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Silent exclusion (of learners) and democratic classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa: a critical analysis of inclusive education policy



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

A research report presented

By

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

Johannesburg, June 2020

ABSTRACT

The post-apartheid South Africa has led to an introduction of inclusive education policy, thus arguing for inclusion of all learners in inclusive education. Nevertheless, silent exclusion of learners remains a challenge and a social problem to learners who are not participating, not deliberating including learners who are not represented in democratic classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa. As a consequence, showing that there is a disjuncture between theory (inclusive education in post-apartheid South Africa) and practice (implementation of inclusive education in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Therefore, this mini-dissertation provides a critical analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa. In specific terms, this mini-dissertation defends the inclusion of all learners by arguing that learners should be included in schools substantively. To put it bluntly, all learners should be active participants who make their own decisions during the teaching and learning process. In addition, learners should embark on public reasoning, be committed to rational norms, and have conversations with each other. By extension, leaners should also act substantively as one way of looking after each other's interests by being critical of public institution and being able to influence reforms. Furthermore, this mini-dissertation maintains that substantive inclusion of leaners can be a more appropriate way of precluding silent exclusion of learners, as a consequence, bridging the gap between theory and practice.

TERMINOLOGY

Silent exclusion: refers to unheard voices of learners in schools in general and classrooms in particular (non-participation, non-deliberation and non-representation.

Substantive inclusion: refers to learners' voices being heard in schools in general and classrooms in particular (i.e. participation, deliberation and representation)

Democratic classrooms: refers to analogous laboratories that allow learner participation, learner deliberation, and learner representation.

Inclusive education policy: refers to global, regional and domestic instruments that make provision for inclusion of all educable learners in learning and teaching in schools.

ABBREVIATIONS

DoE	Department of Education
SASA	South African Schools Act
CAPS	Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child
EFA	The World Conference of Education for All
ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of a Child

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own work which is submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted to any other university or examination in other universities

…L.Seeko……..

Limakatso Seeko

19 June, 2020

Ethics (Protocol number) : 2019ECE028M

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This mini-dissertation is a modest contribution to the on-going debate about inclusion of all learners in inclusive education, which is currently believed to be a catch-all phrase for different types of inquiries. In simple words, lack of clarity, precise definition of inclusive education and what it aims to achieve has contributed to immense controversies and uncertainty about whether learners should be included in schools. A lot of what characterises inclusive education is mainly rooted in grand narratives and theories in inclusive education policy and scholarly articles about the meaning of inclusive education. Nonetheless, the most significant part of valid and scientifically proven strategies of how all learners can be accommodated in heterogeneous classrooms in inclusive education is not given much attention.

First and foremost, I would like to pass my heart-felt gratitude to the following people who have contributed immensely towards the completion of this mini-dissertation.

My supervisor, Dr. Thokozani Mathebula, I am overtly grateful for the continued and consistent patience, support, guidance and interest that you have shown throughout the whole year in the progress of this mini-dissertation. I cannot find more words to articulate just how much thankful I am for the time vested towards the completion of this report. How can I forget to say just how much I have learnt and benefited from your wealth of knowledge, that frustrated me at times, but also developed me both academically and as an individual. Thank you so much.

To my dearest loving family, thank you very much for endless support and kind words that helped me to carry on with this mini-dissertation. Dad, thank you so much for the endless calls and a reminder that I am capable of making it to the end. Mama, thank you for the silent and yet sound prayers that were so loud to give me enough strength to carry on. Thank you both for emotional and financial support. You are the best.

Furthermore, my dearest sisters, Nyakallo Seeko, Maadam Seeko , and my most-beloved friends Sarah Blessed-Sayah, Thabang Ralitsebe, for continued encouragement, proof-reading of my work and making fruitful comments. I appreciate you.

Lastly, a great thank you to God for giving me strength until the completion of this mini-dissertation, and myself, for continued faith and standing tall even when I felt I could not do it.

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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Internationally, the principle of inclusion recognises the need to include all learners in formal schooling. In post-apartheid South Africa specifically, formal legislation and education policy also guarantee the right to education for school-going children. Against this background, this study provides a critical analysis of inclusive education policy in schools (broadly) and democratic classrooms (specifically), in post-apartheid South Africa. As a consequence, this study uses democratic theory, a theoretical framework which mainly draws from classical texts by classical theorists of democratic theory. The study maintains that, ideally, inclusive education calls for the inclusion of all learners in democratic classrooms, i.e. learner participation, learner representation and learner deliberation. Also, the study shows that inclusive education policy (ideal) is not translated into practice (achievement). As a consequence, the learners' voices are unheard. This implies that, within South African democratic classrooms, learners are silently excluded (Engelbrecht, Nel, Smit, & Van Deventer, 2016). Put differently, learners are not participating, not deliberating and are also not represented substantively in democratic classrooms in South Africa. Hence, the central argument in this mini-dissertation is that the struggle for inclusive democratic classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa is *on-going*. By implication, inclusion in schools was won, now seems to be lost and needs to be regained. Following from this stance, the learners who remain excluded from democratic schools have a right to fight in order to regain their rights to be included in mainstream schooling.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The post-apartheid era in South Africa has profoundly influenced the establishment of a democratic society. Additionally, it has also influenced the transformation of South African education system from racial education into unitary education which incorporates the inclusion of *all* learners within a single education system (Lomofsky & Lazarus, 2001).

Following the aforementioned transformation of the education system, was the introduction of inclusive education policies such as the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994); South African Schools Act (Department of Education [DoE], 1996); The White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DoE2011) as well as the Guides for Representative Councils of Learners (1999). These policies all stipulate the inclusion of educable learners in inclusive education.

Correspondingly, Engelbrecht, Savolainen, Nel, Koskela, and Okkolin (2017) note that currently, as a consequence of inclusive education policies, South Africa has made significant progress in this regard by increasing pre-primary, primary as well as secondary school enrolments. Nevertheless, silent exclusion of learners creates a big challenge as well as a social problem to all the learners who are unable to participate, deliberate and be represented in democratic education. As a result, Gutmann (1987) argues that democratic classrooms should allow learner participation in order to develop learners as autonomous individuals who have maximised life opportunities as future citizens. In addition, Gutmann, (1987) postulates that all learners should be allowed to deliberate in democratic classrooms so that they are developed as moral characters with enlarged capacity of informed reasoning. In addition to learner participation and learner deliberation in democratic classrooms, Gutmann (1987) argues for learner representation by maintaining that all learners from diverse backgrounds should have maximised educational opportunities. This means that if silent exclusion of learners is not addressed in democratic schools, it impedes pragmatic inclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms as the next paragraph will show.

Notably, some of the scholars namely Artiles (2011) and Reindal (2016) assert that more often than not, inequities of class, gender, including geography preclude full participation (inclusion) of all learners as well as quality education for all. This, therefore, means that regardless of provisions made by inclusive education policies globally, continentally and domestically (which is the focus of the study), some learners are silently excluded from democratic classrooms. Consequently, the voices of learners are unheard in some post-apartheid South African classrooms. However, there is seemingly scanty systematic conceptual engagement on the topic of the silent exclusion of learners in democratic schools in post-apartheid South Africa, which

contributes to the mounting exclusion of educable learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms.

Correspondingly, the research problem that this study seeks to address is that despite the formal, global and domestic inclusive education policies in schools, substantive inclusion, i.e. learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation remain a distant dream for many school-going children in post-apartheid South African schools. In correspondence with the problem of silent exclusion of learners aforementioned, this study acknowledges the existing tension between inclusive education policy (intention) and practice (outcome) thus showing that inclusion of all learners in democratic classrooms is still an on-going struggle specifically for learners who are silently excluded.

This silent exclusion of learners implies that learners are not substantively participating, deliberating and represented in democratic classrooms. Accordingly, apart from the initiatives by the government to include all learners in schools, democratic classrooms do not incorporate both the formal (ideal) and substantive (achievement) modes of inclusion in South African schools. In this regard, it becomes easy to argue that [Inclusive education policy] is *ahistorical and depersonalised as* well as *devoid of human experience* (practice) (see Hulme & Hulme, 2012). In clear terms, inclusive education policy is too abstract and empty as far as the achievement of democratic classroom practice in South African schools is concerned. Hence the unavoidable need for learners to fight and struggle for their rights to be included in democratic classrooms. This study in keeping with the aforementioned provides a critical analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa with the intention to clarify the problems of education (analysis) and provide possible alternatives (synthesis).

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The study aims to provide a critical analysis of inclusive education policy in democratic schools in general and democratic classrooms in particular in post-apartheid South Africa.

1.3.1 Central argument

My central argument is that inclusive democratic classrooms are not just *naturally given*, *agreed upon* and *talked about* – on the contrary inclusion in schools is *fought for.* As Christie (2010) reminds us, *"*South Africa's anti-apartheid struggles that gave rise to [inclusive education] are now out of view. [Inclusive education] rights are fought for, won, lost, and won again (p. 6), my emphasis). Against this backdrop, this study:

- Provides a conceptual clarification, considering the meaning and practical significance of classical theory (i.e. theories of participatory democracy, theories of deliberative democracy and theories of representative participatory democracy);

- Points out that democratic classrooms are characterised by learner participation, learner deliberation, and learner representation; and

- Maintains that in post-apartheid South Africa inclusive education policy frameworks (expression) is not translated into practice (reality) thus the existence of the zones of exclusion.

Ultimately, the central contribution that this study seeks to make is that in a constitutional democracy, as well as the inclusive education policy, there is provision for all learners to be included formally in democratic schools in post-apartheid South Africa. However, the inclusion of all learners in inclusive education in South Africa is not practical. Therefore, this study argues that learners need to struggle for their rights to be included (not just formally – but substantively too [learner participation, learner deliberation including learner representation] in post-apartheid democratic schools, to bridge the gap between expression (policy) and practice (reality).

1.3.2 Methodology

This is a conceptual study which employed three methods of inquiry. On the descriptive side, the researcher looked at the meaning and features of Athenian prototype of democracy[1], classroom, inclusion, child, and school. In one sense, the main contribution of Chapter 2 of this mini dissertation was on conceptual clarification, thus laying a ground Chapter 3 (trends and debates about inclusive education in democratic classrooms) and Chapter 4 (the zones of exclusion). For instance, democracy is defined as a form of government in which the supreme power of governance is based on people who participate in political debates by raising issues of public concern. Accordingly, classrooms are defined as analogous labs in which the personal and public dimensions of citizenship are fostered. Going forward, inclusion is referred to as a process of transformation in societies and public institutions such as schools to accommodate diverse learning and educational needs of all learners. In addition, a child is defined as citizens who are waiting to be inducted in future roles as the reader will see earlier on. Moreover, a school is referred to as institutions where all learners are developed for the general good of society.

On the analytical angle, in Chapter 5, the researcher provides a critical analysis of post-apartheid inclusive education policy documents, such as the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), the South African Schools Act (SASA) No. 84 of 1996, the Salamanca Statement, (UNESCO, 1994), The White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) and the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (DoE, 2011). In providing critical analysis, the researcher argues that post-apartheid inclusive education policy is rooted in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996. As a consequence, post-apartheid inclusive policy encompasses three elements of democracy namely learner participation, learner deliberation, and learner representation. However, the elements of participation, deliberation and representation of learners in post-apartheid inclusive education policy are mainly on the formal inclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Therefore, in lived experiences, that is, in post-apartheid South African classrooms

[1]According to Caprara and Vechione (2017), the Athenian Prototype of democracy is defined as the type of government which is characterized by direct participation of the people in collective self-government. However, Caprara and Vecchione (2017) note that not all people participated in government; these included slaves and minors. Equally important, Caprara and Vecchione (2017) state that it encompasses of participation (demos electing the type of government they want), representation where citizens voiced their political matters and deliberation (articulated their views about the type of government they want as they provided reasoning for their views.

learners are silently excluded. In specific terms, some learners are not participating, not deliberating and not represented.

Correspondingly, I argue in Chapter 5 that post-apartheid inclusive education displays the espoused theories. In clear terms, meaning that intension of in inclusive education policy may be likened, but in practice, prove to be abstract and empty. To cite an example, the zones of exclusion are used to show that some learners are still excluded in democratic classrooms, despite the grand theories that argue for the inclusion of all learners in democratic classrooms. Arguably, I have maintained in Chapter 5 that there is tension between post-apartheid inclusive education policy and practice in post-apartheid South African classrooms. While on this argument I have also argued that, post-apartheid inclusive education policy pays little regard to substantive inclusion of learners. As a result, causing a disruption and slow progress of the implementation of inclusive education in democratic classrooms (i.e. substantive learner participation, deliberation and representation).

Lastly, from a normative perspective, in Chapter 6, the researcher claims that there is tension between policy and practice; thus showing how inclusion in democratic classrooms is an on-going struggle for many learners in South Africa. Therefore, the researcher maintains in Chapter 6 that the teachers and the learners have a role to play to secure substantive inclusion of all the learners (substantive participation, deliberation and representation. As a result, the researcher suggests some of the strategies as an alternative on how to move from formal inclusion of learners to a practical inclusion of learners as the discussion in Chapter 6 will indicate. While on this view, the researcher argues that democratic classrooms are not just *naturally given, agreed upon* and *talked about* – on the contrary inclusion in schools is *fought for.* As Christie (2010, p.6) reminds us: "South Africa's anti-apartheid struggles that gave rise to [inclusive education] are now out of view. [Inclusive education] rights are fought for, won, lost, and won again". On this argument, the researcher claims that the teachers and the learners are to be active participants who engage in a struggle for substantive inclusion of all learners.

1.4 Conclusion

Firstly, the chapter introduced the reader to the subject, i.e. Silent exclusion (of learners) and democratic classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa: a critical analysis of inclusive education policy. Secondly, it showed that the problem is that the majority of learners are not able to participate, deliberate and feel represented substantively in South African schools. Thirdly, it outlined the study aims, that is, to provide a critical analysis of inclusive education policy in democratic schools in general and democratic classrooms in particular in post-apartheid South Africa. Fourthly, the chapter spelled out that the central argument is that inclusive democratic classrooms are not just *naturally given*, *agreed upon* and *talked about* – on the contrary inclusion in schools is *fought for*. Lastly, it sketched the three forms of inquiry used in this conceptual study. Moving forward, the subsequent chapter focuses on the literature review, thus showing that some learners are silently excluded from full participation in democratic classrooms internationally and in post-apartheid South Africa

CHAPTER 2

DEMOCRACY, CLASSROOM(S), INCLUSION, EXCLUSION, AND LEARNERS IN SCHOOLS: HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

Although provisions (policy) have been made to include all learners in democratic schools, the current review of literature shows that some learners remain excluded from full participation in democratic schools – silently so. Against this view, I argue in this chapter that in democratic schools, we should expect inclusion of all learners – overtly so. In clear words, this means that all learners should be allowed to participate, deliberate and be represented in democratic schools as we shall see in the last section of this chapter. Building on main the argument that is already stated in Chapter 1, the researcher argues that democratic classrooms are *not naturally given, agreed and talked about*, but struggled for in schools – South Africa is no exception. In a nutshell, the contribution that the current chapter seeks to make is mainly on the conceptual clarification of the key concepts underpinning this study. In this chapter, I began by exploring classical Greek philosophers and modern theorists who defended, debated and criticised democracy, especially the classical zeal for democratic participation. Notably, these classical and modern theorists informed the preferred theoretical framework adopted in this study.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 advocates for Athenian prototype democracy and its educational benefits (i.e. participatory democracy, deliberative democracy and representative participatory democracy). Section 2 clarifies related concepts forming the subject of this study, namely classrooms, inclusion, silent exclusion, child, and schools. Section 3 contends that in democratic schools, we should expect substantive inclusion of all learners in democratic schools (learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation) as opposed to exclusion of learners (non-participation, non- deliberation and non-representation of learners).

2.2 The Athenian democracy and its educational benefits

According to Mathebula (2009), the first recorded democracy was the Athenian democracy during 500 BC. The word democracy encompasses two elements, in essence, *demos* refer to people and *Kratos* means the peoples' power. In specific terms, democracy is a form of government in which supreme power of governance is mainly vested on people who are also inclined to participate in political debates as well as voicing out their political concerns (Hammer, 2017). Theoretically, this implies that democracy is a political system in which the people engaged in collective self-rule. Consequently, this definition is characterised by three central features, namely, participation deliberation, and representation. The Athenian fervour for democratic participation is expressed in Pericles declaration of the value of democracy Thucydides (1972), contained in a funeral oration delivered to honour Athenian soldiers who died in the Peloponnesian Wars. Thucydides (1972, pp. 145–147) said:

> Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but the whole people. . . We are free and tolerant in our private lives, but in public affairs, we keep to the law. This is because it commands our deep respect. . . Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well: even those who are mostly occupied with their own business are extremely well-informed on general politics. . . we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all.

Notably, five points are worth mentioning in this quotation. Firstly, Pericles (Thucydides, 1972) asserts that people's power is at the heart of Athenian Constitutional democracy. In other words, governance is based on the premise of the people's authority to designate their governance legislation. Secondly, in a constitutional democracy, the people are law-abiding in a public sphere, which means that, the demos respect and follow the law. Thirdly, this type of democracy fosters individual autonomy and freedom among individuals. Fourthly, Athenian citizens are well-informed and take interest in general politics. Lastly, there is also constant participation specifically with regard to decision-making. This means that people gather together to make decisions in government. Having outlined – briefly – the Athenian notion of democracy, the attention now turns to theorists who testify to and elucidate the educational value of democratic

participation having a good democratic government. In summary, there are two key points worthy of note as far as the educational benefits of participation are concerned. In essence, participation in government allows for the inclusion of all individuals during the decision-making process. Another significant point to make as far as educational benefits of participation are concerned is that when more people come together to make decisions, more people are bound to become empowered from the process of decision-making. In clear terms, Rousseau (1968) is about inclusive empowerment of citizenry. From the foregoing, Mill (1975) also shows the educational benefits of participation as we shall see in the ensuing paragraph.

In addition to the aforementioned educational benefits of participation, Mill (1975) maintains that participation is educational as it fosters active self-help characters. By extension, participation allows the citizens to exercise their sovereignty which in turn widens their horizons as they participate in the public interests (Mill, 1975). As a notable example, participation in government allows individuals to contribute to a good democratic type of government that accommodates the views of all the people thus giving all members of a society a sense of belonging. Accordingly, based on Mill's (1975) point of view, two points are worth noting. In essence, in a participatory constitutional democracy, the demos gather to participate in self-governance by coming with the solutions to some of the issues that may be of concern in government. Additionally, the people are free to exercise their authority for a better democratic government. In summary, Mill (1975) is about fostering active self-help type of characters and developing a sense of belonging among the participants as they take part in self-governance. Going forward, the focus shifts to deliberative democracy as another key feature of a Constitutional democracy.

Correspondingly, Benhabib (1996) defends and argues for deliberative democracy by pointing to some of its educational benefits. To cite an example, Benhabib (1996) argues that the significance of deliberative democracy is that it aims to generate legitimacy and practical rationality. To further corroborate the argument on the educational benefits of deliberation, Benhabib (1996) aptly points out that deliberation contributes to a free and unconstrained public deliberation of all the demos. In addition, the educational benefit of deliberative democracy is that in a deliberative government, deliberators are also developed as moral and political equals. Drawing from the aforementioned educational benefits of deliberative democracy, three themes

emerge. A few examples will suffice here. A deliberative type of democracy develops the polity into individuals who conform to the law, as well as developing them into rational and moral beings with the ability to reason and justify those reasons. In this instance, we can talk of a group of people (*demos*) coming together to articulate their views about their desired type of government while simultaneously giving reasons and enough justification for those reasons. In one sense, a deliberative democracy promotes good reasoning. Furthermore, a deliberative democracy gives deliberators freedom and a platform to raise their views and have them examined, challenged, tested and criticised to develop informed reasoning among individuals. Worthy of note, in a deliberative democracy, all individuals are perceived to be equal before the law as well as being able to make informed judgements in government. In support of a deliberative democracy, Budge (1993) also argues that when the deliberators participate in government by engaging in a dialogue with each other, there are some educational benefits to be gained. These are considered in the paragraph that follows.

