the anomalous actions of five successful school leaders.

The first thing my analysis disclosed was that the position of school leaders in the IE implementation process highly influenced their success. These school leaders operate at the nexus of inclusive education policy and practise, where they have direct contact with CWD, the IE policy service recipients. They are street level bureaucrats (Lipsky 2010). This uniquely influential position accorded them certain characteristics like autonomy and discretion, which were beneficial in the implementation of IE practices. These school leaders brokered inclusive education opportunities by either implementing existing policy or designing new policies to fit the contextual needs of the CWD they serve.

However, their success was not solely because of their position but because they engaged their agency to deviate from dominant SLB behaviour to circumvent their glaring implementation challenges. My analysis of their choices and behaviour deems them to be positive deviants – people who find better solutions to problems compared to their peers despite having access to the same resources (Tice 2015).

As I set out to unearth the strategies these school leaders engaged in to succeed in implementation of IE practices, my analysis revealed that they could be classified into two thematic approaches: tackling attitudes and contesting scarcity. The tackling attitudes approach involved subverting dominant IE perceptions held by different IE stakeholders, while contesting scarcity involved the optimization of minimally available resources.

In this chapter I summarises my findings, reflect on the implications they have on IE policy and submit a conclusion.

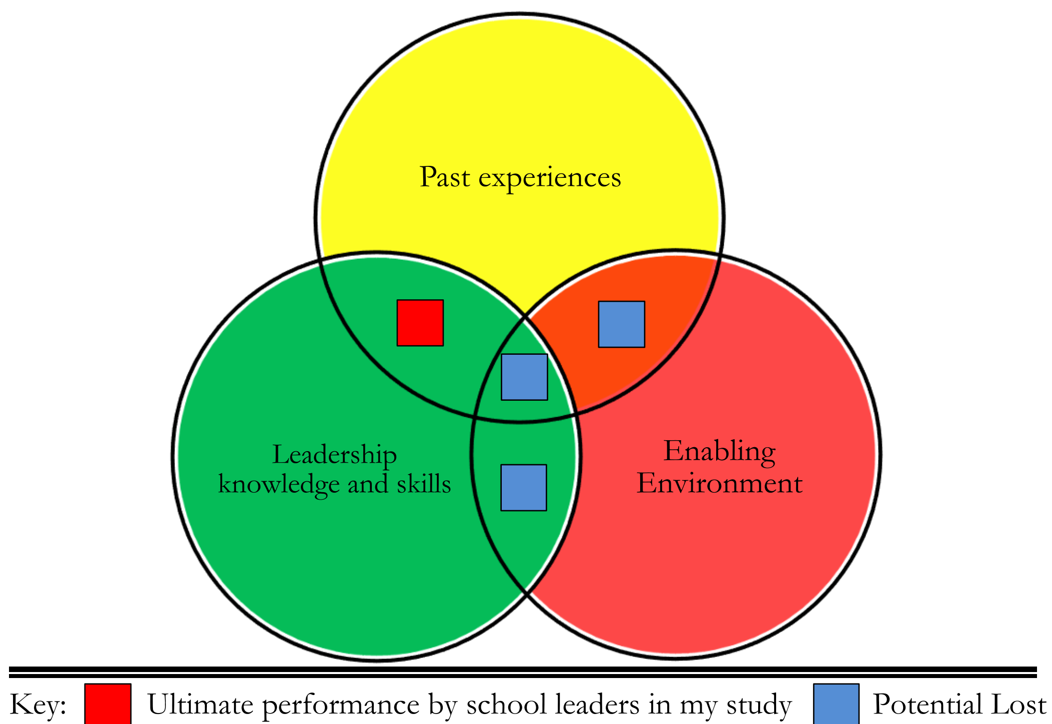
6.1 Positive Deviance Enhancers

Successful school leaders have an optimistic perspective compared to their peers regarding resources; they see the glass as half full and not half empty. They also acknowledge that "dollar bills do not educate children" (Grubb 2009), instead their instructional leadership, aligned attitudes and synchronised systems do.

My study disclosed that there was preference amongst the school leaders on which elements of the IE practices they implemented and the strategies they engaged in based on their knowledge and skills. E.g., the heads of special units practiced reactive agency when it came to assessment of CWD; a practice that the head teachers did not engage in. On the other hand, the head teachers would engage in IE implementation strategies with a wider community focused purview e.g., resource mobilisation activities; and the heads of special units would not.