In his essay 'Direct Democracy: Setting Appropriate Terms of Debate, Budge's (1993) argument is that a modified version of the Athenian prototype is self-improving and has educational value through the effects of debate and decision-making. As Budge (1993) declares, the minimalist claims that ordinary citizens are ‘ignorant', ‘uneducated', ‘unsophisticated' and, ‘apathetic' misses the point. The prototypical version of democracy, in Budge's view, maintains that there is no insurmountable "knowledge barrier looming between population and elite which inevitably debars the former from full political participation; the longer a debate goes on, the more citizens absorb specialized knowledge" (Budge, 1993, p. 151).

Concerning the aforementioned quote, three points are worth noting as far as the educational benefits are concerned. In simple words, Budge (1993) and Benhabib (1996) convincingly demonstrate that a deliberative feature of the Athenian prototype is educational in that it develops individuals who can make decisions as they engage in debates in government. In addition, all the deliberators educated or not, are perceived to be equal before the law and capable of practical and rational reasoning that can further broaden social, moral as well as political awareness of all the demos. Another point that we can make from the above quote is that debates are empowering in a deliberative government; as a result, develop individuals who are more knowledgeable about issues of governance. In specific terms, all the demos are viewed

to be equal before the law and capable of exercising their power on institutions based on the premise that the decisions affecting all individuals can, in turn, contribute to freedom of all deliberators. In short, Benhabib (1996) and Budge (1993) are about general legitimacy and practical reasoning, free and unconstrained public deliberation, and moral political equality. Going forward, the focus rests on the theorists of representation.

Moving on to representative democracy, Pitkin (1967) develops the proposition of representation in the Athenian prototype. Pitkin's (1967) essay, The Concept of Representation develops the idea of substantive political representation. According to Pitkin (1967, p. 240), the concept of representation

> . . . thus is a continuing tension between ideal and achievement. Tension should lead us neither to abandon the ideal, retreating to an operational definition that accepts whatever those usually designated as representatives do, nor to abandon its institutionalization and withdraw from political reality. Rather, it should present a continuing but not hopeless challenge: to construct institutions and train individuals in such a way that they engage in the pursuit of the public interest, the genuine representation of the public; and, at the same time, to remain critical of those institutions and that training, so that they are always open to further interpretation and reform.

Additionally, the representative government thus seems to incorporate both a very general, abstract as well as a metaphorical idea. For instance, it incorporates the idea that acknowledges that the people in government are inclined into action to secure good governance for all the people and also formulate some fairly concrete, practical and historically traditional institutions intended to secure such an outcome. Put simplistically, some of the educational benefits that people get when they participate in a representative democracy are that the elected representatives act on behalf of all (substantive representation) by putting forward the voices of all people including the voices of the marginalised before the government for the common good of everybody. This means that the governed are capable of action and judgment to critique their government and acting on it to bring about reforms aimed at benefiting all individuals in societies. Moreover, Pitkin (1967) asserts that the notion has both substantive and formal component. As a consequence, the governed have to be clear in their goals about what it is that they want to achieve for the common good of everyone else. In one sense, Pitkin (1967)

substantive representation is about the tension between the ideal and achievement, it represents a continuing but not a hopeless challenge: to construct institutions and train individuals, in such a way that they engage in the pursuit of the public interest, being critical of our institutions and further interpretation and reform.

In light of this analysis, in a representative democracy, subjects have control over a public institutionalised government. Furthermore, a participatory body has substantive content. To put it bluntly, the representatives are responsible of acting on behalf of the people's interests and, the governed are capable of action and judgment. Overall, the relationship between democracy and its central features namely participation, deliberation, as well as representation can be summarised in this way: As suggested earlier on, democracy means the type of government that is based on people's power – collective self-rule. As a result, as this chapter convincingly demonstrates, there are educational benefits in every key feature of democracy. By implication, within democratic classrooms, when all leaners are active participants in their learning, they are equipped with the skills on how to make decisions concerning their lives (Rousseau, 1968). Equally important, learner participation in schools develops learners as active individual self-help type of charters (Mill, 1975). Apart from this emphasis, it can be argued that all learners are developed as individuals who are independent and self-reliant in making own judgments.

In equal vein, from Benhabib (1996) vantage point, a deliberative democracy equips all learners with reasoning skills. This means that all learners are developed with the ability to reason logically by justifying those reasons for public deliberation of all learners. Consistently, Budge (1993) maintains that all learners are understood to be moral political equals who can formulate own thoughts and have them analysed and critiqued. In this sense, all learners are equal and can contribute significantly to each other's freedom. Concerning Pitkin (1967), representative democracy develops learners who can stand in solidarity and elect learner representatives who can voice out the opinions of all the other learners and act on public institutions for the common good of everybody. In abstract terms, it can be concluded that in communities and societies, the Athenian prototype of democracy raises individual consciousness by developing citizens who are free in their everyday lives, who contribute in law-making thus leading to citizens who keep the law. By extension, individuals who have a say and are well informed about political matters and who can act in pursuit of the welfare of all individuals in the society. Subsequent to the current

section on the definition of democracy including its key features, is the section on the conceptual clarification of concepts that include classroom, inclusion, silent exclusion, as well as the definition of a child. From here on, the attention shifts to the definition of a classroom.

2.3 Conceptual clarification of the key words in this study

Patricia, Kubow and Kinney (2000, p. 6) define classroom as "analogous to a laboratory in which specific ideas of citizenship and citizenship behaviours were observed and practised by [learners] and [educators]". In clear terms, classrooms are the laboratory spaces in which learners personal and public dimensions of citizenship are promoted. Some of the features of classrooms include the participation of learners, thus giving all learners a sense of belonging in the classroom (Rousseau, 1968). Additionally, classrooms are to be characterised by learner participation which allows learners to participate in their learning by exercising their agency and making their own decisions during the learning process as Rousseau (1968) declares. Moreover, participation as another feature of classrooms fosters active self-help type of characters in learners as well as allowing learners to contribute to good classroom management that benefits all learners (Mill, 1975). In addition to the participation of learners in classrooms, deliberation of learners also forms another feature of a classroom. In plain words, Rousseau (1968) is about inclusive empowerment of citizenry. Additionally, Mill (1975) is about active self-help type characters, a sense of belonging and taking part in self-governance. Apart from participation of all learners, classrooms are also characterised by deliberation of learners.

Accordingly, deliberation of all learners is another important key feature of a classroom. For instance, when all learners are allowed to participate in decision-making in the classroom, they are developed as individuals who can reason logically and provide justification for those reasons. Correspondingly, Budge (1993) asserts that the debates that learners engage in during decision-making process develop all learners from their state of childhood to adulthood, consequently making learners who are conscious and critical of the environment around them. Another feature of the classroom with regard to deliberation entails the use of a curriculum that allows public and rational deliberation which is anchored in principles of non-repression for instance (no imposition of a good life view of a dominant group on other individuals) and non-discrimination which means (no exclusion of educable learners from inclusive education) as suggested by

(Gutmann, 1987) from exercising their freedom and agency. In a nutshell, inside classrooms, all learners are developed as individuals with general legitimacy and practical reasoning, as well as free and unconstrained deliberators with moral and political equality.

In addition to the aforementioned, another feature of a classroom comprises of representation of all learners in an analogous lab during the learning process. As a result, within a classroom space, all learners are to be cultivated as individuals with the capability to look after each other's interests and care for one another's well-being as argued by (Pitkin, 1967). As a notable example, classrooms should develop all learners who represent each other by being concerned about the welfare and well-being of all the other learners. This representation can be done by raising some of the issues that may be of concern to their peers. From this view, we can argue that a classroom is an analogous lab characterised by learners' participation, learners' deliberation, and learners' representation as far as teaching and learning of all the learners is concerned. For instance, in a classroom, all learners should be active participants in their learning by engaging in a dialogue with the educator when decisions are made. Furthermore, a classroom is characterised by the learners who can impart information, make judgements and come up with the suggestion of how learning and teaching can be improved and providing justified reasoning for their suggestions. Lastly, democratic classrooms are about the inclusion of all learners who are interdependent and concerned about the welfare of other learners in well established and emerging democracies like South Africa. Going forward, the attention turns to the definition of inclusion as the next paragraph will show.

Concerning inclusion, Simonsen (2009) refers to inclusion as a process of transforming the societies and communities, including institutions such as schools to become diversity sensitive. To elaborate on this, inclusion is about changing the structures, the norms and the values that exist in the communities and schools to acknowledge and accommodate difference by responding to the needs of all people. For instance, schools, societies, and communities may be responsive to the needs of all people by putting in place the structures that give a sense of belonging to all people. Slightly different from the formal definition given above, inclusion is also substantively defined in this context. In clear terms, inclusion (especially in schools) can be described as having the three features namely, learner participation, and learner deliberation as well as learner representation. Following from these features of inclusion within schools, the

subsequent paragraphs will focus on giving more details on substantive ways of implementing inclusion beginning with learner participation. Learner participation generally means including all learners in a substantive (*practical*) way by allowing full involvement of all the learners using peer collaboration strategies and group work. Put differently, the implementation of peer collaboration and group work allows all learners to gather together to make decisions in their learning. By extension, when learners make decisions with regards to their own learning, a good platform through which all learners can empower each other as they engage in debates concerning different ways in which they want to learn, is created. In this way, schools become diverse sensitive teaching and learning spaces that include all learners. Thus, giving a sense of belonging to all the learners. Thus, developing all the learners as individuals who are capable of making educational decisions with each other. Following learner participation as one of the substantive ways of including all learners, learner deliberation becomes another way in which all learners may be included in schools. In brief summary, Rousseau (1968) is about inclusive empowerment of citizenry. In equal vein, Mill (1975) is mainly about development of all learners as active self-help characters with a sense of belonging with the ability to take part in self-governance.

Moving forward, the second feature of inclusion to be discussed is learner deliberation. This feature is about allowing all learners to engage in a dialogue with each other during the learning process while using responsive instruction strategies. When all learners engage in a dialogue during teaching and the learning process, the arguments that are based on authority are not acceptable since both the teachers and the learners teach and empower each (Freire, 2005). According to Engelbrecht, Nel, Nel, and Tlale (2015), responsive instruction strategies can be an alternative way to including, as well as ensuring learner deliberation within classrooms. In specific terms, dialogue enables all learners to have their views examined, challenged and re-examined while the learners' ability to reason is further developed. In agreement with (Engelbrecht et al., 2015), Messiou (2012) postulates that allowing learner deliberation through participation by opening doors (to enable voices to emerge and allowing autonomy of individual pupils), are some key features of inclusion. In other words, the release of voices allows inclusion of all learners during the learning process thus, developing learners who can come up with solutions to their everyday situations.

Moving on, learner representation is also mentioned as the third feature of inclusion of all learners in schools. Benhabib (1996) and Budge (1993) argue that this feature is about general legitimacy and practical reasoning, free and unconstrained public deliberation, moral and political equality. Viewed in this way, learner representation encompasses representation of all learners through multiple group activities of learners striving for the common good of everyone in the school. Pitkin (1967) agrees by alluding that the acknowledgement of all people's presence and participation in collective decision-making for the pursuit of the public interest is another way of including all people in social activities. For instance, when all learners are represented through Representative Councils of Learners (RCLs), a platform where all learners are critical of issues around them is created. More so, RCLs creates a platform where all the learners' views, interpretations, and opinions are taken into consideration, thus leading to necessary reforms that are responsive to all learners within the school setting.

Summarily, inclusion of all learners within the school context is about the transformation of schools to become diversity sensitive in responding to learner differences. By extension, inclusion of all learners in school settings is based on the premise of granting a sense of belonging to all learners. In learners' lived experiences, this generally means allowing all learners to participate, to deliberate and to be represented through RCLs in South African schools. In specific terms, within a schooling setting, inclusion means allowing all learners to participate by making decisions during the learning process; allowing learners to deliberate in schools (having their views are challenged and criticised to enhance informed reasoning); allowing learner representation (through RCLs where learners raise their issues of public concern in pursuit of the welfare of all learners within institutional settings). Consequently, failure to accommodate diversity by allowing learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation as a way of inclusion within schools would mean *silent exclusion* of all the learners. This idea of silent exclusion is further explained in the paragraph that follows.

Silent exclusion according to Pansiri (2011) is defined as unheard voices of learners in teaching and learning in democratic classrooms. This means that learners are enrolled and are present in classrooms, but they are not given a chance to raise their views about how they want to learn. In clear terms, learners are within schools ideally but in practice, remain out of schools. As an illustration, the learners' rights to education are realised however, these learners remain *passive*

beings who are not participants in their learning process. Arguably, when learners are *passive* participants in their learning, they contradict Pericles (Thucydides, 1972) who maintains that participation affirms the value of individual autonomy and further develops personal and the public dimension of citizenship. On the other hand, silent exclusion means that individuals are denied the opportunity to participate in public affairs. Consequently, hindering the people's agency, their autonomy and their development of personal and public dimension of citizenship. In brief, some features of silent exclusion also comprise of non-participation, non-deliberation, and non-representation of individuals in communities, schools, and societies.

Arguably, non- participation of the people extends to a hindrance in enjoying the educational benefits that include decision-making by individuals which will lead to good governance in public and social institutions. As a notable example, when the people are not allowed to participate in making the decisions that affect their lives, they are bound to face different kinds of repression and discrimination as Guttmann's (1987) work pointed out. Additionally, non-deliberation is another form of silent exclusion. For instance, it implies that learners do not impart information, as well as making their own judgements in teaching and learning process. In these terms, non-deliberation means that the voices of the learners are silenced especially in school governance for further examination, critique, and challenged. For instance, if the learners' voices are hidden, learners cannot question some activities of School Governing Bodies (SGBs), cannot articulate their views and perceptions during the SGBs meetings, and they cannot make their own judgements. Ultimately, if people are not deliberating, it becomes difficult for them to exercise agency (autonomy) in their societies, communities and school settings by coming up with solid reasoning and justification. From here on, the next paragraph focuses on the definition of a child.

The South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996) defines a child as a person under the age of 18 years who has equal citizenship like anybody else. In accordance with the Constitution, Mathebula and Ndofirepi (2011) note that to be a child means having rights, enjoying privileges as well as the benefits that come with being a citizen. Put differently, a child is someone between the age ranges of 7 -18 years who enjoys the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship in South Africa. Additionally, Ndofirepi and Mathebula (2011) further allude that

a child is entitled to absolute individuality and freedom to create their own world. In other words, when all learners are allowed to participate, they are developed as active self-help characters with a sense of belonging as well as learners who take part in self-governance (Mill, 1975; Rousseau, 1968). Ultimately, in the South African context, children's personal and public dimensions of citizenship are guaranteed which implies that they have equal rights with adults. These rights include being human rights holders and legal actors who assume any kind of responsibilities that includes expression of all issues that concern them. In plain words, children are capable of acting on public institutions to influence reforms that ensure the general welfare of all the learners (Pitkin, 1967). For instance, a child is not a silent individual who looks up to the adults to represent them about issues that concern them but are individuals with full autonomy and agency to act upon the issues that are of concern to them (i.e. RCLs in South African schools). Admissibly, we can thus conceive learners as persons with full citizenship and having equal privileges that are similar to those of school governors. This means they have privileges to be active participants in communal life that will enhance reflective thinking and social skills, thus developing the necessary attitudes in learners for democratic citizenship (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993).

Furthermore, another feature of a child is having equal rights including the right to education. According to Ndofirepi and Mathebula (2011), children should be equipped with quality education in schools that is aimed at developing their minds, developing the children into rational and moral beings, as well as being subjected to the kind of education that is aimed at fostering good citizenship. In this instance, children should be taught how to think for themselves, and how to be critical of the immediate environment, consequently leading to future citizens who can easily escape from being indoctrinated in unclear/ unfair norms and values of society. Ultimately, children should also be exposed to non-discriminatory education and non-repressive education that accommodates learner differences and contributes to the deliberation of all with the ability to reason critically (Gutmann, 1987). In agreement, Mill (1873) suggests that all learners should also be provided with neutral education that informs the learners' rational choices as well as education that is confined to scientific facts and positive science.

In addition, another distinctive feature of a child is that of having responsibilities in their role of being active citizens. To elaborate on this stance, being the rights holders and legal actors,

children should exercise individual autonomy by being active participants in making decisions that affect their lives as suggested by Pericles (1972). Furthermore, Benhabib (1996) posits that children should be developed into moral and political equals who can engage in good reasoning. Equally important, children have their views which can be challenged, criticised and re-examined like everybody else with equal rights to citizenship. Another significant characteristic of a child as legal holder is that of being present in taking action in whatever issues that concern them for the pursuit of the common good of everyone in society. Overall, children have privileges and equal rights similar to those of adults. Therefore, they should be present when decisions are made to take the responsibilities of acting to raise and represent their peers specifically in Representative Councils of learners (RCLs) for the good governance of the school and welfare of all. In simple words, Mill (1989) argues that all learners should be provided with the type of education that impedes harm to other learners. This means that schools have a role of developing learners' as individuals with responsibility in being active citizens who are able to make their decisions, make their judgements and to initiate action and transform schools. Stepping out of the definition of a child, the focus turns to the definition and purpose of schools.

Moving on to the purpose of schools, Hamm (1989) alludes that schools have three major functions, namely, the primary purpose (Education 3), secondary purpose (Education 1) and unintended functions (Education 2). The primary purpose of schools, which can be equated to (Education 3) is about human achievement characterised by both knowledge and understanding. Hamm (1989) argues that schools are charged with the responsibility of developing the mind of all learners through the provision of education that has value. In clear terms, schools should provide all learners with in-depth and broad knowledge enough to help learners in mastering different types of knowledge. According to Hamm (1989), broad and in-depth knowledge will help all learners with an understanding and reasons of why things happen the way they do thus contributing to further pursuit of knowledge and transformed outlook on the immediate environment. In accordance with Hamm (1989), Mill (1989) argument on liberal education as far as schools are concerned is that schools should provide all learners with a liberal education that puts emphasis on giving all learners a choice and neutrality. In other words, in schools, all the learners should be provided with education that develops them as autonomous individuals who are capable of making choices for themselves. Furthermore, in agreement with Hamm (1989), Mill (1989) argues that in schools, all learners should also be equipped with knowledge in a

broad (in-depth knowledge) sense that can be verified and justified to enhance the learners' ability to reason logically. Moving on to the secondary purpose of school, the secondary purpose of schools (Education 1) is more on the socialisation process. In clear terms, the significant role of the school is to socialise all learners into knowledge, skills and social norms that develop learners as individuals who abide by the law and practices of good citizenship. By extension, Hamm (1989) maintains that schools should equip all learners with skills that develop learners as professionals and practitioners who can participate in communities by delivering services to the general population. For instance, schools should provide the learners with skills that qualify learners as doctors, teachers and nurses who put the acquired skills and knowledge in practice to ensure the welfare of the society. According to Hamm (1989), these services also include distribution of goods, creation and development of new knowledge, as well as the development of leadership among all learners.