The Triadic Reciprocal Framework Core Agency Concepts (TRFCAC) by Jenkins (2019: 170) guided my analysis of the enhancers of school leader agency. While the framework indicated three determinants: personal, behavioural, and environmental determinants, the results of my analysis aligned with only two of these determinants; personal and behavioural as the successful school leaders worked in challenging working environments. I aligned the personal determinants to the past experiences of the five school leaders and the behavioural determinants to the leadership knowledge and skills they embody. While these two aspects appear on their own, I assert that they are more impactful enhancers when they intersect with each other. I showcase this, as well as the potential lost in implementation of effective IE practices by not operating in an enabling environment in Figure 6.1. As I present this, I acknowledge that school leaders' deviance varies even when they experience similar enhancers.

Figure 6.1 The intersection of enhancers of positive deviance by school leaders



My analysis asserts that, the school leader's competency in IE practices contributed to their success. All five were professionally trained in inclusive education and three had training in special education as well. This enabled them to be confident in the breaking down the barriers of IE implementation as the understood both their school contexts and the IE content. Jenkins (2019: 178) notes that teacher agency can be empowered when teachers have knowledge and skills needed to enact a policy.

As I examined the attributes of these school leaders, I found them to be responsible, passionate, visionary, effective coordinators and communicators, persuasive, innovative and people of integrity. I coded these conclusive attributes from transcripts of the school leaders. Examples of some statements that support this include:

"I advocated for the school to open a special unit because I had seen its value from the previous school I was teaching at. Children with mild disabilities can be part of the main school and those who need extra attention can come special unit before joining the mainstream classes"

- Mrs. Ndhlovu, Head of Special Unit, Mchini Primary School

"I just have a heart for it… I really just want those children who are hidden to come out… it pains me so much to still see people still hiding those children when they deserve education just like any other person"

- Mrs. Mumba, Head teacher, Mchini Primary School

"As person with disability myself. I understand what these children are feeling…what they are going through and I want to help them. They should not go through the same challenges that I went through."

- Mr. Jere, Head of Special Unit, Kansenje Primary School

"…we should not exclude anyone; it is not our job. There is no difference between them and me. So that is what drives me, 'for me, no one is blind, no one is deaf, no one is physically disabled - that person can also do…. if the obstacles than hinder that person are removed. So, my major role should be to remove those obstacles"

- Mrs. Phiri, Head teacher, Kansenje Primary School

"I have a responsibility as the head teacher to ensure education for all. If something goes wrong…they will ask for me, they call me the responsible officer"

- Mr. Malumbe, Head teacher, Shungu Na Mtitima Primary School

In conclusion, I assert that there is need for continued interrogation of dominant IE perceptions, narratives, and practices. These school leaders prove to be positive deviant street level bureaucrats from whom inclusive education industry can learn from. In the next chapter, I summaries my findings and share the implications they have on IE policy and practice.

6.2 IE Implementation Tactics

Tackling Attitudinal Barriers

Attitudes inform the society and consequently form social norms. The five successful school leaders who participated in my research, acknowledge this, and tactfully subvert the dominant IE perception of key IE stakeholders in three main ways.

First, they were intentional about addressing the perception that CWD have about themselves, as their self-image directly affects their learning engagement. As they did this, they were reflexive of their generational, able-bodied, and institutional gaze and give room for the CWD to exercise their agency.

Secondly, they negotiated with parents' perceptions. Contrary to the usual dismissal of parents' denial as a weak psychological state these leaders empathize with parents with CWD. They understand that their perception of disability was also formed in an able-centric society. School leaders prioritized parents' agency in the education of their child as it contributes to creating synergy between the home and school environment. An aspect that is vital for CWD educational and social progress.

Lastly, successful school leaders were keen on influencing their communities' dominant attitudes towards IE. They strategically began by having an inclusion vision for their schools and effectively communicating it to various IE stakeholders. Then, they used their successful inclusive education practices to deliberately create IE ambassadors at their schools, who acted as the starting point of the domino effect of shifting attitudes throughout their respective communities.

As they tackled the attitudes of different stakeholders, they considered the three gazes, generational, able-bodies and structural gaze. For optimum generational, societal, and structural relations, they were careful to intrinsically navigate through the gazes to optimise agency of all IE stakeholders and avoid marginality of CWD.

Contesting Scarcity of Resources

Street-level work is ironically, "rule saturated but not rule bound" (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003: 10). This element enabled school leaders to challenge the scarcity of resources needed to successfully implement IE at their schools. They leveraged on the autonomy accorded to them by their unique position in the IE implementation process, to make pragmatic decisions about the allocation and use of resources in their schools. This is reminiscent of the SLB's characteristics as being both policy implementors and designers as their decisions ultimately became the policies carried out (Lipsky 2010). As they designed policy, these successful school leaders they leaned on their positive deviant attributes to counter aspects of marginality i.e., by being people of integrity, they perceived all children as equal. This aspect was crucial because in their position as street level bureaucrats they face the temptation of 'people-processing' – which is the sorting, screening, and prioritizing of clients using social stereotypes (ibid: 115).

These school leaders contested scarcity in the following ways: applying themselves, muddling through, leveraging on their community, and innovating to fit context. By applying themselves these school leaders optimised the available knowledge and skill set they have. Muddling through involved making decisions to begin implementation of IE practices without having all the resources to ensure its success or sustainability at hand. While this may be viewed as an irresponsible strategy, for these school leaders it serves as a creative stimulant to incrementally find solutions to ensure IE practices in their schools. As street level bureaucrats they worked together with peers from different sectors like health and security to ensure that the barriers encountered by CWD out of the school environment are circumvented. Lastly, they came up with innovative strategies to generate resources needed to address their shortfall.

6.3 Policy Implications

Zambia currently does not have an IE policy instead; school leaders rely on IE guidelines (MESVTEE 2015) provided by the ministry of education to advise them on the best IE practices. All the IE stakeholders I interacted with both in the learning event and as I carried out my interviews unanimously presented the creation of IE policy as the immediate step that the state should take towards prioritisation of IE in the country. They submit this as it would mean the increased allocation of resources to IE, directly addressing one of the two thematic barriers.

As the IE stakeholders continue to lobby for this, below, I the implications my research findings have on the present IE guidelines, Education policy and the lobbying for IE policy creation.

Community based development approach

I suggest that a community-based approach is considered when changing the guidelines to policy. This would ensure that local knowledge and perspective would be incorporated into the policy making it easier to implement in society. As indicated in my findings, CWD and their parents, the parents of able-bodied children and community members are all agentic IE policy actors. Their inclusion paramount. Additionally, I suggest the integration of alumni CWD or able-bodied participants in IE to inform policy.

Capacity building of school leaders' leadership competencies

Recently, the element of IE was included in the Bachelor of Education degree curriculum. This will ensure that all recent teacher graduate teachers are trained in IE practices. However, most of the teachers currently in practice are not trained in IE. Lack of teacher training derails the productivity of teachers (Shiwani et al 2021). As showcased in my findings successful school leaders are best placed to train their peers on IE practices and are willing to do so. I suggest that this strategy is incorporated to IE implementation. It would ensure that training is more contextual and hence efficient.

Democratising allocation of resources

My analysis disclosed the uniquely influential position of school leaders as street level bureaucrats. It highlighted the characteristics that were accorded to them due to their position in the implementation process. I assert that this value of position can be optimised through democratising the allocation of resources at district level.

The current quarterly allocation of resources to schools by District Officers is done in a homogenous manner which fails to consider the diversity of challenges encounters at individual schools, more so, in relation to implementation of IE practices. My findings imply that IE implementation would be more effective if school leaders could present their budget requirements. This would ascertain sustainability of IE practices. This recommendation mirrors the desires of school leaders as they highlighted the lack of acknowledgement of expensive specific assistive devices needed for the optimum performance of CWD in their schools.

6.4 Conclusion

Inclusive education is a battle against social norms. My research disclosed that these social norms are based on three dynamics age, disablism and bureaucracy. It would therefore be ignorant and irresponsible to solely consider the enrolment of CWD in schools as the solution to the exclusionary design of educational opportunities as it does not guarantee that they would benefit (develop socially and intellectually) from the able-bodied centric system (Villegas 2020). Fischer (2018) invites inclusion proponents to critically consider the design of inclusive systems. He states that 'inclusion is not the alter ego of social exclusion', urging practitioners to focus on universalism approaches over targeted policy solutions. Stubbs (2008), compliments this by arguing that IE should not be considered a 'bolt-on' education systems.

Additionally, through the positive deviant actions of the school leaders featured in my study, it is evident that IE is a process of continuous mediations and adjustments which occur in a dynamic social, economic, and political environment. Consequently, it should always be viewed as dynamic and not static.

"Humans do make their own history, but they act within multiple constraints based on their relations and interdependencies with other humans" Berner (1998: 1). This quote by Karl Max expounds on agency within structure, an aspect that emanated as the core of my research findings. It is the positive deviant agentic actions of school leaders that not only contributed to the progress of IE implementation at their schools, but also challenged the dominant perception of street level bureaucrats which regards them as legalistic and lacking in discipline (Lipsky 2010, Aiyar et al 2012). The CWD and their parents also exercised their agency by engaging in IE practices in their schools and negotiating their children's access to education, respectively. This highlights the power of personal agency in social reproduction.

In conclusion, by showcasing a narrative of resilience and wit of school leaders who have thrived at implementation of IE practices despite their working environments, I present the importance of a multiplicity of narratives. The dominant narratives of the educational rights and abilities of CWD and the role of school leaders in IE implementation have created stereotypes. Adichie (2009) in her famous TED Global talk 'The danger of a single story' addresses the perpetuation of stereotypes by stating that 'the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete.'