By extension, Education 3 as the third purpose of schools is about general enlightenment of all learners. To put it bluntly, learners should be provided with knowledge and the type of education that is liberal within school setting thus allowing self-expression of learners. In addition, schools have the responsibility of developing the learners' ability to reason and to make choices by raising issues of concern. Arguably, this makes provision for RCLs in schools where a group of learners raise voices on behalf of other learners in pursuit of the common welfare of all learners. Suitably Ntsala and Mahlatji (2016) state that RCLs allow student empowerment as it represents learners on varied platforms either inside or outside the school context. In the same vein, learner participation through RCLs develops learners as active moral characters capable of social, political and economic activity for the benefit of public interest (Mathebula, 2005). Accordingly, it can be argued that through RCLs, learners can impart information, promote good reasoning and articulation of the learners' views for collective deliberation of all learners. Put differently, RCLs make it possible to talk about substantive learners' participation, deliberation and representation.

2.4 Substantive inclusion of all the learners in democratic schools

Reiterating the earlier discussed conceptual clarification, we have observed that democracy is mainly about people's power; as a result, the demos engage in collective self-government according to Pericles (Thucydides, 1972). In one sense, in democratic government, the demos are autonomous individuals who are free to make their own decisions in the polity. As a consequence democracy is characterised by three main key features namely participation, deliberation and representation. Accordingly, there are educational benefits that are tied to constitutional democracy (i.e. theories of participation, theories of deliberation and theories of representation). Similar to democratic governance, within the context of democratic schools, we should expect learner participation, learner deliberation including learner representation. By extension, there are educational benefits when all learners are participating, represented and deliberated in democratic classrooms. These are elaborated further on in the ensuing paragraphs.

In equal vein, within the context of democratic schools, when all learners are active participants in their own learning, they can embark on decision-making which is more likely to influence good school governance for the benefit of all the learners (Rousseau, 1968). For instance, learners can make a choice of how best they want to learn, which strategies may be implemented, and which topics are more relevant as far as learning is concerned – through their representatives, i.e. RCLs. In addition, Rousseau (1968) maintains that participation develops personal as well as public dimensions of citizenship. Talking in the context of democratic schools, we expect that all learners should be taught how to be independent in order to become their own masters as they embark of some roles of citizenship. By extension, when learners are active participants during the learning process, they are developed into good and active self-help of characters (Mill, 1975). In specific terms, this means that all learners are developed as individual with skills on how to solve problems that may arise in the learning process. Additionally, this means that all learners also stand a good chance of empowering each other by participating in their own learning. Another point, worth noting according to Mill (1975) as far as a participatory democracy is concerned, is that the demos (i.e. the learners) should be taught how to be active and critical thinkers. Within democratic classrooms, all learners should be taught how to think critically in order to act in pursuit of the public interest. Going forward is what we can expect from democratic schools as far as deliberation of the learners is concerned.

By learner deliberation, what do we mean as far as educational benefits within democratic schools are concerned? To answer this question, when all learners are deliberating in democratic schools, Benhabib (1996) contends that there should be free as well as unconstrained public deliberation about issues of concern. In other words, in democratic classrooms, we expect that all learners should be allowed to articulate issues of common concern freely without any constraints in a public or private sphere. In addition, Benhabib (1996) also asserts that deliberators should also be treated as moral as well as political equals (i.e. learners and educators are co-creators of knowledge in democratic classrooms). In the context of democratic schools, all learners are developed as individuals with the ability to choose between what is favourable and what is not. This means that in democratic schools, we expect learners who are brave enough in making judgments by the provision of justified reasoning, learners who can initiate debates amongst each other about issues of concern as well as learners who can impart information and articulate good reasons. By extension, Budge (1993) adds that in deliberative democracy, every individual is equal before the law. With regard to democratic classrooms, we expect all learners, from diverse backgrounds, to be treated the same. In clear terms, democratic schools should accommodate and value learner differences. Worthy of note, learner representation is also another important feature concerning the expectation of democratic classrooms as it is to be observed in the ensuing paragraph.

With regards to learner representation as part of what we should expect from democratic schools, learners' presence should be acknowledged and celebrated despite diverse backgrounds from which learners come from. In Pitkin's (1967) words, acknowledgement of all people's (learners') presence and participation in collective decision-making for the pursuit of the public interest is a substantive way of how learners should be represented in democratic schools. In specific terms, learner representation, for instance, through RCLs (Representative Councils of Learners) creates of a platform where all learners are critical of issues around them and creates a platform where learners' views, interpretations, and opinions are taken in consideration to later lead to necessary reforms that are responsive to all learners within the schools settings.

Given all the educational benefits as far as democratic schools are concerned, the major expectation of democratic classrooms is that they should be analogous labs that foster personal

and public dimensions of citizenship. In simple words, democratic classrooms should foster participation, learner deliberation and representation as a way of enhancing good citizenship among all learners in South Africa. Another factor worth arguing for as far as the expectations of democratic schools are concerned is that classrooms should be diversity sensitive. This means that they should value and celebrate learner diversity by using varied teaching strategies, vary methods of assessment that is appropriate for all learners as well as responding to varied educational needs of all learners as a way of including heterogeneous learners in democratic schools and classrooms. This means that in democratic classrooms, we do not expect silent exclusion of learners (i.e. unheard voices of learners, where learners are not participating, not deliberating and not represented in democratic classrooms). On the contrary, learners' rights, privileges, and educational benefits should be at the heart of democratic classrooms and schools in general. Overtly, adhering to Education 2 (institutional use of education), schools should make a provision for RCLs, a learner platform where all learners are to be provided with in-depth knowledge that allows for learner development as a result of the influences that they get from school. For instance, self-expression, logical reasoning, a choice with regard to learning thus allowing all learners to raise their voices in pursuit of the common welfare. Thus, making provision for all the characteristics of democratic schools that include, learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation as this chapter showed.

2. 5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that democratic classrooms are not naturally given, agreed upon and talked about; as a result, learners need to fight for their rights to be included substantively in democratic classrooms. Concurring with this view, I have argued that all learners should be active participants in their learning, should be deliberating by being able to raise their voices and to reason for public deliberation of all the other learners. In addition, I have shown that all learners should also be represented in schools through RCLs. Moving on, the focus of this chapter was mainly on conceptual clarification. In essence, I have defined democracy and shown that it has three key features namely participation, representation and deliberation thus showing that in a constitutional democracy, governance depends on people's power, people are law-abiding, and that people are free and autonomous individuals who make decisions on how they

should be governed. This clarification has led to the elaboration of the education benefits of Constitutional democracy (Rousseau's [1968] and Mill's [1975] theories of participation; Budge's [1993] and Benhabib's [1996] theories of deliberation; as well as Pitkin's [1967] theory of representation). Given all of this, I showed that classrooms are analogous laboratories that should include all learners by being diversity sensitive as they develop the learners' personal and public dimensions of citizenship by allowing all learners to participate, to deliberate and to be represented in classrooms. Ultimately, I have shown in this chapter that democratic schools should not silently exclude learners by ignoring learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation. In contrast, children should be allowed to enjoy their rights and privileges as they are being developed into moral beings with a choice in schools settings. In addition, I have shown that all learners should also be provided with liberal education, which helps learners to voice out their opinions through RCLs. By extension, I have also shown that RCLs best accommodates learner participation, representation and deliberation. Going forward, the subsequent chapter looks at the trends and the debates of inclusion and exclusion of learners in South African schools.

CHAPTER 3

DEMOCRACY, INCLUSION, AND EXCLUSION OF LEARNER CLASSROOMS(S) IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS: TRENDS AND DEBATES

3.1 Introduction

The concept of inclusive education as has been; and still is a catch-all phrase for different kinds of inquiries because of its lack of clarity, lack of consistency and lack of the clear vision of what it seeks to achieve both at international level and in South African context. As a consequence, this sparked a lot of debates among scholars in search of the precise definition of inclusive education, how it is implemented and what it seeks to achieve. In specific terms, this means that despite the provision made by education policy to include all learners in South African classrooms, in particular, literature shows that not everybody is in support of this initiative as we shall see in this chapter. In simple words, this means that the inclusion of learners is still an on-going struggle for many learners as some learners remain excluded democratic schools. Hence, it remains apparent that learners should struggle for their rights to be included in inclusive education. This chapter focuses on the trends and the debates on democracy, inclusion and exclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African schools and beyond.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 concentrates on the trends of inclusion of all learners in inclusive education, but first, starting with the definition of inclusive education. Section 2 focuses on the trends and debates of inclusion of all learners in classrooms globally and in the South African context. Section 3 looks at post-apartheid South African education policy stance on democracy and inclusion; and exclusion of learners in classrooms. Section 4 concludes that there is tension between inclusive education policy documents and its implementation. In specific terms, while the proponents of inclusive education call for inclusion of all learners in inclusive education, the critiques of inclusive education proclaim that inclusion of all learners in inclusive education is not feasible. Going forward, the definition of inclusive education is provided.

3.2 Debates and trends on democracy and inclusion of learner classroom(s): a global perspective

Correspondingly, Walton (2018b) asserts that inclusive education is based on the premise of reducing the exclusion of learners in schools by increasing learner participation in classrooms. Florian (2008) clarifies this statement by showing that the policy of inclusive education was conceptualised globally as part of the human rights agenda aimed towards learners‟ access to equity education. Consistently, Winzer, and Mazurek (2009) maintain that the call for inclusive education results from the outcome of a varied set of a complex combination of discourses concerning the quality education that is driven by alterations in demographics, ideologies, as well as perceptions of marginalised groups (i.e. learners) including the analogous social issues. Following the complexity of discourses about quality education, in the 1960s, majority of the educational institutions at different levels across the world started responding to the civil rights movement in different ways according to Mazurek and Winzer (2000) as the preceding discussion indicates. In specific terms, four different conceptualisations about inclusion namely inclusion as human rights discourse, inclusion as a notion of social justice, inclusion as about integration of learners as well as inclusion as the agenda of broad-based education innovation will be used to show the trends of inclusion of learners in classrooms. The focus now turns to inclusion as a human rights discourse.

3.3 Debates and trends on democracy and inclusion of learner classroom(s): a regional side

Appropriately, at the international level, the protest scholars (those who argue that human rights are fought for according to Dembour (2010), maintain that inclusion was first conceptualised as a human rights discourse. Correspondingly, in agreement with Mazurek and Winzer (2000), Ferguson (2008) posits that at the international level, particularly in the United States and Europe, inclusion emerged as special education and human rights initiative to include all children in schools in the 1980s. However, Walton (2018a) adds that during this time, the parents of the children with disabilities were discontent with the type of education that was granted to their children in the segregated special schools. As a result, following the human rights discourse that was developed by the Universal Declaration of Human rights (United Nations, 1948), the parents

of the children who have been previously excluded, demanded the inclusion of their children in mainstream schools (Walton, 2018a).

Therefore, the idea of inclusive education was first adopted and implemented by countries in the global North through the use of inclusive education policy. Correspondingly, Canada was the first country to use the term inclusive education as stated by Thomas and Vaughan (2004) in the 1980s. During this era, arrangements were made in schools to include all the learners who have been previously segregated from schools. Following the conceptualisation of inclusion as the human rights discourse at an international level, the inclusion of learners was also perceived as a social issue about all learners who have been previously excluded from inclusive education as the subsequent paragraph will show.

In accordance with social justice discourse, Mazurek and Winzer (2000) explain that inclusion surfaced as a broad notion of social justice that was manifested as an expression of concern to safeguard the rights of all children, namely; to enjoy the rights, privileges as well as the benefits that come with citizenship as already suggested in Chapter 1, under the features of a child in compliance with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). As a consequence, Engelbrecht et al. (2015) argue that globally and domestically (South Africa), inclusive education is currently conceptualised as the right of all learners to be included in mainstream classrooms. Following the conceptualisation and the trends of inclusion of all learners as a human rights discourse and as well as the notion of social justice at international level, in the context of Southern African countries, inclusion of all learners in inclusive education came to be practised as the integration and mainstreaming of learners in inclusive education as various observers have stated. According to Zakaria and Tahar (2017) mainstreaming refers to the placement of all learners with unique educational needs in regular classes. By extension, Mangope, Kuyini, Musarurwa, and Major (2018) assert that both concepts, integration and mainstreaming are synonymous, as a result, they mean the placement of students with special educational needs in ordinary schools which use a curriculum that has not been modified. Going forward, the conceptualisation of inclusion of all learners in inclusive education as integration and mainstreaming in Southern African countries will further be elaborated on.

Correspondingly, in the context of Southern African countries, the idea of inclusion as the integration of learners also came to be practised in South Africa, Lesotho and Botswana following the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) conference held in Spain the same year according to (Mazurek & Winzer, 2000). This means that learners were integrated into regular classrooms to ensure that they learn together with their peers to preclude segregation of some learners. In addition, integration/ mainstreaming of learners in the Southern African context, South Africa included, means that the learners' education was structured in such a way that caters for diverse needs of all learners. In other words, the inclusion of all learners regardless of their diverse learning abilities. Furthermore, curriculum and teaching methods were implemented in such a way that meets every learner within the institutional use of education (schools) as already mentioned in Chapter 1 to enhance socialisation of learners as professionals who are qualified with skills and technical know-how. In clear words, learner integration allowed learners to be developed as members of the community who are self-dependent in terms of job opportunities. From the foregoing, inclusion in learner classrooms also came to be conceptualised as the main agenda of broad-based education innovation. The next paragraph gives more details on this.

Based on the trends of inclusion, protest scholars argue that human rights are fought for. In agreement with the protest scholars, Ferguson (2008) maintains that the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) emphasised the need for inclusion of all learners as the core of the agenda of broad-based education innovation. Accordingly, subsequent to the year 1994, South Africa moved towards the agenda of including all children, as well as those who have been previously excluded in schools. Correspondingly, the post-apartheid South African education system embraced the goal of full access to participation in mainstream classrooms for all learners, including those from lower socio-economic backgrounds and learners from diverse cultural backgrounds. Consequently, South African policies entrenched in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) are based on the premise of human rights, dignity, freedom and achievement of equality as stated in the Department of Education [DoE], 1996. Overall, these policies were enacted to ensure that all learners have access and can participate in learning. Currently, as it stands, inclusion is overtly understood as part of human rights across the globe as it demands access to, as well as equity in education (Florian, 2008). Arguably, the definitions of

inclusion given in this section speak directly to the broad aforementioned definition of inclusion predisposed in Chapter 1.

Overtly, the above sections show the trends on the inclusion of learners in inclusive education at the international level and in Southern African countries, South Africa being no exception. In summary, the articulated trends show that inclusion of all learners in inclusive education is conceptualised in many different ways in South Africa and beyond as Ferguson (2008); Walton, (2018a); Mazurek and Winzer (2000); as well as Zakaria and Tahar (2017) have indicated. Notably, inclusion was first understood as a human rights discourse. As a consequence, arguing for the inclusion of all learners in mainstream schools (ordinary schools) thus allowing for the full participation of learners who have been previously excluded from inclusive education. By implication, learners were given a chance to make decisions in their learning. Furthermore, inclusion was also perceived as the notion of social justice as a result, adhering to personal and public dimensions citizenship of learners. In clear terms, responsive to the children's rights, privileges and benefits individual citizens as already suggested in Chapter 1. By extension, inclusion also came to be understood as the integration of learners. In other words, placement of learners in ordinary schools which was made successful by the use of curriculum and teaching strategies that are diversity sensitive to accommodate diverse educational needs of the all learners as the discussion in Chapter 1 has indicated. Lastly, as I have already suggested earlier in Chapter 1, inclusion was also conceptualised as a core agenda of broad-based education innovation which called for the transformation of schools, institutions to accommodate learner differences. Given the trends of inclusion of learners in inclusive education in the current chapter, from here on, the focus turns the proponents of inclusion.

In accordance with the trends of inclusion as noted above, the advocates of inclusive education argue for inclusion of all learners as a human rights movement which advocates for equal access to, and quality education of all learners who have been previously excluded from participation in mainstream classrooms. Hence, Hornby's (2015) argument that all children should be provided with quality education as a human right in inclusive classrooms thus giving learners a chance to participate while being taught in the same learning space with their peers. Equally important, Florian, Black-Hawkins, and Martyn (2016); and (Walton, 2018a) emphasise the significance of participation in inclusive classrooms by arguing that learner participation surpasses learners

having mere access to education, as it allows for collaboration and sharing of ideas amongst learners during the learning process. Florian et al. (2016) also state that participation allows active engagement of the learners as well as allowing them to be recognised and accepted for who they are.

In addition to the above argument on inclusion as a human rights movement, the proponents of inclusion argue that in democratic classrooms, inclusion of learners should contribute towards deliberation of all the learners. As a result, Hornby (2015) asserts that to include learners in classrooms, they must be provided with a challenging, engaging as well as a flexible general education that allows learners to be deliberating in their learning. This means that learners should be engaged with the type of curriculum that allows them to raise their views, have them criticised, challenged and examined, consequently contributing to learners with practical rationality in classrooms. Additionally, Reindal (2016) also states that inclusion means providing all learners with a type of knowledge that does not only limit them only to a classroom context but gives learners the type of knowledge that is worthwhile in living the life that learners wish for. In this instance, Walton, Nel, Hugo, and Muller (2009) signal the importance of positive teacher attitudes by arguing that the inclusion of all learners is possible if the teachers have positive attitudes towards it. Accordingly, Walton et al. (2009) argues that inclusive practices are about varied ways in which classrooms organise their human resources to meet the diverse needs of the learners. For instance, inclusion goes hand in hand with implementing varied instruction that calls for participation of all learners to meet the diverse needs of the learners as Florian et al. (2016) declares.

Ultimately, the advocates of inclusion namely Hornby (2015) and Reindal (2016) also put forward the view that inclusion goes beyond the participation of all individuals in the schooling context but adheres to the representation of all individuals in the societies and in community contexts. Suitably, building on the rights of a child as suggested in Chapter 1, Armstrong, Armstrong, and Barton (2016) assert that to include all learners in school context and communities, the educators must perceive inclusive education to be based on the premise of acknowledging human rights, equal rights to education and achieving social justice at the school and community level. They suggest, however, that to achieve this, there is a need for schools and communities to be conscious of how they respond to differences, gender, race, including the

cultural differences amongst people. To cite an example, RCLs may be utilised for the fulfilment of this vision as they accommodate diverse learners and allows them to have a say in how school governance may be improved.

In this regard, Reindal (2016, p. 6) talks about the use of capability approach defined as "the approach that defends an understanding of difference as a specific variable of human diversity with an objective reality", which reveals social injustices and acknowledges the presence of everyone in the communities be it a child and adult by being in support of their human rights discourse.

Consequently, inclusive education lies also in the extent to which the rights, the privileges, and benefits of citizenship of all learners are met. On the other hand, Kauffman, Felder, Ahrbeck, Badar, and Schneiders (2018) also state that although the achievement of social justice is important, inclusive education rests on imagology (comparative literature) as opposed to the ethical and fair treatment of all students in classrooms and not in real-life situations. By a way of brief summary, different views about the inclusion of learners in inclusive education as far as the proponents of inclusion are concerned can be summarised in this way:

- Inclusion is a human right movement from a protest school perspective, hence the need for learners to struggle for inclusion of all learners who have been marginalised in schools;
- Inclusion should mean deliberation of all learners by providing learners with a challenging curriculum that allows all learners to raise their voices and have them challenged, criticised to enhance learners as moral and rational beings; and
- Inclusion should allow the representation of all learners by acknowledging learners" diversity as well as accommodating learners' rights to education by allowing learners to raise issues of concern in the pursuit of public welfare.

With this insight, therefore, it can be argued that the following authors Kauffman et al. (2018); Armstrong et al. (2016); Florian et al. (2016), Walton et al. (2009); and Florian et al., (2016) advocate for the inclusion of the all learners in inclusive education. In simple words, they argue that inclusion should be about formal learner participation, learner deliberation and learner

representation. But in a practical sense, is formal of inclusion of all learners practical in democratic schools? The ensuing section provides a response to this question. Going forward, the critiques of inclusion are discussed. In stark contrast to the proponents of inclusion, the critiques on inclusion of all learners stipulate that some schools still exclude learners despite the need specified by the inclusive education policies to include all learners in mainstream schools. Thus serving as evidence to the main argument raised earlier on in this chapter that inclusion of all learners remains an on-going struggle in democratic schools, both at the global as well as the local contexts. Hence the conclusion by some scholars (critiques of inclusion) that inclusion has been ineffective in the last 30 years of its implementation in schools as some learners are excluded in schools in general and classrooms in particular.

Accordingly, Imray and Colley (2017, p. 1) argue against the inclusion of all learners and posit that "inclusion has become a recurring trope of academic writing on education, it is trotted out as an eternal and unarguable truth, but it is neither. It does not work; it has never worked. Inclusion is dead". Notably, this quote shows that despite the massive literature on inclusion, most of what is written is not predominantly true when applied in different contexts, consequently, contributing to the failure of inclusion to achieve substantive learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation. Furthermore Imray and Colley (2017) add that inclusion does not only lie on the premise of curriculum differentiation amongst learners as many scholars have suggested. Alternatively, it puts forward the implication that learners need to be taught differently, thus making the practice of inclusion impossible in democratic classrooms (Imray & Colley, 2017). Despite the disjuncture between policy and practice, lack of theoretical certainty about the meaning of inclusion has made the implementation of inclusion of all learners in inclusive education very difficult to achieve as some learners are still excluded from inclusive education. The attention turns to some of the difficulties incurred concerning the implementation of inclusive education in inclusive schools.

Correspondingly, Kauffman et al. (2018) signal that full inclusion in the 21st century is still an on-going problem across the world because of the uncertainty about the precise definition of inclusion. Furthermore, it is a problem with regard to how students may be grouped for better instruction to allow participation, deliberation and representation of learners (Kauffman et al., 2018). Moreover, heterogeneous classrooms are a hindrance to effective learning as they make

teaching more difficult to the extent that heterogeneity in learning goes beyond the teachers' ability to offer effective instruction that accommodates diverse learners in classrooms (Kauffman et al., 2018). Thus contributing to learners with access to democratic classrooms, while in practical contexts, learners remain excluded by *not* being able to participate, to deliberate and be represented. Moving forward, the inclusion of all learners is also understood as a problematic issue because of its dynamic nature which calls for different ways in which inclusion of all learners may be implemented.

Along these lines, Engelbrecht and Ekins (2017) convincingly demonstrates that the development of inclusive practices is a complex issue that is predominantly dependent on a complicated and a unique interplay among developing a school culture including the social interactions, relationships as well as emotions of staff members on daily basis. Hence, Engelbrecht and Ekins (2017) argue that inclusionary practices are subjective and may vary across different contexts. For instance, they may be different in other classrooms based on time and the needs of the learners, thus making inclusion an illusion, a journey in progress and impossible in practice in other inclusive schools. Similarly, Walton (2018a) also asserts that inclusion can be perceived as a form of coloniality as it is based on Euro-American countries which dominated the field of inclusion; however, suggest that maybe the need to see inclusion as a way of decolonising the field may be helpful. Similarly, Artiles (2011) further states that the failure of the proponents of inclusion to acknowledge and address the past sediments of oppression which are layered in institutions such as schools and examining the issues around race, gender, language, is still laced with blindness and unfamiliarity, hence contributing to the prevailing exclusion of learners despite inclusive education policy which will be outlined earlier on. From here on, the critiques about inclusion of learners in inclusive education namely Imray and Colley (2017); Kauffman et al. (2018); Engelbrecht and Ekins (2017); and Artiles (2011) are summarised below.

All in all debates about the inclusion of all learners in inclusive education can be summarised as follows:

- Inclusion of all learners in inclusive education is a myth and it is also ineffective since the policy is not translated in practice. For instance, policy is limited to the formal inclusion of the learners as opposed to substantive inclusion of the learners;

- There is a lack of clarity about the meaning of inclusion of learners in inclusive education, thus contributing to a struggle concerning substantive inclusion of the learners. Additionally, heterogeneous classrooms make it hard for effective learning of all learners; and
- Implementation of inclusion of learners in inclusive education is impossible because of different contexts that call for dynamic teaching strategies which are not always successful in terms of accommodating learner diversity.

In a nutshell, as indicated above, there are different conceptualisations about the precise definition of inclusion of learners in inclusive education. This is evident in the aforementioned trends of inclusion of learners given in the first section of the current chapter. As already suggested above, inclusion is based on four different notions, namely being inclusion as a human rights discourse, inclusion as about the notion of social justice, inclusion also as an integration of learners in ordinary classrooms and the core agenda of a broad-based education. Interestingly, the proponents of inclusion of learners in inclusive education share some closely related views to those mentioned in Section 1 on the trends and debates on inclusion. For instance, they argue for inclusion as a human rights movement and a cored agenda on broad-based education which calls for the full participation of the excluded learners in mainstream classrooms. Additionally, the proponents of inclusion also argue for learner deliberation of learners in inclusive education by maintaining that learners should be allowed to raise voices by engaging in a dialogue with each other in other to reason together regardless of whether they agree with each other or not.

By implication, the above view on deliberation is in agreement with the inclusion of all learners as a social justice project where the rights, the privileges of learners are taken into consideration during the learning process. Lastly, the proponents of inclusion assert that in inclusive education, all learners from diverse backgrounds should be accommodated and represented by being allowed to raise their issues of concern to ensure the welfare of all the other learners. By implication, the aforementioned view aligns with the argument of inclusion as integration of learners as it calls for the inclusion of all learners who have been excluded to represented in inclusive education through establishment of RCLs. On the other hand, the critiques of inclusion show different views concerning inclusion of learners by stating that inclusion is a myth (does not exist), lacks clarity, thus making it hard to implement. By an extension of this argument, the

critiques of inclusion reveal that varied contexts within which inclusion is to be practised make it impossible to achieve, as different strategies need to be implemented depending on the context and the varying needs of the learners. Going forward, the discussion on the stance of inclusive education policy is unpacked.

3.4 Debates and trends on democracy and inclusion of learner classroom(s): a South African view

The following section addresses the post-apartheid South African policy stance on democracy, inclusion, and exclusion of learner classrooms. Thus showing that the ideal is meant to foster participation, deliberation, and representation of South African learners in classrooms. Worthy of note, the introduction of democracy in South Africa led to a change in education policy, as a consequence, contributing to a paramount shift in education from a dual school system (segregated education) to a unitary (inclusive) school system. In specific terms, inclusive schools mainly argued for participation, deliberation, and representation of the learners. Correspondingly, Makoelle (2012); Engelbrecht (2006); Naicker (2005); as well as Donohue and Bornman (2014) maintain that after South Africa was declared a democratic state, many policies emerged that advocated for the inclusion of all learners in schools. Some of these policies included the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996; Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994); South African Schools Act (SASA) (1996); the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) and the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DoE, 2011). In this instance, some major key points that argue for inclusion will be outlined in this section.

In essence, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) argues for the following. . .

> Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental rights; Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by the law. Improve the quality of life of all the citizens and free the potential of each person; and build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations (Republic of South Africa, 1996, pp. 1-3).

Commensurately, the aforementioned quotation is closely linked to Pericles declaration speech predisposed in Chapter 1 on the value of democracy. In summary, it is mainly characterised by collective self-government that sought to build a society based on social justice and basic human rights. Similar to The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), the Athenian democracy (Pericles speech) Thucydides, (1972) implies that all learners should be active participants in their learning by making decisions for themselves, as well as being allowed to exercise their freedom in a classroom context. To put it bluntly, should be free to raise their views in classrooms as suggested by educational benefits of the Athenian democracy. Furthermore, Rousseau (1968) adds that learner participation gives learners a sense of belonging in a classroom. Another important feature of the constitution is that it speaks directly to the benefits of a child in South Africa. For instance, it adheres to the learners' quality of life, frees the learner's potential, as well as suggesting that learners' rights to learn must be protected by law. In brief, all learners should participate during the learning process, should be equipped with an education that makes room for their views to be challenged, examined which, consequently, develops the learners' cognitive functioning and learners should be represented in classrooms that acknowledge and accommodate the presence of diverse learners. Accordingly, the South African Schools Act (1996) has made new provisions of a reformed system of organisation, governance and funding of schools thus arguing for learner representation in schools. It provides for the

> . . .establishment of the representative council of learners which is to be recognized and legitimized as a representative learner body at school (Department of Education, 1996). A representative Council of learners at the school must be established at every public school enrolling learners in the eighth grade and higher. . . (DoE, 1996, p. 10).

Mathebula (2005, p. 6) also states that in the South African Schools Act, 1996, the learners

- Form the official structure of the whole school
- The aforementioned structure is made up of a subset of learners elected by the whole population of other learners to represent them
- The body in which learners represent other learners where all individual learners can participate.

In a nutshell, South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) argues for learner's representation through Representative Council for Learners (RCLs) in schools where a subset of learners (representatives) participate by raising issues of concerns on behalf of all the learners. Consistently, Pitkin (1967) suggests that some of the educational benefits of learner representation includes learners who can protect, control and promote the public interests of all the learners. Additionally, learners who are capable of action, judgement and learners who can influence the school governance to take action aimed at addressing the learners' issues. According to Mathebula (2005), the establishment of the RCLs enables learners to have a representative body which demonstrates that the learners have control over what it does. By extension, the representative body acts substantively on behalf of the learners. In other words, the learners are active participants in influencing the decisions in the school governance.

Although the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) can be argued to be an international policy, it is relevant in the South African context because it informs the objective of Education For All (EFA) agenda. As a notable example, it advocates for inclusion of all learners through the broadening of basic education to impede the declining number of illiterate people in post-apartheid South Africa as it is to be argued in Chapter 4. Additionally, besides South Africa as a participant in reaffirming the educational right of all learners as urged by the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994), most of the policy, which will be discussed in this section, were implemented based on the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) framework. Thus, in agreement with the aforementioned policy, Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) vehemently states the principle of inclusion that reads…

> The guiding principle that informs this framework is that schools should accommodate all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic and other conditions . . . The trend in social policy during the past two decades has been to promote integration and participation and to combat exclusion. Inclusion and integration are essential to human dignity, enjoyment and exercise of human rights. The fundamental principle is that all children should learn together, wherever possible, regardless of any difficulties or differences they may have. Inclusive schools must recognise and respond to diverse needs of their students, accommodating both different styles of learning and

> ensuring quality education to all through appropriate curricula, organizational arrangements, teaching strategies, resource use, and partnerships with their communities Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994. p. 5).

Based on the above quotation, three important points are worth noting. In essence, The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) addresses the need for schools to minimise exclusion by increasing participation of all learners who have been previously excluded from school. Secondly, adheres to mainstreaming of learners whose voices are heard by being challenged, examined and critiqued. As a consequence, contributing to learners who are deliberating in post-apartheid South African classrooms. By extension, it also argues for the provision of schools that are diversity sensitive by suggesting learner representation in democratic schools. In this instance, the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) posits that learners should be active participants who can act for the public good of all the learners regardless of the diverse backgrounds of learners. Overtly, Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) argues for the accommodation of all children in schools by suggesting that learners should be allowed to participate by making decisions during the learning process to combat silent exclusion. Put simply, Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) states that democratic schools are to recognise and respond to the diverse needs of all children (learners) so that they learn together within democratic schools.

Furthermore, The White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) addresses the need for the provision of quality educational opportunities for all by defining key features to inclusive education as…

> Maximizing the participation of all learners in the culture and the curriculum of educational institutions and uncovering and minimizing barriers to learning… The mobilization of out-of-school [all] children and youth of school-going age. . . We must focus our efforts on improving the capacity of education and training to accommodate learners who experience various forms of difficulties. . .[Provision] of a flexible curriculum and assessment policy that is accessible to all learners irrespective of the nature of the learning needs (Department of Education, 2001, pp. 4-11).

In a nutshell, there are four themes worth noting as far as White paper 6 Department of Education, 2001) is concerned. White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001) maintains that

learners should be active participants in their learning as learner participation may impede the barriers of learning in inclusive education. Secondly, White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) suggests for the inclusion of all learners who are of the school-going age who have not had the chance to participate in learning in inclusive education.

Thirdly, White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) maintains that schools, as well as classrooms, should be diversity sensitive, consequently accommodating and provide support to learners with additional educational needs. Lastly, White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) argues for a curriculum that is readily available and relevant to all the learners when being provided with an education that appreciates and celebrates diversity. In short, White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) argues for the improvement of the capacity of education and training by calling for the mobilisation of out of school children. Consequently, White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) emphasises the maximum participation of all learners to uncover and preclude barriers for learning.

Lastly, the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DoE, 2011) argues for a type of education aimed at full participation of all the learners in a school setting in order to avoid exclusionary practices. Its principles read:

- Human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice: infusing the principles and practices of social and

- Equipping learners, irrespective of socio-economic background, race and gender, physical ability, with knowledge, skills and values necessary for self-fulfilment and meaningful participation in society as free citizens
- Inclusivity should become a central part of the organisation, planning, and teaching at each school. This can only happen if all teachers have a sound understanding of how to recognise and address barriers to learning and how to plan for diversity (DoE, 2011, pp. 4-5).

In brief, three points are worth noting concerning the CAPS document. First, principle 1 aligns with the definition of inclusion that is stated in Chapter 2. For instance, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, inclusion is conceptualised as a human rights discourse, therefore, it argues for the full participation of all learners in inclusive education by adhering to the dimensions of

citizenship, the rights and the privileges of learners. Second, the CAPS document puts forward an argument for the type of curriculum and teaching strategies that are responsive to all the learners' needs by imparting the type of knowledge that develop the learners as independent citizens with skills that allow them to participate in their communities as professionals.

Third, it suggests that during the planning and teaching of learners in inclusive education, the inclusion of all learners should be one of the key factors that need to be taken into consideration. As a result, teachers must have a mutual understanding that enhances collaboration among them to make the inclusion of all learners in inclusive education a success.

In summary, the stance of Inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South African with regard to inclusion/ exclusion of learners can be summarised this way; 1) The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) reflects the Athenian democracy i.e. participation, deliberation, and representation; 2) The South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) makes provision for representative council of the learners i.e. this is the only legitimate structure in post-apartheid South African schools; 3) Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) lays out the principles of inclusion in schools, that is, schools should include every school-going learner; 4) White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) promises quality education opportunities for all learners; and (5) Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DoE, 2011) argues for inclusivity as part of the organisation, planning, and teaching provided for the teachers to recognise and address barriers to learning and ways to plan for diversity. Thus allowing for learner participation, learner deliberation, and learner representation.

Overall, this section shows that some scholars across the globe agree with the idea inclusion of learners in mainstream democratic classrooms. However, the critiques of inclusion indicate that the ideal is not put to practice thus making inclusion impossible in democratic classrooms. Consequently leading to learners who are silently excluded (i.e. non-participation, non-deliberation and non-representation in democratic classrooms as shown in Chapter 1 as some of the features of silent exclusion. Furthermore, exclusion of learners will be elaborated on using the zones of inclusion that is to be engaged with in the next chapter.

3.5 Post-apartheid South African education policy: a stance on democracy, inclusion and exclusion of learners in classrooms

In the course of this chapter, I have shown the trends about inclusion of the all learners in inclusive education. As a way of doing this, I have talked about different ways in which inclusion of learners evolved with time starting from inclusion as being perceived as the human rights movement, inclusion of learner also understood as a notion of social justice, inclusion also conceptualised as integration of learners, lastly, inclusion perceived as the core agenda of broad-based education. Having articulated varying trends about the inclusion of all learners in inclusive education, I also show how the proponents of inclusion are also in support of the inclusion of learners in inclusive education as they also view inclusion as a human rights discourse which should allow for learner participation, learner deliberation and learners representation. Following this discussion, I have also shown how the critiques of inclusion argue against it by stating that it is a myth, complex because of dynamic contexts and that the theory of inclusion contradicts immensely with practice. In the last section, I showed that the post-apartheid South African education policy supports formal inclusion of learners in democratic schools. However, against this view, the critiques of exclusion who will be mentioned in the next chapter agree with the zones of exclusion to show that regardless of the post-apartheid inclusive education policy stance on formal inclusion of all learners in inclusive education, some learners remain excluded from mainstream classrooms. Thus making the inclusion of learners in learner classrooms a distant dream to which learners must fight for as part of their educational rights to be included in learner classrooms as it is to be observed in the ensuing sections. Going forward, the attention focuses on the zones of exclusion in schools and their implications for learner participation, learner deliberation including learner representation.

CHAPTER 4

THE ZONES OF EXCLUSION IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS: WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR LEARNERS' PARTICIPATION, DELIBERATION, AND REPRESENTATION?

4.1 Introduction

Apart from the post-apartheid education policy which is in support of inclusion of learners in democratic schools in South Africa; global[2], continental and domestic instruments on compulsory education also call for the inclusion of learners who are outside the school context to attend the schools. Ironically, some learners remain excluded from schools as reflected by the zones of exclusion as the reader shall soon see. Sadly, this means that learners are not participating, not deliberating and not represented in democratic classrooms in South Africa. Consequently, in this chapter, I maintain that learners should be included substantively in democratic classrooms in South Africa as suggested in the preferred theoretical framework (democratic theory) in this study. Overall, this chapter defines the zones of exclusion and its central features to show how learners are excluded (at the international level and) in South African schools in general. Beyond defining the zones of exclusion, the chapter also aims to show the implication of the zones of exclusion on learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation in South African schools.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Section 1 looks at the global, continental and domestic instruments that advocate for compulsory education of all learners in schools. Section 2 shows how legal global education instruments are not translated into practice as implied by the zones of exclusion. Section 3 sets up a theoretical framework from which to analyse inclusive education policy – thus attempting to bridge the gap between the ideal (inclusive education policies; global

[2] Global instruments also put emphasis on inclusion of learners by advocating for compulsory education for all children. For instance, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR, 1948) suggests that all learners should have access to education putting emphasis on the universal right to education. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) argues for education that is responsive to the educational needs of the learners and consistent with the learners developing capacities. Additionally, The World Conference of Education For All (EFA, 1990) Suggest for compulsory education by advocating for reforms that are aimed at including all learners in schools as well as broadening of basic education to include all children. Similarly, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2001) also suggest for compulsory education, as a consequence arguing for provision of education to all learners as a human right, a no-fee policy was also introduced to include all learners in schools. Also, the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) mainly puts emphasis on compulsory attendance by urging all parents to ensure that all children attend schools from the age of 7-15years.

instruments) and the zones of exclusion in schools. Section 4 advance a critique of democratic theory – not withstanding my support for this preferred theoretical frame. Section 5 defends a democratic theory arguing that within the framework of Constitutional democracy substantive learner participation, deliberation and representation can be justified in South Africa.