I characterise my study as persuasive tool which asserts that CWD should learn together with their able-bodied counterparts, parental agency is valuable to IE success and school leaders positively contribute to the implementation of IE practices in their schools. With is, I urge IE stakeholders in governance, academia, and practice to join in the brokerage of inclusion by explicitly shifting focus from its critique to its construction.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Inclusive Education Implementation Progress (IEIP) Framework

These elements are derived from the challenges of IE implementation stated in the Zambian IE Guidelines and the dimensions and implementation process of the index of inclusion by the Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education.

Elements in the Index
Learning facilitated in appropriate communication methods
Suitable infrastructure
Appropriate educational materials
Continuous training of teachers
Assessment and evaluation of LSEN
Exemption of fee
Parental or guardian involvement
Sustainability measures

Screenshots of the dimensions that the Index for inclusion by Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education addresses and its implementation process (Reiser 2012; 235 -236).

The Index has three dimensions that cover all aspects of school life:

Dimension A: Creating inclusive cultures

Building community – establishing inclusive values: This dimension is about creating a secure, collaborative and stimulating community in which everyone is valued. It is concerned with developing inclusive values, shared among all staff, students, governors, parents and carers, that are conveyed to all new members of the school. These principles guide decisions about policies and practice, so that the learning of all is supported through a continuous process of school development.

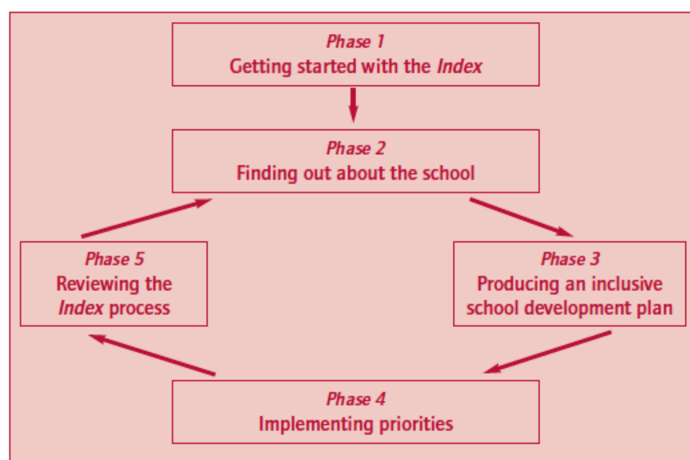
Dimension B: Producing inclusive policies

Developing a school for all – organising support for diversity: This dimension is about putting inclusion at the heart of school development, so that it permeates all policies. Support is all those activities which increase the capacity of a school to respond to student diversity. All forms of support are brought within a single framework and are viewed from the perspective of students, rather than administrative structures.

Dimension C: Evolving inclusive practices

Orchestrating learning – mobilising resources: This dimension is about making school practices reflect inclusive policies. It is concerned with ensuring that classroom and extracurricular activities encourage the participation of all students and draw on their experience outside school. Teaching and support are integrated in the orchestration of learning and overcoming barriers. Staff mobilise resources to sustain learning for all.

Figure 8.1. The *Index* process and the school development planning cycle



The Index *planning process*

Phase 1: Getting started with the *Index* (half a term)
The school development planning team establishes a co-ordinating group. The group informs itself and the rest of the staff about *Index* concepts, materials and methods for gathering knowledge about the school from all members of the school community.

Phase 2: Finding out about the school (one term)
Detailed exploration of the school and the identification of priorities for development.

Phase 3: Producing an inclusive school development plan
Change the school development plan to make it reflect inclusive aims and the particular priorities identified in Phase 2.

Phase 4: Implementing priorities (ongoing)
Implementation and support.

Phase 5: Reviewing the Index process (ongoing)
Review of progress in developing an inclusive culture, policies and practices.

Appendix 2 Interview Guides

1. Head Teachers

Section A: School

1. Tell me about your school? What is its background? When was it opened? By whom?
2. What community does it serve? What is the population of the community that its serves?
3. What is the population of your school?
4. What are the challenges that your school faces?

Section B: Inclusive Education

1. What do you regard as inclusive education?
2. When did your school begin to practice inclusive education?
3. What steps have been made to ensure inclusive education in your school?
4. What support have you received towards the implementation of inclusion? Local government? NGOs?
5. What is the population of children with disabilities in your school?
6. What kind of disabilities do they have?

Section C: School Leaders and Practices

1. Which school leader has been key in ensuring inclusive education in your school?
2. What did that school leader do/ is doing differently from other school leaders?
3. What guides the school leaders' practices?
4. Do they follow the IE government guidelines?
5. What is the participation of parents in ensuring inclusive education?
6. Are children involved in inclusion practices?

Section D: Sustainability of Inclusion

1. What systems are in place to ensure inclusive education in your school remains as usual practice/ improves?
2. Who leads these processes?
3. Are there any synchronised efforts with schools in the region?

2. Interview Guides for School leaders

Section A: School

1. Tell us about your school's background, when was it formed? By whom?
2. What community does it serve? What is the population of the community that its serves?
3. What is the population of your school?
4. What are the challenges that your school faces?

Section B: Inclusive Education

1. What do you regard as inclusive education?
2. When did your school begin to practice inclusive education?
3. What steps have been made to ensure inclusive education in your school?
4. What support have you received towards the implementation of inclusion? Local government? NGOs?
5. What is the population of learners with disabilities in your school?
6. What kind of disabilities do they have?

Section C: Strategies and Practices

1. Are you conversant with the Inclusive education Policy in Zambia?
2. Do you know about the IE implementation guidelines (2016)?
3. What strategies did you use to promote inclusive education in your school?
4. What innovations have you created around inclusive education in your schools?
5. Are the practices/ strategies/ innovations on IE in a alignment with the policy guides? Or not? If so, why?
6. How would you propose that the IE policy design/ implementation is improved?

Section D: Personal Attributes/ Training

1. Tell us about yourself?
   - How long have you been involved in IE?
   - Do you have training in IE? Which one?
   - Do you enjoy being a leader in IE? Why?

2. Tell us about yourself outside of IE?
   - Do you teach a class? Which one?
   - Do you follow a certain religion?
   - Do you have a personal motto?
   - What motivates you?
   - What would you be doing if not this?

3. How can your work in IE be supported?

3. Interview Guides for Parents

Section A: Introduction

1. Name?
2. Parent to who? How many children?

Section B: School

1. How long have they been in the school?
2. Have you witnessed changes in the school? Which ones?
3. Are you involved in the school administration?
4. Does the school head teacher involve parents in administration?
5. How can the school leaders involve parents more?

Section C: Inclusive Education

1. What do you understand by Inclusive education?
2. Do you think that this school practices inclusive education? Why?
3. What can be improved regarding inclusive education in this school?
4. Who is the champion of inclusive education in this school? Why are they the champion?
5. What challenges does your child face in school?
6. Does inclusive education affect your child? Do they feel involved?

4. Interview Guides for Children

Clarify Consent
Explain the study and why we would like their input

Section A: Identity

1. Names
2. Age
3. Grade
4. Proximity from school

Section B: School

1. What do you like about your school?
2. Do you feel comfortable in school?
3. Who makes you feel most conformable?
4. Do you enjoy learning? Which subjects?
5. Who is your best friend in school?
6. Do children with disabilities come to your school?
7. What challenges do you/they face in school?

Section C: School Leaders

1. Who is your favourite teacher? Why?
2. How do teachers help you in school?
3. How do would you want your teachers to help you better?

Appendix 3 Link to National News Feature

The learning event was featured in a national address to the recently elected Zambian president. The address was to prioritize the inclusion of people with disabilities (PWD) in the implementation of his national development agenda. Minute: 21-31: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7fnExPQXyFg

Appendix 4 Pictures from Field Work Research

Picture 1: With the Head teacher of Shungu na Mtitima Primary School and his deputy.

Picture 2: With the Head teacher and Head of Special Unit at Mchini Primary School

Picture 3: Parent of a CWD participating in an interview with her other children

Picture 4: Carrying out an interview with a CWD at his home in the presence of his friends

Picture 5: Nurtured school farm used to raise funds to sustain IE practices

Picture 6: Levelled school paths to ease mobility of CWD at Kansenje Primary School

Picture 7: Police Inspector who works with School leaders to ensure IE practices

Picture 8: Breaking down Barriers project partners during the learning event. Dr. Thomas Mtonga, Oscar Kahemba, Esther Kamaara, Gift Lungu and Kamima Nguni. (Left to Right)

Appendix 5 Sample of Consent Forms

Research Consent Form

To **Ms. Esther Kamaara and Mr. Oscar Kahemba,**

Student Researchers of Inclusive Education

Breaking down Barriers Project

Zambia

I, JENNIFER MWEENE, hereby give my consent for to be a voluntary participant of the research carried out by the above-mentioned students. The research is on the Inclusive Education policy implementation in Zambia. It will focus on the roles that school leaders have had in the implementation of inclusion in their schools as well as the practices and strategies they engaged in to succeed. I understand that the outcomes of this research are to contribute to improved inclusive education policy and practice in Zambia.

Considering the Covid-19 pandemic, I commit to follows the Covid-19 safety regulations which include ensuring keeping the 1.5-meter rule, wearing a facemask through-out the research period and washing or sanitising my hands.