4.2 Global Legislation and Domestic Education Policy on Compulsory Attendance

Among these are, first and foremost, the Universal declaration of human rights (1948) Article 26, puts emphasis on the universal right to education as well as equal access to education of all the learners. Thus calling for the role of education to promote respect for human rights including tolerance within nations as well as social groups. In specific terms, Universal declaration of human rights (1948) specifies that all children have equal rights and equal access to education, as a result, full participation of learners should be allowed in schools regardless of the learners‟ diverse social backgrounds. Overall, within social institutions such as schools, the role of education should be mainly about ensuring the respect of the learners' human rights. In plain words, all learners have a right to be included in universal education by being allowed to participate by having a choice of what they want to learn. Additionally, schools should tolerate and accommodate diverse social groups from which learners come from in order to allow learners to interact with each other. This entails learners discussing issues around them regardless of whether they agree or disagree. Lastly, learners should also have equal access to schools, and within those schools, learners should be given a chance to raise issues of public concern on behalf of all the other learners in pursuit of the welfare of all learners. From the foregoing, the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of a Child (1989) is considered.

In equal vein, United Nations Conventions on the Rights of a Child (1989, pp. 190-191) states that all the children should be provided with the type of education that confines to their convictions. By extension, United Nations Conventions on the Rights of a Child (1989) also argues that schools should grant the right of freedom of thought to children regardless of their religion. In addition, in schools, children (learners) should also be provided with an education that is consistent with their‟ developing capacities. In clear terms, The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) maintains that schools are to provide all the learners with the type of education that is relevant to them, thus allowing learners to raise

their opinions and judgements during the learning process. Moreover, schools should avoid marginalisation of learners based on their diverse religious beliefs. Instead, compulsory education that the learners are provided with in schools should accommodate the all learners' freedom of thought as well as being consistent with learners developing capacities. Put differently, this global instrument on compulsory education should grant the type of education that is relevant to learners to allow participation of all learners. Moreover, learners should also be provided with the type of education that allows learners to deliberate. To cite an example, the type of education that permits learners to think critically about issues of public concern in order reason logically. Lastly, education that is given to learners should accommodate and acknowledge learner diversity among learners by allowing learners to raise their issues of concern for the general welfare of all learners. Going forward, the World Declaration on Education for All (1990) also suggest for compulsory education of learners.

In accordance with the aforementioned, The World Conference of Education For All (EFA, 1990, pp. 8-13) in response to the widespread deterioration of education where over a million people were illiterate and also unprepared for the life in societies, made reforms to include everybody. As a way of including everybody, the school of basic education was broadened in order to include early childhood development, primary education, and non-formal learning for both the youth and adults through media as well as social actions. Accordingly, it is also suggested in The World Conference of Education For All (EFA, 1990) that despite the efforts to include learners who have been excluded through primary schooling, an estimated 20% of school-going age remain excluded. In simple words, The World Conference of Education For All (EFA, 1990) was implemented to curb the declining number of illiterate people in the education system by providing different types of education in order to prepare them for life in the communities. In one sense, The World Conference of Education For All (EFA, 1990) states that basic education should be implemented to allow participation of all learners. Moreover, the World Conference of Education For All suggest for education that allows learners to deliberate, as a consequence, developing learners as moral individual beings capable of practical reasoning for life in societies. In addition, the World Conference of Education For All (EFA, 1990) suggests that in schools, learners should be provided with the type of education that accommodates representation of all learners.

In addition to the aforementioned global education instruments on compulsory education, another instrument as far as compulsory education of all learners is concerned Millennium Development Goals (2001, p. 5). With regard to MDGs (2001), particularly MDG2, more emphasis is put on achieving universal primary education as a basic human right in order to reduce poverty and inequality. For instance, some countries including South Africa have implemented the no-school fee policy in order to achieve high enrolment rates of the school going-age population. To elaborate on this, MDGs (2001, p. 5) are about increasing learner participation in schools through primary education that grants access to all children without necessarily having to pay to get a quality education. In these schools, more often than not, there are trained teachers who provide all children with a quality education that enhances the learners' reasoning ability as well as calling for the representation of all excluded learners by the implementation of no fee policy. The last document on compulsory education to be discussed from here on is the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996).

Accordingly, South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996, p. 4-5) provides for the compulsory attendance of the learners by stipulating that parents or guardians have a responsibility to make sure that learners attend school from the age of seven years until the learner is fifteen years. From this view, South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) states that all children have a right to education, and it is the responsibility of the parents to ensure that a child does not remain out of school but has equal access to quality education. In specific terms, the parents have the responsibility to ensure that children attend schools from a young age until they reach the ripe age of fifteen years old and are mature enough to make their own decisions. This means that schools also have the responsibility to provide all learners with quality education that influences them to make their own decisions during the teaching and the learning process. From one point of view, the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996), argues that learners should be provided with quality education as a human right to allow learners to participate in schools. In equal vein, the South African School Act, 1996 suggests for quality education in which learners have the right to question some of the assigned topics. For instance, learners who engage in conversations with each other and question some of the educational concerns during the continuum of teaching and learning process. Worthy of note, South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996), also calls for learner representation as it states that all learners should have access to quality education. From

the foregoing, the African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of the Child, 1989 will be discussed.

Correspondingly, African Charter on the rights and the welfare of a child (1999) Article 11 also argues for equal educational access of all the children. As a notable example, it argues for learner participation by maintaining that every child has equal rights to education that contributes to the development of the child's personality, varying talents as well as the physical abilities. In specific terms, the African Charter on the rights and the Welfare of the Child (1999) suggests that children's potential should be developed to their full potential within the school's context. By extension, the African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of the Child (1999) also argues for a type of education that preserves and strengthen African morals, traditional values and African cultures. Arguably, this type of education accommodates learner deliberation by accommodating a simple and a clean way to evade challenges of diversity as well as cultural relativism. As a consequence, allowing learners to reflect critically on their opinions and their views. Worthy of note, the African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of a Child (1999) argues that all children should be represented in schools by calling on the governments to protect educational rights of females and disadvantaged children. In other words, stating that the voices of females and disadvantaged children should be heard to ensure their individual well-being.

All in all, the aforementioned global, continental and domestic instruments on compulsory education can be summarised in this way. Universal declaration of human rights (1948) argues for a right to universal education which allows for learner participation, tolerance and accommodation of diverse social groups of learners. In addition, Universal declaration of human rights (1948) calls for education which allows deliberation of learners by permitting learners to participate in open discussions in which their conversations may be unrestrained to allow self-clarification and self-revelation in schools. Arguably, learners cannot participate and be deliberating within school context without being represented in schools. In one sense, Universal declaration of human of human rights (1948) also makes provision for self-expression of all learners particularly on issues of public concern in pursuit of public interest.

In a similar way, United Nations conventions on the rights of a child (1989) calls for a relevant education that allows learner participation. Additionally, it puts emphasis on education that

allows learners to deliberate by engaging in debates about basic rights, their meaning and their implications. Worthy of note, United Nations conventions on the rights of a child (1989) advocates for learner representation through the practice of education that accommodates and acknowledges learner diversity as mentioned above. Moving on, the World Conference on Education for All (1990) also argues for basic education which allows for learner participation, learner deliberation, and also inclusion of learners who were excluded thus advocating for learner representation as mentioned earlier.

In equal vein, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2001) suggest for a primary education that allows learner participation, provision of quality and deliberating education that enhances the learners' reasoning ability. In addition, a no-fee policy education that allows for learner representation in schools is no exception. Similarly, the last instrument which is South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) also suggests that education is a human right; therefore, learners should be allowed to participate. Furthermore, South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) argues that learners should be deliberating in schools by being provided with quality education that develops learners' ability to make judgements. Lastly, South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) argues for access to quality education, as a result, advocating for representation of all learners. As far as can be judged, the aforementioned global, continental, domestic education policy reflects on formal learner participation, learner deliberation as well as learner representation in compulsory education. However, these are not translated into learners' lived experiences in schools as the zones of the exclusion will show in the ensuing section.

4.3 The zones of exclusion: tension between inclusive policy and inclusive practice

Accordingly, as a consequence of the above-mentioned legal and global education instruments on compulsory education, Lewin (2009) asserts that the numbers of children with access to basic education particularly in sub-Saharan Africa have increased significantly. However, in agreement with the critiques on exclusion of learners, Imray and Colley (2017); Kauffman et al. (2018); Engelbrecht and Ekins (2017); Artiles (2011); and Lewin (2009) signal that some children still remain excluded from basic education. This view is better depicted in the model that is referred to as the zones of exclusion (see figure 4.1). Accordingly, Lewin (2009) defines the zones of exclusion as varied patterns in which learners face exclusion in sub-Saharan Africa.

As a result, to explain educational access for school-age children, Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transition and Equity (CREATE) according to Lewin (2009) developed a model that serves the purpose of describing educational access of school-age children in low enrolment countries in Sub Saharan Africa. Additionally, Lewin (2009) states that the aforementioned model was mainly used in the context of classrooms only to describe educational access for children who are at the school-going age. In specific terms, the model was also used for four main purposes. In essence, the model was used to show various spaces which show the inclusion of learners, exclusion of learners as well as learners who are at the risk of exclusion (Lewin, 2009). Secondly, the model was used to show achievement, as a result, the model depicts the current status of inclusion/ exclusion of learners in classrooms and identify ways in which policy and practices that can make inclusion of learners a reality (Lewin, 2007). And lastly, the model also provides an overview on different ways of exclusion from education in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa by offering a framework that allows reconceptualization of access difficulties (Lewin, 2007).

In equal vein, since the model was used to show different ways of inclusion and exclusion of learners in classrooms, in my view, the model is relevant in this study as it shows inclusion (learners who are inside the school context) exclusion (outside the school context) of learners as well as those who are at risk of being excluded within the bigger context which is, in the context of this study, democratic schools, despite the inclusive education policy and global instruments on inclusion of learners. In one sense, I am of the view that the magnitudes of exclusion and inclusion that are reflected within classrooms context in Sub-Saharan Africa are the same as the magnitudes of exclusion and inclusion in the context of schools, that is democratic schools in South Africa in particular. Thus the zones of exclusion in this study will be used for two purposes. First, to show exclusion of learners in inclusive education. Second, to make an analysis of the current status which can contribute in putting policy in practice, as part of the main aim of this study. Additionally, as noted earlier on, the zones of exclusion are used in this study to give a general overview of magnitudes of exclusion of learners from compulsory education in the context Southern African countries, South Africa in particular thus offering the possibilities of the reconceptualisation of South African post-apartheid education policy. Going forward, these zones of exclusion are outlined in the diagram below.

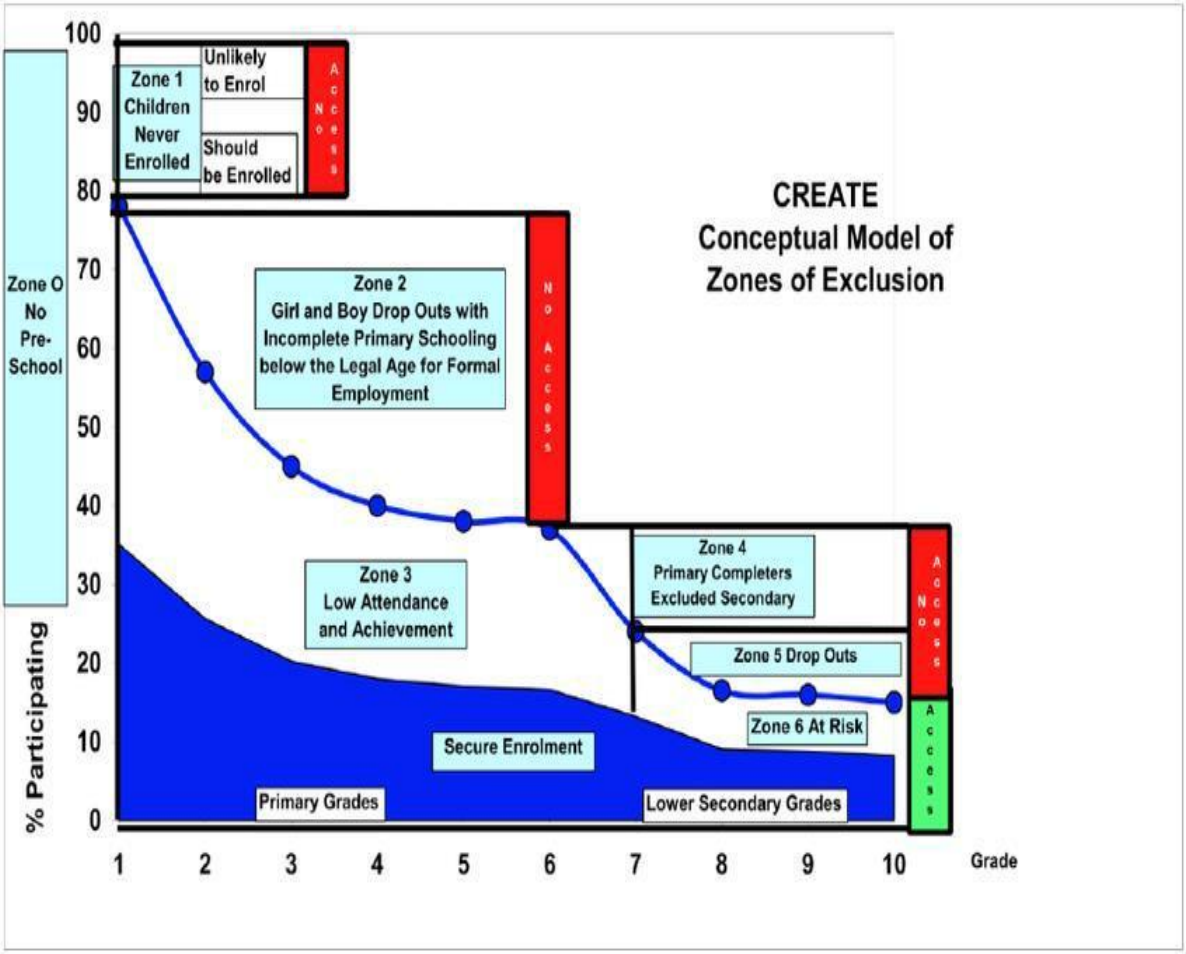


Figure 4.1

Source: *Adopted from Lewin (2007)*

Zone 0 shows the non-participation of the learners. In clear terms, zone 0 as reflected in the diagram reveals pre-school participation. In this zone, the children have no access to schools and as a result, they remain out of school settings. This ultimately means that they are not given an opportunity to participate in their learning within the schooling space. Clearly, this goes against the goals of the aforementioned initiatives by education for all the World Conference of Education For All (EFA, 1990) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2001) to include all the children in schools. In addition, the impact of non-participation on the children who remain outside the school context is that children are denied their individual rights to education, by implication, learners are also ripped off their educational benefits which Rousseau (1968) and Mill (1975) talked about with regard to participation in Chapter 1 in particular. For instance, as opposed to being given a sense of belonging in schools; and also

being active participants in their own learning by raising their voices about how and what they want to learn as suggested by Rousseau (1968) in Chapter 1; the children in zone 0 remain excluded from accessing formal-substantive education in schools. In addition, these children are prone to forming part of those unrecognised, excluded, and unheard voices that remain out of schools without any chance of being heard by participating in the learning process in schools. In a similar manner, when learners have no access to formal schooling, they are denied the educational benefits of being developed into intellectual and moral beings who are critical thinkers of the world around them as mentioned by (Mill, 1975). Ultimately, the only form of education that these learners are exposed to is informal education that does not develop learners into critical thinkers. Overtly, this zone shows blatant exclusion of some learners in education in schools as already pointed out by the critiques of exclusion, namely Kauffman et al. (2018) as well as; Imray and Colley (2017) in the previous chapter. From here on, the focus is mainly on Zone 1.

Zone 1  shows the non-representation of the learners. It further reveals children who are inside of schools ideally but not in practical terms. The children are inside but also outside of schools practically. In short, this zone portrays children who never attend schools as a result of a culture, livelihood style, and social identity that may preclude consistent attendance to schooling. In addition, this zone reflects children who never attend schools due to long walking distances to formal schools. However, extending schools to reach these children's access may reduce a significant number of children who do not attend schools. In this instance, learners are only represented ideally, but in practice, learners remain outside the schools. The impact of non- representation of the learners means that the children in this cohort are denied the educational benefits that come with representation as suggested by Pitkin (1967). In specific terms, this zone shows that learners' voices are unheard in schools, and also in analogous labs as learners are not able to voice out the opinions to raise issues of concern for the welfare of all the learners in schools and in classrooms. Going forward, the discussion of the other zones of exclusion follows.

Zone 2, 3, 4, 5, 6  reveals non-deliberation of the learners within the schooling context, which means that learners are inside the school context ideally, but in practice remain outside the schools. In these zones, particularly zone 2, children are excluded after initial

entry. Zone 3 entails children who drop out and fail to complete the primary school cycle, children who drop out as a result of low achievement as well as inconsistent attendance. Furthermore, Zone 4 includes children who do not transit to secondary level as a result of high school costs and are also far away from accessing the secondary level. While zone 5 entails children who fail to complete secondary grades and zone 6 being about children who are at high risk of dropping out at the secondary level. Appropriately, the above-mentioned zones are closely related to each other in that all of them portray that the children are inside the schools but in real life situation, learners who are outside formal schooling. Arguably, these children have access to formal schools but are excluded during the learning process thus contributing to learners who are not deliberating in schools and learners who are not developed as critical thinkers. Moreover, when learners are not deliberating in schools, it automatically means that these learners do not enjoy the educational benefits of deliberation as stated in Chapter 1. Put differently, without participation and representation, it is impossible to expect or fathom deliberation in schools about educational matters.

For instance, learners are denied the opportunity of expressing their views, have them criticised, challenged, and examined thus making the kind learners who are not able to use cognitive functions to challenge the world around them. In short, the mental capacity of the learners is not developed. In addition, as opposed to learning practical reasoning as suggested by Benhabib (1996) while arguing for the educational benefits that come along with deliberation, learners remain as irrational beings who cannot effectively impart clear information to their peers, reason logically, as well as articulating those reasons when it is necessary to do so. Furthermore, non-deliberation affects the learners' ability to be self-improving in terms of participating in debates and making decisions that concern their lives as suggested by (Budge, 1993). Overall, when learners are not deliberating in schools, it becomes a challenge for them to participate actively and comprehensively on issues around them. In a nutshell, non-participation, non-representation and non- deliberation of the children that is evident in the zones of exclusion shows unheard voices of the learners within formal schooling, consequently contributing to learners who are silently excluded in their learning.

Considering the aforementioned policies of inclusive education: the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994), the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, the South African

School Act (DoE,1996), the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001), the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DoE, 2011) and the Guides for Representative Councils of Learners (1999) that are based on the premise of inclusion of all learners; it is surprising that there is tension between the ideal (inclusive education policy) and practice (learners participation, deliberation, and representation) evident in the figure 4.1 of the zones of exclusion. To provide critical analysis of inclusive education policy, to show that the ideal is not translated in practice, a democratic theory which entails learner participation, learner representation and learner deliberation will be used as a theoretical framework. For instance, inclusive education policy promises to foster active, participatory citizens how to preserve individual liberties and appeal to the public good, thus developing active self-help type of characters. However, Zone 1 reflects on the non-participation of learners who never enrol due to long walking distances where formal schools are located. This points to the fact that by walking long distances to access formal school render them unable to actively take part in effective learning and teaching – thus, being silently excluded in the process.