Additionally, I give my consent to the two students to contact me beyond this research period if there is need to clarify data gathered through my child's participation.

Official Names: JENNIFER MWEENE

Signature:

Date: 9th AUGUST 2021

0974985131

References

Able Child Africa (n.d.) Home Page. Accessed 28 October 2021< https://ablechildafrica.org/ >.

Adichie, Chimamanda (2009) 'The danger of a single story', *TEDGlobal 2009*. Accessed 31 October 2021 < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs241zeg&t=3s >.

Adu-Ampong E. A. and Adams E. A. (2020) 'But You Are Also Ghanaian, You Should Know: Negotiating the Insider–Outsider Research Positionality in the Fieldwork Encounter', *Qualitative Inquiry* 26 (6): 583–592.

Aiyar, Y. Davis, V. and Dongre, A. (2015) 'Education reform and frontline administrators: A case study from Bihar.' Accessed 7 October 2021 < https://www.ideasforindia.in/topics/macroeconomics/education-reform-and-frontline-administrators-a-case-study-from-bihar-i.html >.

Andrews, M. (2015) 'Explaining Positive Deviance in Public Sector Reforms in Development', *World Development* 74 :197-208. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Bandura, A. (2011) 'On the Functional Properties of Perceived Self-Efficacy Revisited', *Journal of Management* 38(1): 9-44.

Berner, E. (1998) 'Social structure and human agency: An introduction,' *Basic text for INT* 101 (7).

Chitiyo, M., Odongo, G., Itimu-Phiri, A., Muwana, F. and Lipemba, M. (2015) 'Special Education Teacher Preparation in Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.' *Journal of International Special Needs Education* (2015) 18 (2): 51–59.

Chondoka, Y. and Machila, M. (2013) 'Education for All evaluation report.' Unpublished.

Ellis, K. (2007) 'Direct Payments and Social Work Practice: The Significance of 'Street-Level Bureaucracy' in Determining Eligibility', *The British Journal of Social Work* 37(3): 405–422.

Enabling Education Network (EENET) (2018) 'Enabling Education Review, Issue 7.' Accessed 11 May 2021 < https://www.eenet.org.uk/product/enabling-education-review-issue-7-2018-copy/ >.

Enabling Education Network (EENET) (2021) 'Democratisation of the classroom – Mpika, Zambia.' Accessed 1 April 2021 <https://www.eenet.org.uk/enabling-education-review/enabling-education-5/newsletter-5/5-6/ >.

Enabling Education Network (EENET) (2021) 'Twinning for Inclusion: A Child-to-Child Project in Zambia.' Accessed 1 April 2021 < https://www.eenet.org.uk/enabling-education-review/enabling-education-3/newsletter-3/3-8/ >.

Fischer, A. M. (2018) *Poverty as ideology: rescuing social justice from global development agendas.* London: Zed Books.

Gannicott, A. (2018) 'Disability, Performativity and the Able-Gaze', *Exclamat!on: An Interdisciplinary Journal (Identities)* 2: 213-228. Accessed 27 October 2021 < https://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/media/universityofexeter/collegeofhumanities/english/research/exclamationjournal/ExclamationVol2.pdf#page=221 >.

Geiser, P., Musoke, G. (2013) *Linking CBR, Disability and Rehabilitation.* CBR Africa Network.

Graham L. and. Slee R. (2008) 'An illusory interiority: interrogating the discourse/s of inclusion.' *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 40(2): 277–293.

Gross, J., Haines, S., Hill, C., Francis, G., Blue-Banning, M., and Turnbull, A. (2015) 'Strong School–Community Partnerships in Inclusive Schools Are "Part of the Fabric of the School.…We Count on Them"', *School Community Journal* 25 (2): 9-34. ERIC Document number: EJ1085646 (microfiche). Accessed 8 October < https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1085646 >.

Grubb, W. N. (2009) 'Correcting the money myth: re-thinking school resources: while money is useful, a school's most important resources cannot be bought.' *Phi Delta Kappan* 91 (4). Sage Publications, Inc. Accessed 30 October 2021 <https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=erasmus&id=GALE|A215609872&v=2.1&it=r&sid=bookmark- >.

Heckert, D. M. (1998) 'Positive Deviance: A Classificatory Model', *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology* 26 (1): 23.

Heinicke-Motsch, K. (2013) 'Community-based Rehabilitation: An Effective Strategy for Rights-based, Inclusive Community Development', in Geiser P., Musoke G. (eds) *Linking CBR, Disability and Rehabilitation.* CBR Africa Network.

Herbert, E. and Moir J. (1996) 'Children with Special Educational Needs. A Collaborative and Inclusive style of working', in Nutbrown C. (ed.) *Respectful Educators – Capable learners. Children's rights and Early Education,* pp. 56-68. London: Sage Publishers.