4.4 Democratic theory of education: a preferred framework

In brief, the absence of learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation, means that learners will be unable to judge, assess, improve or reform schools, hence a need for learners to engage in a struggle for inclusive democratic classrooms in South Africa. More so, we should consider both the ideal (inclusion) and achievement (through struggle) in the face of the zones of exclusion in South Africa. Based on the previous critical evaluative analysis, I agree with the policy and its aims to include all learners formally in democratic inclusive classrooms. This discussion will also be elaborated further on in Chapter 5. On the other hand, I am concerned with the disjunction between policy and practice in inclusive democratic schools. In clear words, I argue that learners should not be excluded as shown in the zones of exclusion, for instance, zone-0 (non-participation), zone (2-6) non-deliberation, zone 1 (non-representation) when policy, such as the South African Constitution (1996), SASA (DoE, 1996), the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) the White paper 6 (DoE, 2001) and the CAPS (DoE, 2011) advocate for the inclusion of all learners in South African schools.

In summary, inclusion in democratic classrooms is an on-going struggle for many learners in

South African democratic schools and this struggle is necessary because:

- The idea that the right to participate in a Constitutional Democracy is likely to be an educational one (Mill, 1975; Rousseau, 1968).
- The above ideal is impossible if schools do not promote free and unconstrained deliberation for all learners in South African classrooms (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993).
- A policy which does not incorporate outer institutional aspects and substantive (inner purposive) achievement (Pitkin, 1967) remains a distant dream in a representative democracy like South Africa.

Going forward, I show how a democratic theory, a theory that is based on substantive learner participation, learner representation, as well as learner deliberation, may be the alternative way to bridge the gap between post-apartheid South African education policy; the global education instruments on compulsory education and the zones of exclusion. The diagram below depicts the theoretical framework of this study as well as the educational benefits that come with learner participation, learner deliberation and as well as learner representation.

Theoretical framework

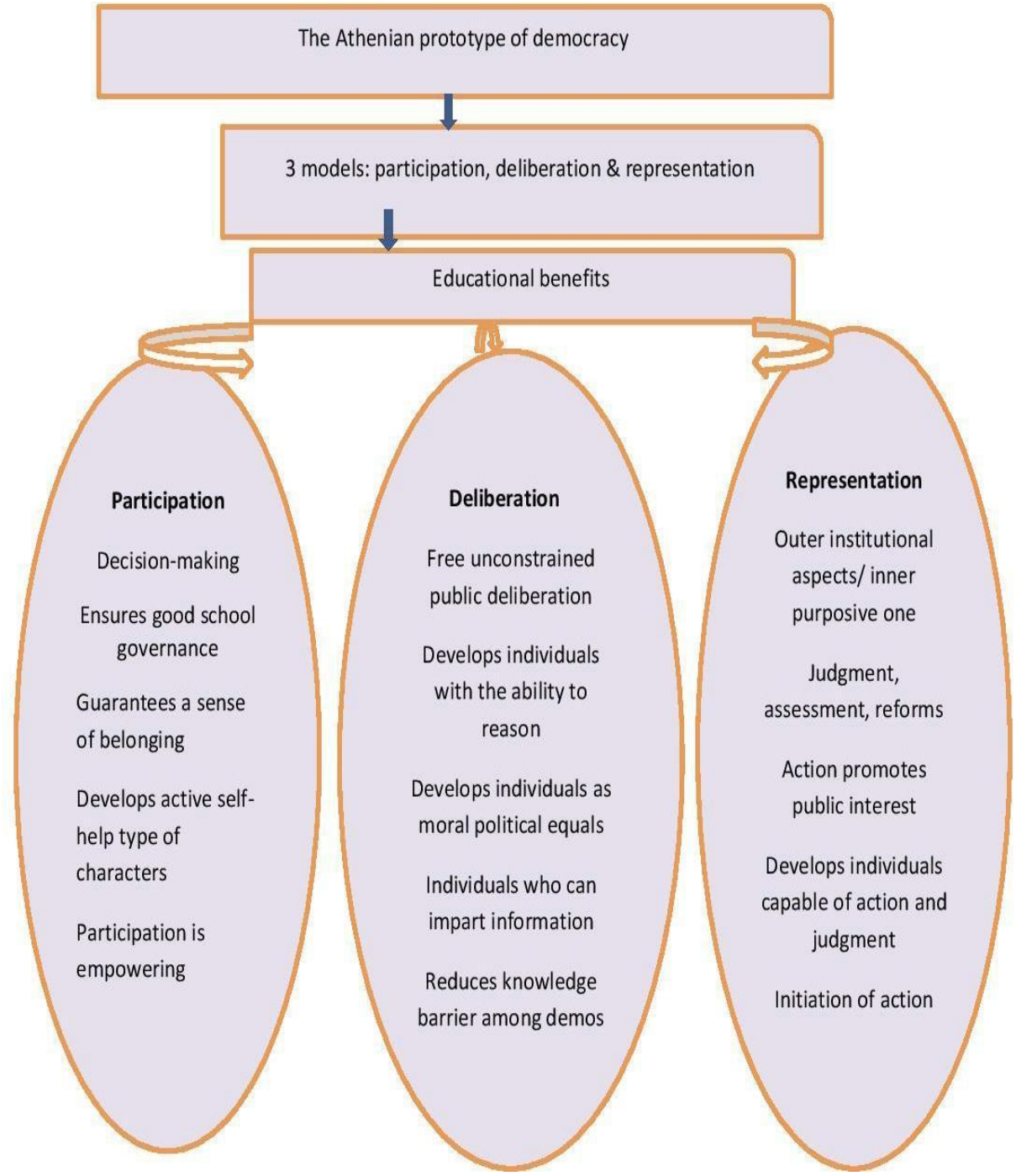


Figure 4.2

Figure 2 Theoretical framework

Coherently, this mini dissertation uses one theory, namely democratic theory (i.e, theories of participation, theories of deliberation and theories of representation) in order to set up a framework from which to analyse the assumptions reflected in inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa. Badenhorst (2008) posits that a theory is a system of rules, procedures as well as a set of assumptions that are used to produce an outcome. Additionally, Badenhorst (2008) maintains that theory is also an "abstract of knowledge or reasoning, or an ideal or hypothetical situation" (p. 7). Behind this theory lies an assumption that a theoretical framework (democratic theory) may bridge the gap between silent exclusion of the learners and inclusion of all learners in democratic classrooms thus allowing for learner participation, learner deliberation and representation. From here on, the focus turns to the importance of theories in academic research.

Duly, Badenhorst (2008) clarifies the significance of theories in academic research by stating that they assist researchers to explain, to comprehend as well as suggesting what the result of the research should be. Appropriately, the Athenian prototype of democracy is used in this study to suggest that in democracy, active participation of the citizens is likely to be educational. As a result, when learners are active participants in their learning, they are most likely to deliberate and be represented in classrooms, i.e. substantive inclusion of all learners. Consequently being at a greater advantage of gaining educational benefits that come with participation, namely learners who are developed as moral active characters and learners who are responsible individuals, equipped with decision-making skills that allow them to distinguish between irrelevant learning and the one that is responsive to their educational needs. These are elaborated in further detail in the following paragraph.

Appropriately, when all learners are active participants who make decisions for themselves, they may exercise their agency to acquire learning that is responsive to their educational needs. In short, active participation of learners contributes to empowerment of citizenry as well as developing learners as active self-help type of characters (Mill, 1975; Rousseau, 1968). In addition, learner deliberation develops learners as individuals with practical rationality (logical reasoning) and learners who are well informed about issues happening in their immediate environment. In short, deliberation equips the learners with skills to engage in practical reasoning thus developing all learners as free unconstrained public deliberators according to

Budge (1993) and Benhabib (1996) as already pointed out in Chapter 1. Worthy of note, learner representation allows learners to raise their voices to speak on behalf of all the other learners to achieve the common welfare of all learners. In short, representation shows that there is tension between the ideal and achievement as a result, showing that there is a continuing but not a hopeless challenge. Therefore learners need to be trained in such a way that they are able to engage in the pursuit of public interest (Pitkin 1967). Overtly, substantive participation of the learners in schooling contexts means increased chances of learners who are formally represented and deliberating in schools as opposed to learners being only formally/ ideally deliberating and represented, but in practice, are outside of the schools as shown in the zones of exclusion. In brief, theoretical framework in figure 4.2 is used to suggest that participation; deliberation and representation maybe one way to bridge the gap in the disjuncture between inclusive policy (ideal) and practice seemingly evident in the zones of exclusion aforementioned. Overall, the theoretical frame for this study reveals that;

- In a constitutional democracy active, participation by all citizens is likely to be an educational one as shown by Pericles (Thucydides, 1972) in Chapter 1. These educational benefits are reflected through participation in public institutions, such as schools that it…
    - Promises to teach an active, participatory citizenry how to preserve individual liberties and appeal to the public good & develop active self-help type of characters, i.e. theorists of participatory democracy (Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1975).
    - Promotes free and unconstrained public deliberation (theorists of deliberative democracy e.g. Budge (1993) and Benhabib (1996) so that the general public and learners, in particular, can judge, assess, improve or reform schools struggle for inclusive democratic classrooms in South Africa.
    - Adheres to learner representation in schools by incorporating both the formal ("outer" institutional aspects, by choosing the representatives in schools and substantive ("inner" purposive ones", which include representatives who are capable of acting as one way of looking after the interests of others. (Theorist of substantive representative democracy, e.g. Pitkin, 1967).

Despite the aforementioned reasons behind the application of the Athenian prototypical democracy (democratic theory) as a theoretical framework for this study, there are some scholars namely Plato (1993), Aristotle (1943), Schumpeter (1950) and Burke (2000) who share a different view of the Athenian Prototype of democracy (democratic theory) as the reader will see in the subsequent section.

4.5 Democratic theory: its critique and its virtue

Correspondingly, the first and most basic charge is best expressed by Aristotle (1943) in his characteristic terse direct style "In such democracies, each person lives as he likes; or in the words of Euripides according to his fancy" (Jones, 1986, p. 44). From this quotation, Aristotle states that in a constitutional democracy, there is too much autonomy that grants the demos liberty do whatever they want. In simple terms, Aristotle (1943) argues against the type of democracy where everyone is equal before the law but rather suggests for the type of democracy that has few educated people in government that make decisions on behalf of all the other people. From here on, Plato's (1993) critique of the constitution is considered. In the Republic, Plato (1993) complains that under a democracy

> the city is full of liberty and free speech and everyone in it is allowed to do what he likes . . . each man in it could plan his own life as he pleases . . . the citizens are various, instead of conforming to one type and that foreigners and even women and slaves are as free as the citizens (Plato, 1993, p. 304).

Based on the aforementioned quotation, two themes emerge. In essence, Plato (1993) argues against the Constitutional democracy by stating that there is too much freedom among individuals and there is also unlimited freedom of speech in government. In one sense, Plato (1993) argues that excessive freedom in government is likely to lead to a disorder or an imbalance in government because of the demos‟ failure to recognise the people in power. In addition, unlimited freedom in participating in government may also contribute to people who do not abide by law as everyone is allowed to do as they please. Secondly, Plato (1993) stands against the freedom that is granted to women, slaves and foreigners to participate in government.

By implication, the minors are believed to be incapable of making decisions in government and as a result, they are also capable of causing anarchy in government.

Correspondingly, the second main charge is most neatly stated by Plato thus suggesting "That it distributes a kind of equality to the equal and the unequal alike (Republic, 1993, p. 296). From this view, Plato (1993) states that constitutional democracy is flawed by perceiving the polity to be equal before the law. In other words, entrusting the affairs of government to all the demos may also contribute to confusion and unreliability in government because not everyone in the polity is knowledgeable enough to participate in the issues of governance. By implication, Plato (1993) suggest that only educated and knowledgeable people are capable of making rational decisions, as a result, the elites should be the people who form the government. In this instance, Plato (1993) is of the view that the non-elites are incapable of rational decision-making. The same point is made by Socrates, who distinguishes two equalities "One allots the same to everyone and the other what is appropriate to each" (Jones, 1986, p. 45). Thus meaning that the demos are not equal before the law, as a result, the educated people and non-elites should have different roles as far as participation in issues of government are concerned. In agreement with Plato (1993), Aristotle (1943) critiques the constitutional democracy in the following way.

Accordingly, Aristotle (1943) argues similarly, that "In a democracy freedom is the criterion, that is, all free men are equal" (Jones, 1986, p. 45). In a similar way, in agreement with Plato (1993), Aristotle (1943) is of the view that having the demos as being equal before the law runs the risk of forcing the government in danger because not everyone is capable of making sound and informed decisions, and also not all the demos are knowledgeable about government politics. In a nutshell, based on Aristotle (1943) as cited in Jones (1986) and Plato (1993), it is unethical to consider the elites and non-elites to be equal before the law and also capable of engaging in issues of governance.

The third main criticism of democracy comes from Aristotle (1943), that in its extreme (that is, Athenian) form "Democracy take Equality for their motto . . . the mass of the people (or the majority) is sovereign instead of the law; this happens when decrees are valid instead of the law" (Krouse, 1943 pp. 37-40). In addition to the above criticisms, Aristotle (1943) argues that the constitutional democracy which maintains that everyone is equal before the law qualifies as an

unfeasible and undesirable type of government because power is in the hands of all the people whether educated or not. Consequently, a form of government where power is entrusted in the hands of all the people and excessive freedom may lead to autocracy that is it may lead to lawlessness in government as people's power overrides the law. As a consequence, Aristotle (1943) argues that only wise people participate in government.

The final and principal charge was that it meant the rule of the poor majority over the rich minority in their own interest. For Aristotle, "Democracy is the rule of the poor; oligarchy is that of the rich"(Aristotle, 1943, p. 37). By this quotation, Aristotle (1943) argues that having the majority of poor (uneducated) people having power on the issues of government, and participate by making decisions in governance, does not work. As a result, people's participation in government should be entrusted to only to those who are knowledgeable enough to form the government by being rulers. This means that having the poor as the rulers in government contributes to governance that is neither effective nor just as the poor people run the risk of dissolving the government based on their lack of knowledge during their participation in government. Plato (1993) declares that "Democracy starts when the poor kill some of the rich, they expel others, and they give everyone who's left equal social and political rights" (p. 295). Thus contributing to a form of government that lacks stability and full of constant conflict. According to Krouse (1983, p. 76) "And from this . . . then follows a sharp dichotomy between an orthodox classical theory of participatory democracy and the contemporary revisionist theory of elite democracy".

In a brief summary, the above criticisms can be summarised in this way.

- Excessive freedom in government means power is entrusted in the hands of the mob and it is likely to lead to anarchy in government
- Allowing equal participation of the demos may contribute to instability because of lack of knowledge on issues of government
- Only the educated people should participate in government as they are capable of making informed and rational decisions
- Mob participation can contribute to having an undesirable and unfeasible government which can lead to autocracy

- Only wise people should rule as opposed to having uneducated people in government.

Having articulated criticism of theories of participation as well as theories of representation, from here on, the attention turns to scepticism on theories of deliberative democracy. Thus, arguing that all children should be deliberating in schools without having to wait for them to reach the age of fifteen years as opposed to viewing children to be empty slates as suggested by the deficit view of the youth. Going forward, a definition of a child is given according to (Locke, 1960).

Correspondingly, the Lockean (1960) conception of the child back in history perceived children as empty slates, new-born infants. In other words, children were also viewed as weak and helpless until they reach a certain age. However, Mathebula and Ndofirepi (2011) argue against this conception of a child as deficit model, where children are understood to be liable to education that comes as benefits to citizenship as opposed to being partners in formulating some strategies that enhance democracy. Clearly, this adds to some of the criticisms of democracy. For instance, it argues that when all citizens participate in democratic governance, they are likely to deliberate as equal moral beings with the ability to reason. However, in practical context, particularly in the South African context, children still have to reach the age of 18 in order to be active participants who will further be developed into individual moral beings.

Going forward, scepticism on deliberation as another principle of the Athenian democracy is unpacked. Although, Rawls (1972) acknowledges that in deliberative democracy, all learners are taught practical reasoning; Benhabib (1996) maintains that deliberative democracy develops all learners as moral beings and political beings; and correspondingly, Young (1996) asserts that deliberative democracy improves the learners' cognitive development by teaching all the learners how to speak across and value differences, in South Africa, this is a different case. For instance, Mathebula and Ndofirepi (2011) proclaim that in modern South Africa, that is an era of democracy, children are still perceived as citizens who are waiting to be inducted in their future roles in a democratic society.

Moving on to the idea of representation, Burke (2000) critiques representation in the Athenian prototype of democracy by arguing that it is mainly about the power that is interlinked with the superior elites. Consequently, Burke (2000) puts forward the view that participation is closely

linked to representation. In clear terms, this means that only the people with the ability to demonstrate the ability to decide for the public good of all individuals should form the representative base by expressing the wishes of all the demos. Furthermore, Burke (2000) also argues that the role of the citizens should be limited in the Athenian prototype of democracy by suggesting that the represented (mob) should only play a part of electing the people they want as their representatives to raise their views before the government as opposed to delegating to the representatives that would act according to the desires of the constituent.

Schumpeter (1950) further explains that the majority does not have a role in government since the role of being active in government by initiating political decisions rests with the leaders only. Schumpeter (1950) maintains that there is no such thing as an achievement of the common good of the polity since the welfare could mean many different things to different individuals. Another distinctive critique of the prototypical type of democracy is based on the view that this form of government is nothing but a competitive struggle for votes of who is elected into power thus putting more faith in the belief that the polity will elect individuals who will represent them in government. Consequently, even though the aforementioned government emphasises active participation, the citizens are only allowed to participate when electing their representatives and are not provided with a room for participation as far as decision making is concerned. Having outlined some of the critiques of the Athenian prototypical type of government, one can comprehend that since Schumpeter (1950) and Burke (2000) perceive representation within the Athenian democracy to be seemingly flawed, they argue against the educational benefits that are in accordance with representation in governance.

In summary, some of the key points to note as far as the criticisms of representation according to the classical and revisionists theorists in the Athenian type of democracy is concerned can be outlined in this way

- Active participation of all individuals is unrealistic, as a result, the polity should be limited to the voting of the representatives and not decision making as they are perceived to be unskilled and unknowledgeable as far as decisions are made.
- Only the elites are capable of harmonious discussions during the decision making.

- Achievement of welfare though representation is impossible since people have different wishes.
- The Athenian prototype of democracy is mainly characterised by the representation of the polity through participation, however, in practice, it is about the competition of votes that is based on the polity's willingness to vote for their representatives.

Despite the given background that entails the criticisms of democratic theory, I am of the view that democratic theory is relevant in this study mainly because of its educational benefits that are reflected in its three key principles mainly, participation, deliberation and representation as mentioned in Chapter 1. For instance, as previously stated in Chapter 1, learner participation, specifically in democratic classrooms grants learners with the opportunity to make decisions concerning their lives and promotes individual autonomy. Ultimately giving all learners a sense of belonging as Rousseau (1968) aptly points out. Additionally, Mill (1975) asserts that participation in democracy transforms individuals from their passive state into intellectual moral individuals capable of practical reasoning. Within democratic classrooms, this means that learners are equipped with skills of reasoning logically while making decisions. Hence, the significance and the adoption of this theoretical framework in democratic classrooms. In a nutshell, individuals act to ensure that the ideal in institutions (schools) is indeed achieved for the benefit of the common interest of all pupils. Nonetheless, Pitkin (1967) also warns us that there might be tension in achieving the ideal by saying that

> . . . The concept of representation thus is a continuing tension between ideal and achievement. This tension should lead us neither to abandon the ideal, retreating to an operational definition that accepts whatever those usually designated as representatives do, nor abandon its institutionalisation and withdraw from political reality. Rather, it should represent a continuing but a not hopeless challenge: to construct institutions and train individuals in such a way that they engage in the pursuit of the public interest, the genuine representation of the public, and, at the same time to remain critical of those institutions and that training (Pitkin, 1967, p. 240)

In summary, based on the previous paragraph, it is quite clear that challenging the public institutions such as schools for the welfare of the public may provoke conflict. However, the representatives should not stop fighting for the public interest until the ideal is achieved. In simple words, to address silent exclusion of learners, the elected learner representatives should

continue fighting for the rights of their peers until all learners are included substantively in schools. In clear terms, until substantive learner participation, deliberation and representation is achieved in schools. Consequently, democratic theory in this study is assumed that it may bridge the gap between the inclusive education policies that are outlined in Chapter 2 and the zones of exclusion evident in the diagram previously stated to show that all learners should be in schools, i.e. compulsory attendance, through participation, representation and deliberation. As a result, gaining some of the educational benefits that are conveyed above.