Honwana, A. M. and Boeck, F. de (2005) *Makers & Breakers: Children & Youth in Postcolonial Africa.* Oxford: James Currey

Hossain, N. (2010) 'School Exclusion as Social Exclusion: The Practices and Effects of a Conditional Cash Transfer Programme for the Poor in Bangladesh', *The Journal of Development Studies* 46 (7): 1264-1282. doi: 10.1080/00220388.2010.487096

Jenkins, G., (2019) 'Teacher agency: the effects of active and passive responses to curriculum change', *The Australian Educational Researcher* 47(1): 167-181.

Jesacher-Roessler, L. and Schratz, M. (2019) 'Leadership for learning: Teacher leaders as mediators for school-wide innovation and change', *Teacher leadership*, pp. 282-303. Foundation for the Development of the Education System.

Jones, H. (2002) 'Disabled Children's Rights' Enabling Education'. Accessed 4 October 2021 <https://www.eenet.org.uk/enabling-education-review/enabling-education-6/newsletter-6/6-6/ >.

Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment', *Development and Change* 30 (4): 435-464.

Kangwa, P., Bonati, G., Chalker, P., & Scotchmer, C. (2003) 'Learning together in the Mpika inclusive education project.' London: Child-to-Child Trust.

Kapingidza, S. (2014) 'The Social Impact of the Zimbabwean Crisis on Access and Quality of Education: Examining Teachers' Unruly Practices in Rural Secondary Schools', MA Thesis. The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies.

Khochen, M. and Radford, J. (2012) 'Attitudes of teachers and headteachers towards inclusion in Lebanon.' *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 16(2): 139-153.

King, N., Horrocks, C. and Brooks J. (2019) 'Designing and Interview Study.' *In Interviews in Qualitative Research,* pp. 52-70.

Kuipers P., Sabuni L.P. (2016) 'Community-Based Rehabilitation and Disability-Inclusive Development: On a Winding Path to an Uncertain Destination', in Grech S., Soldatic K. (eds) *Disability in the Global South. International Perspectives on Social Policy, Administration, and Practice,* pp 453-467. Cham: Springer. Accessed 8 October < https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-42488-0_29 >.

Lalvani, P. (2014) 'The enforcement of normalcy in schools and the disablement of families: unpacking master narratives on parental denial', *Disability & Society* 29 (8): 1221-1233, Accessed 5 October 2021 < https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2014.923748 >.

Lipsky, M. (1980) *Street-level bureaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Lipsky, M. (2010) *Street-level Bureaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services.30th Anniversary expanded edition.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Maynard- Moody, S. and Musheno, M.C. (2003) 'Cops, Teachers, Counsellors: Stories from the front lines of public service.' Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare (2015) 'Zambia National Policy on Disability.' Government of Zambia. Accessed 21 June 2021< https://www.mcdss.gov.zm/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/National-Disability-on-Policy.pdf >

Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education (MESVTEE) (2015) 'Guidelines for the Implementation of Inclusive Education and Special Education in Zambia. Policy, Practices and Procedures.' Government of Zambia.

Mtonga, T, (2015) 'A critical evaluation on the implementation of the CRPD Article 24 in Zambia: A Mockery of Human Rights.' University of Leeds.

Mtonga, T., Simalalo, M. M., Muzata, K.K. and Mandyata, J. (2018) 'Inclusive education baseline survey report for eastern province Zambia.' Unpublished.

Musil, L., Kubalčíková, K., Hubíková O. and Nečasová M. (2004) 'Do social workers avoid the dilemmas of work with clients?', *European Journal of Social Work* 7 (3): 305-319. doi: 10.1080/1369145042000291797

Ndhlovu, D., Serenje, J. and Mtonga, T. (2014) 'The Effect and Contribution of Free Primary Education among Learners with Hearing and Visual Impairments: a case of Selected Schools in Zambia.' Unpublished.

Nielsen, V. L. (2006) 'Are Street-Level Bureaucrats Compelled or Enticed to Cope?', *Public Administration*, 84(4), p. 856- 861.

O'Leary, Z. (2014) *The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project.* London: SAGE Publications.

Okwany, A. and Wazir, R. (2016) *Changing Social Norms to Universalize Girls' Education in East Africa. Lessons from a pilot project.* Antwerp- Apeldoorn. Garant.

Parrilla Á. (2007) 'Inclusive education in Spain: a view from inside', in L. Barton and F. Armstrong (eds.), *Policy, Experience, and change: cross-cultural reflections on Inclusive Education*, pp. 19–36. Dordrecht: Springer.

Pascale, R., Sternin, J. and Sternin, M. (2010) *The Power of Positive Deviance: How Unlikely Innovators Solve the World's Toughest Problems*. Cambridge: Harvard Business Review Press.