Ultimately, when we allow all learners to participate, to be deliberating as well as being represented in democratic classrooms, we reduce the disjuncture ideal (policies) and the practice (democratic classrooms), as we allow the release of unheard voices of the learners, and also minimise the perpetuation of silent exclusion of the learners in developing democratic countries. As I have already suggested before, this view aligns with Lewin (2009), argument that the zones of exclusion can help to identify ways in which policies and practices can make inclusion of all the learners in reality, that is, in practical contexts in democratic classrooms. Furthermore, this framework is utmost relevant in terms of the analysis because it shows different ways in which learners are excluded, included, and at risk of exclusion in schools. As a result, making provisions to view the achievement of inclusion of all the learners in schools, analyse the current status, as well as identifying opportunities in policy and practice that can bridge the gap between policy and practice. Another contribution that is made by this framework is that it provides the general view of magnitudes of exclusion from schools thus offering an opportunity to reconceptualise access of all the learners in schools as we have already stated.

In terms of this analysis, ideally, we should expect inclusion (i.e. participation, deliberation & substantive representation) of all learners' voices in South African schools as provided by the above-mentioned policies on the inclusion of the learners in South African schools. For instance, democratic schools should be analogous spaces where learners are active participants in their learning as suggested by Pericles (Thucydides, 1972). In addition, South African schools should be learning spaces where learners are represented as maintained by Pitkin (1967); also analogous places where learners deliberate consistent with Budge (1993) and Benhabib (1996) as opposed to learners silently excluded in classrooms as shown in the zones of exclusion in figure 4.1. In a nutshell, democratic classrooms should be learning spaces where learners' rights and the

privileges are guaranteed as suggested in Chapter 2. Lastly, democratic classrooms should put the ideal (policies) into practice by allowing substantive learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation, as learners, play a role of being active participants by taking responsibilities for their own learning as suggested by the aforementioned policies in chapter namely the South African Constitution (1996), the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) , the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994), the White paper 6 (DoE, 2001), and the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DoE, 2012). Sadly, in practice, the ideal is not realised or achieved [out of view].

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that despite the post-apartheid inclusive education policy (inclusion) as well as the global education instrument on (compulsory education) is not translated into the learners lived experiences. For instance, the post-apartheid inclusive education policy reflects on formal learner participation, learner deliberation as learner representation in schools. In the same way, global, continental and domestic instruments on compulsory education show that learners should be allowed to participate, be deliberating and represented formally in schools. However, against this suggestion of post-apartheid inclusive education policy and education instruments on compulsory education, I have argued that the zones of exclusion reveal that learners are non-participatory in schools, non-deliberating and non-represented in schools. Alternatively, I have suggested that democratic theory may be an alternative to bridge the gap between the ideal and practice by arguing for substantive learner participation, learner deliberation as well as learner representation. I also argued that when all learners are included substantively, they get the educational benefits which are clearly articulated in democratic theory (theoretical framework for this study). In this chapter, I have also argued that despite the use of the Athenian prototype of democracy (democratic theory) there are some scholars who argue against as the fourth section has clearly shown. Ultimately, I have argued for the significance of the theoretical framework in achieving substantive inclusion of the all learners in schools. Going forward is the critical analysis of post-apartheid inclusive education policy.

CHAPTER 5

DEMOCRACY AND CLASSROOM(S) IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION POLICY

5.1 Introduction

The post-apartheid South African education system has introduced policies that call for the inclusion of all learners in democratic classrooms. However, there seems to be a tension between the intension (formal inclusion of learners) in policy documents and what it seeks to achieve as far as implementation (substantive inclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms) is concerned. Therefore, this chapter provides critical analysis, investigation and interrogation of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South African schools. In addition, this chapter uses democratic theory and its features (learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation) as a criteria to evaluate inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa namely the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996); the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996); the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001); the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (DoE, 2011) and the Guides for Representative Council of Learners (1999) in post-apartheid South Africa to show that inclusive education policy is not translated into learners‟ lived experiences in democratic classrooms. As a consequence, it becomes apparent for learners to engage in a struggle for substantive inclusion of all learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms.

In this chapter, two types of analysis are carried out. Firstly, the evaluative analysis which is mainly about (meaning making of the findings which will be generated particularly on inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa). Following the evaluative analysis will be the theoretical analysis; the type of analysis that shows how the findings link to existing literature and conceptual framework. Consequently, this chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 shows that South Africa is a Constitutional democracy fosters for participation, deliberation and representation of all learners. Section 2 uses the democratic theory to evaluate inclusive education in post-apartheid South Africa. Section 3 shows how the evaluative analysis is in dialogue with the democratic theory, review of the literature and the zones of exclusion – thus

pointing out that inclusive education policy is not translated into democratic practice. Section 4 provides a theoretical analysis, i.e. it shows areas of affirmation, rejection and contestation emanating from the dialogical approach espoused above.

5.2 South Africa's Constitutional Democracy: formal inclusion but not substantive inclusion

In this section, I argue that based on the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), it is evident that South Africa is a democratic state. As a result, citizens are allowed to participate, to deliberate and be represented in collective government similarly to Pericles' (Thucydides, 1972) Athenian Constitutional democracy discussed in Chapter 1**.** The preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) states. . .

> [We], the people of South Africa, Recognise the injustices of the past, Honour those who have suffered for injustice and freedom in our land; Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We therefore through our freely elected representatives [we] establishing a society that is based on democratic values. . . Lay the foundation of a democratic society in which government is based on the will of the people whereby every citizen is equally protected by the law. . . there is common South African citizenship (pp. 1-3).

Arguably, the aforementioned quotation resonates with Pericles (Thucydides, 1972) speech quoted in Chapter 1. In specific terms, the preamble articulates that equal participation of all individuals is significant as far as political matters are concerned. As a result, all citizens are perceived to be equal before the law, and therefore, are allowed to participate in government by voting for the type of government that they want. By extension, the government is based on the will of all people and not the selected few as Plato (1994), Aristotle (1943) and Schumpeter (1950) asserted. Following the voting process of the preferred government, people are also allowed to elect their representatives who engage in the pursuit of the public interest by being critical of the public institution, further interpretation and reform. For instance, the representatives are the people who raise the public's concerns before the government. In specific terms, these are the people who ensure that the voice of minors and vulnerable people are taken in consideration during decision-making process. By implication, when people participate and

are represented in government, they are most likely to deliberate by engaging in practical reasoning to ensure free unconstrained and public deliberation of all the people.

Given this background, I am equally pleased with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) as it embraces democratic theory which also captures the elements of participation, deliberation including representation. More so, it is also commendatory with the human rights of all South African citizens. Although the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) is praised for its emphasis on participation, deliberation and representation of all individuals as shown earlier on, there are concerns that democratic theory (inclusive education post-apartheid policy) is not put in practice. In support of this view, Christie (2010) also maintains that. . .

> The gap between the expression of rights and their delivery in practice has haunted the existence of [inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa]. . .[o]ne of the major shortcomings of formal statements of [inclusion] is that when they encounter the texture of lived experience, they easily prove to be abstract and empty. [T]heir dangers are not recognizing the limited nature of inclusive education in post-apartheid South African classrooms (p. 5).

In simple terms, Christie's (2010) quotation makes three points clear. It shows that there is tension between transformative and substantive which means that the ideal (learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation) that is expressed in inclusive education policy does not translate into the learners' lived experiences of being included substantively, i.e. in inclusive democratic schools. By implication, this makes the implementation of inclusive education far-fetched and impossible to achieve. Additionally, one problematic aspect of formal statement around inclusion of learners is that they become too abstract, meaningless and hard to achieve when the implementation process is carried out. Lastly, since they prove meaningless and impossible to achieve, they contribute to slow progress of achieving inclusive education in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Going forward, a critical analysis of inclusive education policy is engaged with.

5.3 Democracy and classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa: a critical analysis of inclusive education policy

Subsequent to the above views, this section concentrates on the use of a theoretical framework to evaluate inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa. In accordance with the aforementioned constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Pericles (Thucydides, 1972) asserts that in a constitutional democracy, active participation, by all citizens is likely to be an educational one as shown in Chapter 1. These educational benefits are reflected through participation in public institutions such as schools that

- Promises to teach an active, participatory citizenry how to preserve individual liberties and appeal to the public good and develop active self-help type of characters (theories of participatory democracy [see Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1975]).
- Promotes free and unconstrained public deliberation (theorists of deliberative democracy e.g. Benhabib [1996]; Budge [1993]) so that the general public and learners, in particular, can judge, assess, improve or reform schools by on-going struggle for inclusive democratic classrooms in South Africa.
- Adheres to learner representation in schools by incorporating both formal ("outer" institutional aspects, by choosing the representatives in schools and substantive ("inner purposive one", which include representatives who are capable of acting as one way of looking after the interests of others. (theorist of representative democracy (Pitkin, 1967).

Moving forward, a theoretical framework is used to critically analyse inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa. In this light, I will use a democratic theory which encompasses three elements (learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation. In doing a critical analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa, I will use the following criteria: Criteria 1 is the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996); Criteria 2 looks at learner participation, i.e. participating in democratic classrooms; Criteria 3 focuses on learner deliberation, i.e. deliberating about matters of common concern in democratic classrooms; and Criteria 4 centres on learner representation, i.e. substantive representative democracy in schools in general and democratic classrooms in particular. The aforementioned criteria are best depicted in the following diagram.

Democratic theory (Theoretical framework)

Criteria 1 (Constitution of The Republic of South Africa, 1996)	Criteria 2 - learner participation (i.e. participation in democratic classrooms)
	Criteria 3 - Learner deliberation (i.e. deliberating about matters of common concern in democratic classrooms)
	Criteria 4 - Learner representation (i.e. substantive representative democracy in schools in general and democratic classrooms in particular)

Figure 3 Democratic theory

Figure 5.1

The South African Schools Act (1996) argues for compulsory attendance of all children and it reads:

> Subject to this Act and any applicable provincial law, every parent must cause every learner for whom he or she is responsible to attend school from the first school day of the year until that particular learner reaches the age of seven to fifteen years of age or the ninth grade. . .establishment of representative councils as a platform for all learners to be informed to assess, examine and judge issues of concern around them. . . establishment of the representative council of learners which is to be recognized and legitimized as a representative learner body at school (DoE, 1996, pp. 5-8).

There are four points worth noting about the South African Schools Act (No. 84 of 1996). First, the civil law governs parent/child relationship (At the age of 7 and 15 years a child is guided by the Will of his/ her parent/guardian). Second, parents are obliged to preserve, nourish and educate their children – taking care of their offspring during the imperfect state of childhood (mature, reasonable, protectors, have command over their children, know the law, and live within the rules of it, have jurisdiction, bound by law. Third, parental power/duty is temporary (7-15 years). Fourth, the Act makes provision for the establishment of Learner Representative Councils in South African schools. Worthy of note, South African Schools Act (No. 84 of 1996) meets Criteria 1, shown in the above table as the Constitution of The Republic of South Africa, 1996 which reflects on the three main key features of democracy namely participation, representation and deliberation. In short, South African Schools Act, 1996 is based on the premise of learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation. Having shown that South African

Schools Act, 1996 meets Criteria 1 thus reflecting on the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the subsequent paragraph also shows that the above-mentioned policy document fulfils Criteria 2 (learner participation) as shown in the diagram above.

In the equal vein, South African Schools Act, 1996 also meets the Criteria 2 of a democratic theory which is, learner participation. For instance, the law governs the parents/ child relationship from the age of 7-15 years thus calling for children who are outside of the school context to be inside schools. By implication, the South African Schools Act, 1996 suggests that all children should gather in schools to allow the participation of all learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. As I have already stated before, there are educational benefits when learners are allowed to participate in post-apartheid South African classrooms (i.e. theories of participation, (Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1975). In specific terms learner participation increases individual freedom among learners as a result, contributing to the empowerment of citizenry (Rousseau, 1968). Additionally, learner participation develops learners as active self–help type of individuals with the ability to make their own choices and decisions (Mill, 1975). Going forward, the attention turns to Criteria three (3) of democratic theory on learner deliberation.

Correspondingly, South African Schools Act, 1996 also meets Criteria 3 of democratic theory on learner deliberation. As I have already stated before, deliberation of all the learners is an educative one (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993). With regard to Criteria 4 the South African Schools Act, 1996, it argues for the establishment of Learner Representative Councils in South African schools. By implication, the establishment of Learner Representative Councils (1999) provides a platform for learners to engage in debates with each other, impart information and engage in public reasoning among them. As a result, it allows all learners to be deliberating within Learner Representative Councils. In simple words, only when learners are represented in schools can they develop as free unconstrained public deliberators with the ability to engage in logical reasoning. (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993). From here on, learner representation with regard to the South African Schools Act, 1996 is also discussed.

Accordingly, the aforementioned quote also shows that in schools, Learner Representative Councils should be established within the South African schools' settings. Admittedly, this view meets Criteria 4 of democratic theory on learner representation. In a similar way to theorists of

participation i.e. Rousseau (1968) and Mill (1975); theorists of deliberation Budge (1993) and Benhabib (1996), theorist of representation i.e. Pitkin (1967) argues that there are educational benefits when all learners are represented. For instance, all learners can raise their issues of concern before school governance. As a consequence, allowing for self-expression among all the learners. In this particular instance, all learners select a small group of learners (formal outer institutional aspects) which can act (inner purposive aspect) as a way of looking after each other's interests.

Accordingly, the South African Schools Act, 1996, also makes a provision for learner representation through the establishment of the Guides for Representative Councils of Learners (1999) thus maintaining that:

- Learners participate by engaging in the voting process to elect a subset of the learners that will represent them (Mathebula, 2009, p. 196).
- Every member of the guides is allowed to deliberate as well as to argue during any discussions taking place in school settings (Mabovula, 2009, pp. 226-227).
- Learners raise their views and issues though the student representative councils (Mathebula, 2009, p. 196).

Overtly, it can be argued that South African Schools Act, 1996, meets all the elements in Criteria 1 (the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996) thus showing elements of participation, deliberation including representation. Additionally, in terms of the recent analysis, it can also be concluded that South African Schools Act, 1996 is rooted in democratic theory, as a consequence, showing, learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation in post-apartheid South African schools. If we look closer, we can see that South African Schools Act, 1996 takes aim at the zones (i.e. zone 0- non-participation, zone 1-non-representation and zone 2-6-non-deliberation of learners. Similarly, the Guides for RCLs (1999), are in support of formal inclusion of the learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms as it is to be observed in the next paragraph.

In retrospect of bullet no. 1 of the Guides for RCLs (1999) above, the emphasis is put on learners' participation in the voting process during the election of representatives. This means that learners participate by selecting the subgroup of representatives who will represent them in

the school governance. Accordingly, Rousseau (1968) posits that a participatory system is an educative one with regard to the concept of "education" in a broad sense. Therefore, Rousseau (1968) ideal system of democracy develops all learners in making decisions in the process of learning. During this process, learners learn how to make choices that in turn grants them a sense of belonging in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Equally important, Mill‟s (1975) participatory system instils a sense of active individuals acquainted with the ability to empower other learners. In one sense, participation of learners makes it possible for all learners to govern themselves. Therefore, learner participation in the Guides for RCLs (1999) meet Criteria 2 on learner participation of the democratic theory. Additionally, the Guides for RCLs (1999) argue for learner deliberation in post-apartheid South African classrooms as we shall see in the subsequent paragraph.

In addition, bullet no. 2 of the Guides for RCLs (1999), meets Criteria 3 on learner deliberation as the democratic theory suggests. As a notable example, bullet no.2 shows that the Guides for RCLs (1999) advocate for deliberation of all learners by suggesting that learners should be deliberating by engaging in a dialogue with each other, therefore, learners are allowed to agree or disagree with each other during debates in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Accordingly, theorists of deliberation assert that deliberation process is an educable one. As a result, during this process, learners articulate their views, impart information and provide sound reasoning that makes their opinions to be heard in post-apartheid South African classrooms (Benhabib, 1996). Similarly, Budge (1993) also asserts that, when learners are deliberating, their moral, social and political awareness is broadened. As a result, learners can think beyond the ordinary within the post-apartheid South African classrooms. Having shown that bullet no.1 on learner participation in the Guides for RCLs (1999) meets Criteria 2, bullet no. 2 on learner deliberation fulfils Criteria 3 (learner deliberation) of democratic theory, it becomes necessary to show that bullet no. 3 on learner representation that is argued for by the Guides for RCLs (1999) also meets Criteria 4 on learner representation as articulated by democratic theory in this mini-dissertation. This view is elaborated further on in the ensuing paragraph.

Accordingly, the bullet no. 3 of the Guides for RCLs (1999) is in accordance with Criteria 4 on learner representation of democratic theory. In the same manner, there are educational benefits when learners are represented in post-apartheid South African classrooms argued by the theorist

of representation (Pitkin, 1967). In simple words, the Guides for RCLs (1999) make provision for self-expression of learners, consequently, inspiring substantive action in pursuit of good school governance. To put it bluntly, all learners select a group of representatives who raise issues of concern before the school governing body to ensure all the learners' welfare. This means that the school governing body takes into consideration the views and opinions of all the learners during decision-making as a way of accommodating all learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms.

Concurring with the above views, the Guides for RCLs (1999) reflect on all the three elements of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) thus showing the three key features of the constitution namely participation, deliberation and representation of the learners. Additionally, as it stands out, the guides also meet Criteria 2 (learner participation), Criteria 3 (learner deliberation) and Criteria 4 (learner deliberation) of the democratic theory. As a consequence, they formally aim at zone- 0 (non-participation of learners), zone-1 (non-representation of learners) as well as zone-2,-6 (non-deliberation of learners). From here on, the focus will be on the White paper 6 (DoE, 2001).

Furthermore, The White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) addresses the need for the provision of quality educational opportunities for all by defining key features to inclusive education as . . .

> Maximising the participation of all learners in the culture and the curriculum of educational institutions and uncovering and minimising barriers to learning . . .we outline the Ministry of Education's commitment to the provision of educational opportunities in particular for those learners who experience or have experienced barriers to learning. . . Our Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) founded our democratic state and common citizenship on the values of human dignity. . .In building our education and training system, [our] Constitution provides a special challenge to us by requiring we give effect to the fundamental right to basic education for all South Africans. (DoE, 2001, pp. 4-11).

Based on the aforementioned quotation, we note four significant points. First, The White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) argues for active participation of learners in all activities within the schooling context to preclude barriers of learning. In addition, the White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001) suggests for differentiated educational opportunities to meet the diverse needs of all the learners including all learners who have been previously excluded before. Third, The

White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) argues for education that meets personal and public dimensions of citizenship by acknowledging the rights, privileges of all learners. This view leads us to the last point worthy of note concerning the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) which calls for the provision of basic education that is also capable of enhancing the learners thinking capacity. From here on, a brief analysis of the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) is carried out.