Petchey, R., Williams, J. and Carter, Y. H. (2008) 'From Street-Level Bureaucrats to Street-Level Policy Entrepreneurs? Central Policy and Local Action in Lottery-Funded Community Cancer Care', *Social Policy & Administration* 42(1):59–76.doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9515.2007.00588.x.

Pförtner, K. (2014) 'Community-based Inclusive Education: Best Practices from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras', *Disability, CBR & Inclusive Development* 25(1): 72–81. doi: http://doi.org/10.5463/dcid.v25i1.321

Pouw, N. and Gupta, J. (2017) 'Inclusive Development: A Multi-Disciplinary Issue', *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability* 24: 104-108.

Reiser, R. (2012) 'Implementing Inclusive Education: A Commonwealth Guide to Implementing Article 24 of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities'. London: Commonwealth Secretariat. Accessed 17 September 2021 <http://worldofinclusion.com/v3/wpcontent/uploads/2014/01/Implementing-Inclusive-Education-promo-copy1.pdf >.

Ritchie, J., Lewis J. and Elam G. (2003) 'Designing and Selecting Samples', in J. Ritchie, and J. Lewis (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, pp. 77-108. London/New Delhi: Sage Publication

Roelen, K. and Sabates-Wheeler, R., (2012) 'A child-sensitive approach to social protection: serving practical and strategic needs', *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice* 20(3): 291-306.

Ross, J. A. and Berger, M-J. (2009) 'Equity and leadership: Research-based strategies for school leaders', *School Leadership and Management 29*(5): 461-474.

Rousmaniere, K. (2013) 'The principal: The most misunderstood person in all of education', *The Atlantic.*

Salisbury, C. L. (2006) 'Principals' Perspectives on Inclusive Elementary Schools', *Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities* 31 (1): 70-82. Chicago: University of Illinois. doi: 10.2511/rpsd.31.1.70

Sayed, Y. and Soudien, C., (2003) '(Re)Framing Education Exclusion and Inclusion Discourses.' *IDS Bulletin* 34(1): 9-19.

Shiwani, D., Kalai, J., Akala, W. and Gatumu, J. (2021) 'Effect of head teachers support for teachers' professional development on inclusive education implementation.' *JETL (Journal of Education, Teaching and Learning)* 6(1): 83.

Simui, F. and Mtonga, T (2013) 'Mainstreaming Disability in Zambian Schools.' Unpublished.

Simui, F. and Mtonga, T. (2014) 'Situation Analysis on Education Provision for Children with Special Education Needs in Zambia.' Zambia National Educational Coalition (ZANEC).

Stubbs, S. (2008) 'Inclusive Education. Where there are few resources', Ingrid Lewis (ed). Updated and revised version. Norway: The Atlas Alliance.

Tice, L. (2005) 'Positive Deviants,' *Leadership excellence* 22(6): 10

Undie, C. and Birungi, H. (2016) 'Are School Principals 'the Bad Guys'? Nuancing the narrative of school re-entry policy implementation in Kenya', in Okwany, A. and Wazir, R. (eds) *Changing Social Norms to Universalize Girls' Education in East Africa. Lessons from a pilot project,* pp. 166-180. Antwerp- Apeldoorn. Garant.

United Nations (1948) 'Universal Human Declaration of Rights.' Accessed 7 May 2021< https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>.

United Nations (1989) 'Convention on the Rights of Children.' Accessed 7 May 2021 < https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx >.

United Nations (2006) 'Convention on the Rights of People with Disability (UNCRPD)' Accessed 7 May 2021 < https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities.html >.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (2005) 'Guidelines for Inclusion: Ensuring Access to Education for All.'

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (1994). 'The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs.' Accessed 8 May 2021<https://www.right-to-education.org/sites/right-to-education.org/files/resource-attachments/Salamanca_Statement_1994.pdf >.

Villegas, J. K. (2020) 'Excluded from Within: Nuancing Integration and Inclusion through the Lived Experiences of Filipino Children and Youth with Disability in Two Inclusive Education Schools', MA Thesis. The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies.

Wang, H. L. (2009) 'Should All Students with Special Educational Needs (SEN) Be Included in Mainstream Education Provision? - A Critical Analysis.' Department of Communication, Faculty of Social Science: Nan-Hua University.

Winzer, M. 2014. *From Integration to Inclusion: A History of Special Education in the 20th Century.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

World Health Organisation (WHO) (2011) *World Report on Disability.* Accessed 31 October 2021. <https://www.who.int/disabilities/world_report/2011/report.pdf >.

Zambia Agency for Persons with Disabilities (ZAPD) (2009). 'Conference on People with Disabilities Research Report.' Unpublished.