Based on the given analysis, it is evident that the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) meets Criteria 1 as it shows the three elements of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) namely participation, deliberation as well as representation. Following the first Criteria 1, we can argue that the participation of learners in all activities in the context of post-apartheid South African classrooms to impede barriers of learning meets Criteria 2. This is reflected as learner participation in democratic theory. By extension, since the process of participation is educational as neatly articulated by the theorists of participation (Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1975). This means that when all learners are active participants in their learning process, they become involved in decision-making during teaching and learning in post-apartheid South African classrooms. As a result, being active participants grants them nothing but a sense of belonging in post-apartheid South African classrooms. All in all, learner participation contributes to minimised factors that may hinder effective learning process in South African schools. In addition Mill (1975) posits that participation of learners promotes good school's governance since learners are active participants capable of self-governance. The next paragraph shows also, how the White paper 6 (DoE, 2001) meets the third criteria on learner deliberation.

Appropriately, another feature of the White paper 6 (DoE, 2001) suggests for the type of education that fosters the personal and public dimensions of citizenship by acknowledging the rights and the privileges of learners through a provision of basic education. This suggestion meets Criteria 3 of democratic theory on learner deliberation. At this juncture, it is important to remember that there are educational benefits concerning deliberation as argued by theorists of deliberation (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993). By implication, a provision of education that takes the rights, and the privileges of learners in consideration. Arguably, making it easy for learners to engage in a dialogue with each other to discuss and formulate debates about some issues around them as a way of promoting a common understanding among learners (Benhabib, 1996). This process also allows all learners to impart information and provide logical reasoning given that

the learners can relate to what is being taught in post-apartheid South African democratic classrooms. By extension, initiation of debates among learners as well as an articulation of good reasoning skills, move learners from the state of ordinary to complex knowledge that is taught in schools. Consequently reducing the knowledge barrier between those with informed understandings and those learners with common knowledge. In a nutshell, all learners are developed as moral beings with rational reasoning. Going forward, the subsequent paragraph focuses on learner's representation as the fourth criteria of democratic theory.

Correspondingly, a provision of differentiated educational opportunities in order to meet the diverse need of learners including learners who have been previously excluded matches Criteria 4 of democratic theory on learner representation. Given that representation is educative according to Pitkin (1967), a differentiated curriculum acknowledges learners presence by adhering to the educational needs of diverse learners. This means making room for self-expression of all learners in situations where some learners still feel left out during the learning process (Pitkin, 1967). Appropriately, allowing the release of the voices of the learners in raising problematic issues in democratic classrooms contributes to learners who are critical about post-apartheid South African classrooms as well as learners who can initiate action in pursuit of public interest.

Ultimately, as it was observed in the aforementioned discussion, the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) depicts three elements of democratic theory, namely, learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation and also shows some education benefits that come joined with theorists of participation, Rousseau (1968) and Mill (1975); theorists of deliberation, Benhabib, (1996) and Budge (1993) and theorists of representation (Pitkin, 1967). Given all of this, the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) also makes provision to address zone-0 (non-participation), zone-1(non-deliberation) and zone-2-6 (non-representation). From here on, the focus turns to Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (2011).

Similarly, Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (Author, 2011) argues for a philosophy of education that is aimed at full participation of all the learners in a school setting to avoid exclusionary practices and its principles read:

- Social transformation: ensuring that the educational imbalances of the past are redressed and that equal educational opportunities are provided for all sections of the populations;
- Active and critical learning: encouraging an active and critical approach to learning rather than the rote and uncritical learning of given truths;
- High knowledge and high skills: the minimum standards of knowledge and skills to be achieved at each grade are specified and set high, achievable standards in all subjects;
- Progression: content and context of each grade show the progression from simple to complex; and
- As it appears in Curriculum Policy Statements (2011); Inclusivity should become a central part of the organisation, planning and teaching at each school. This can only happen if all teachers have a sound understanding of how to recognise and address barriers to learning and how to plan for diversity.

Overtly, the Curriculum Policy Assessment Statements (2011) can be summarised in this way; In essence, Firstly, CAPS (2011) argues for the need to redress the past by providing equal educational opportunities to all learners. Secondly, CAPS (2011) fosters critical thinking and active critical approach in learning which calls for learners' ability to move from simple to complex knowledge. Thirdly, CAPS (2011) aligns with the educational benefits of democratic theory as it is to be observed in the ensuing paragraph. Consistently, based on the reflected bullet points (bullet point, no. 1) by CAPS (2011), we can argue that the provision of equal educational opportunities for all learners allows for learners to be provided with quality education inside of the school's settings to allow participation among learners with access to education in schools. In addition, with regard to bullet 2, 3, 4, the main key concepts that emerge are *active and critical learning, high knowledge and high skills, progression from simple to complex* which ultimately reflect on the learners ability to be able to make judgments of what is favourable to them and what is not by being able to think about issues and articulate good reasoning during the learning process. Secondly, only when learners are equipped with in-depth knowledge and adequate skills can they be able to reason logically. Lastly, a progression from simple to complex means that all learners should be provided with the type of education that moves learners from ordinary knowledge to complex knowledge. Consequently, we can argue that CAPS (2011) meets Criteria 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

(1996) by reflecting on key features of participation, deliberation and representation. Moving on, the second criterion of democratic theory is considered.

As already mentioned, bullet 1 reflects on the participation of all learners. Accordingly, Theories of participation, Rousseau (1968) and Mill, (1975) posit that participation is educational. This means that by equipping learners with equal educational opportunities, schools become learning spaces where all learners are free individuals who can make decisions concerning their lives. As a consequence, granting learners a sense of belonging as suggested by Rousseau (1968). Additionally, it can also be argued that access to equal educational opportunities among learners empowers them as it allows learners to be provided with knowledge during the participation process, consequently developing learners who can engage in self-governance in schools (Mill, 1975). On the bases of the aforementioned discussion, it becomes clear that bullet 1 on CAPS (2011) meets the Criteria 2 of democratic theory, namely learner participation. Following this discussion on learner participation, it becomes necessary to consider learner deliberation as per CAPS (2011) policy document.

Accordingly, with regard to bullet (no. 2, 3, 4); of CAPS (2011), more emphasis is put learner deliberation. As I have already noted, deliberation as a key feature of the Athenian democracy is educative according to theorists of deliberation (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993). As a result, when learners are deliberating in post-apartheid South African classrooms, they are developed as active and critical thinkers as implied by bullet no.2 of the CAPs (2011) policy document. In other words, bullet no. 2 on CAPS (2011) argues that learners should be taught how to engage in critical thinking about some issues of concern to reason logically. Correspondingly, bullet no. 2 on CAPS (2011) suggests that learners should also be equipped with the necessary knowledge as well as skills that will enhance learners‟ ability to engage in public reasoning. Additionally, bullet no. 3 argues within the classroom context, learners should also be provided with the type of knowledge that moves learners from their state of simple and ordinary knowledge into a more informed and complex knowledge that develops learners as moral and political equals.

Put differently, CAPS (2011) suggests for development of learners who can judge, assess critically examine some of the issues during the learning process. Based on the given discussion, one can argue that the aforementioned bullets (bullet 2, 3, 4) respectively are rooted in learner

deliberation. As a result, they correspond with Criteria 3 of democratic theory. Having engaged in a discussion about learner participation and learner deliberation in the CAPS (2011) and shown how they align with different criteria of democratic theory; one may wonder if the CAPS (2011) does raise a suggestion on how learners should be represented in post-apartheid South African classrooms. To answer this question, the next paragraph will focus on learner representation as part of a suggestion that is raised lastly preceding the bullet points previously articulated earlier on in CAPS (2011) policy document.

Correspondingly, considering the last-mentioned point on CAPS (2011), the major focus is on inclusivity as mainly being about the representation of learners during the organisation, planning, and teaching to address barriers of learning. In this instance, theorist of representation namely Pitkin (1967) posits that there are educational benefits as far as representation is concerned. Arguably, there is no way in which the teachers can preclude barriers to learning without allowing all learners to express themselves about some of the factors that affect them directly, consequently, impeding effective learning process. As a result, the best way in which all learners can be included, as well, as those who have previously excluded before, is through the establishment of RCLs within the school context, which makes it possible for learners to voice out their opinions in addressing their issues of concern. For instance, the mass population of learners engages in a voting process of a group of learners who will act as representatives of all the other learners. Therefore the elected representatives voice out some of the factors that are a hindrance to the effective learning process in post-apartheid South African classrooms. In other words, they initiate action by raising problematic issues in the school governing bodies as a way of ensuring that the learners' grievances are adhered to. This means that in any planning and organisation that takes place within the schools' setting, the voices of the learners should be taken into consideration before any implementation (action) that affects learners is undertaken. Interestingly, learner representation that is emphasised in the CAPS (2011) meets Criteria 4 of democratic theory. Similarly, CAPS (2011) also takes aim at the zones of exclusion, zone 0 (non-participation of learners), zone (2-4) non- deliberation of learners, zone-1 (non-representation of learners).

As observed from above, we can argue that inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa namely; the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996); South African Schools

Act (DoE, 1996); White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001); Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DoE, 2011); the Guides for Representative Councils of Learners (1999); are rooted in the key features of a constitutional democracy (Athenian prototype of democracy) thus reflecting on learner participation, learner deliberation, including learners representation shown earlier in this section. Overtly, the aforementioned documents meet Criteria 1 of this study being (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). In equal vein, inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa is in accordance with the key features of the suggested theoretical framework (democratic theory) in this study. Thus, reflecting on Criteria 2 (learner participation), Criteria 3 (learner deliberation) and Criteria 4 (learner representation) of the applied democratic theory in this study.

As I have already stated before, participation is educative according to the theories of participation (Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1975). In simple words, Rousseau (1968) argues that participation is mainly about the empowerment of citizenry. Similarly, Mill (1975) adds that participation develops active self-help type of characters. On the other hand, deliberation in a Constitutional democracy is also an educative one. For instance, Benhabib (1996) and Budge (1993) post that deliberation is about general legitimacy and practical reasoning. In addition, deliberation is also about free and unconstrained public deliberation, as well as about developing all learners as political equals. With regard the educational benefits of representation, Pitkin (1967) posits that there is tension between the ideal and achievement, as a result, there is a continuing but not a hopeless challenge to construct institutions and train individuals in such a way that they engage in pursuit of public interest by being critical of our institutions and further interpretation as well as reform. Overtly, critical analysis of inclusive education is best captured in the subsequent table, thus showing learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation in inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa as well as their educational benefits.

Evaluative analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa

Name of the policy	Participation	Deliberation	Representation
The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. (contextualized in democratic classrooms)	A South Africa which allows participation of all those who live in it (pp.1-3)	Establishment of a society that is based on democratic values through the election of representatives who can assess and reason on behalf of all people (pp. 1-3)	A South Africa that allows African common citizenship that allows all people to be represented (pp. 1-3)
South African Schools' Act , 1996	Allows for the provision of quality education that enables the participation of all learners (pp. 5-8)	Establishment of RCLs, as a platform for learners to be informed to assess, examine and judge issues of concern around them (pp. 5-8)	Establishment of RCLs within school settings which are legitimized and recognized to voice out the learners' concerns (pp. 5-8).
White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001).	Advocates for the full participation of learners to minimize the barriers to learning (pp.7-16)	Argues that learners should be provided with a fundamental education that enhances the learners' ability to assess and challenge their immediate environment (pp.7-16)	Acknowledges the presence of learners who might have barriers to learning(pp.7-16)
Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (Department of Education, 2011)	Argues for learner participation to ensure equal education opportunities (pp. 7-16).	Advocates for education that empowers learners by developing their individual strengths that allow learners to reason logically (pp. 7-16)	Acknowledges the presence of learners with barriers to learning during the learning process (pp.7-16).
Guides for Representative Councils of Learners, 1999	States that learners must participate in the voting process of the school representatives (p. 196)	Suggest that learners should also participate in school governance by raising their views and concerns and have them challenged, analysed and criticized (p. 196)	Argues that learners should be represented by the official structure that represents all learners within the school context (p. 196)

Figure 4 Evaluative analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa

Figure 5.2

So, what sense can we make of this critical evaluative analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa? Inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa displays signs of espoused theories. In clear terms, this means that inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa has good intensions ideally, but in practice, theory is not translated in practice (theories in use) as the next section will show. As a result, inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa contributes to slow progress of the implementation of inclusive education because, as I have already stated before. To cite an example, it pays more focus on the aspirations (intention) in policy documents instead of what transpires in the learners' lived experiences in democratic classrooms. In equal vein, inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa also aligns with the key elements of democracy namely, participation, deliberation and representation as it reflects all three models of democratic theory, i.e. learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation starting with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). In a nutshell, inclusive education advocates for formal inclusion of the learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms and not substantive inclusion of all learners.

Consequently, given the zones of exclusion as espoused by Lewin (2009), the literature shows that learners are not participating, not deliberating and not substantially represented in schools. Put differently, in post-apartheid South African schools‟ classrooms, the ideal is not translated into achievement. Accordingly, the espoused theories also suggest that the expression of inclusive education post-apartheid South African policy has haunted the existence of the practice of inclusion of learners in democratic schools. Arguably, this also shows how theory is ahistorical and depersonalised from practice. From a broader perspective, this means that in post-apartheid South African schools, the learners' rights to basic education are violated as they are not realised. In clear terms, learners do not get the educational benefits of participation i.e. Rousseau (1968) and Mill (1975), educational benefits of deliberation i.e. Benhabib (1996) and Budge (1993), including the educational benefits of representation (Pitkin, 1967). Based on the given discussion, I argue that inclusive education in post-apartheid South Africa is not translated into classroom practice as the reader will see in the ensuing section.

In the light of a critical (evaluative) analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa offered, I maintain that there is tension between the ideal (policy) and practice (achievement) in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Although the analysis showed

thatinclusive education policy reflects on democratic theory and meets the criteria (1-4) used to evaluate legislative policy curriculum, I am of the view that in the end, the philosophy (i.e., equal education of all the learners) principles (diversity) and the spirit (mainstreaming) of substantive inclusion in South African schools is not translated in practice. In simple words, within post-apartheid South African classrooms, provision of equal access to education, accommodation and acknowledgement of learner diversity and placement of learners in ordinary classrooms is not realised. As we have observed, this argument is evident in the zones of exclusion in figure 4.1.

Accordingly, this argument is also supported by espoused theories. In specific terms, Lewis and Naidoo (2004) clamour that " in the context of the school governance, espoused theories may be likened to the intentions and functions that the policy documents or actors assert are the objectives of school governance bodies, while the theories in-use are linked to functions that are actually performed" (p. 101). This means that inclusive education policy is characterised by enchanting theories, goals and aspirations which remain only that (goals, theories, aspirations). Put differently, inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa has little regard as far as implementation of inclusion, for instance (substantive inclusion of all learners' through learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation) is concerned. In clear words, inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa gives little consideration to practice. In this regard, I argue that learners should not be passive individuals but active individuals in terms of striving for reform of public institution, particularly post-apartheid South African classrooms to take a substantive way of including learners by allowing participation, deliberation and representation of all learners.

Having shown that there is tension between the transformative (ideal) and substantive (practice) arguments which ultimately contribute to slow progress in terms of inclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms, it might be necessary also to investigate the causes of the tension between policy and practice at a micro-level (post-apartheid schools). According to Lewis and Naidoo (2004), what seems to be problematic in post-apartheid schools concerning the implementation of policies is that post-apartheid inclusive education policies are sometimes misunderstood and misinterpreted in schools. This means that often at times, the principal is the only one in power happens to be the only person who is well informed in how the implementation of inclusion of learners should take place while the other teachers are clueless

about the implementation of inclusive education (Lewis & Naidoo, 2004). In many cases, this is what contributes also to a disjuncture between the ideal and the practice. Therefore, it can be argued that adjustments need to be made concerning post-apartheid inclusive education policy to create a platform where the teachers are also educated about how inclusive education in post-apartheid South Africa should be implemented. Perhaps, this may be some of the ways to bridge the gap between the ideal and practice. From here on, the attention turns to theoretical analysis captured in the following diagram. In specific terms, figure 5.4 below shows different views about how the critiques, proponents, and zones of exclusion relate to democratic theory and espoused theories.

5.4 Theoretical analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa

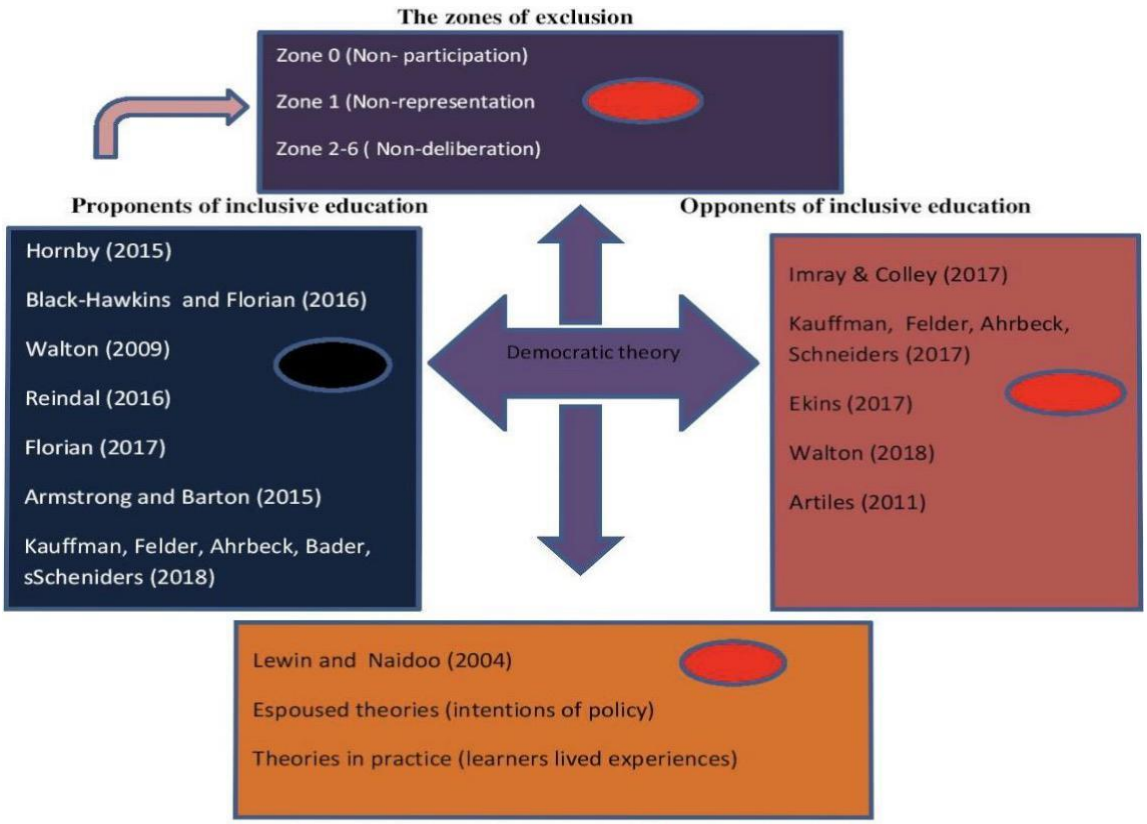


Figure 5.3

Figure 5 Theoretical analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa

Agreement with a democratic theory

In disagreement with democratic theory

The above diagram shows four major points. First, it shows the relationship between the proponents of inclusive education and democratic theory. In short, showing the disagreement between the proponents of inclusive education who argue for formal inclusion of learners (participation, deliberation and representation of learners) as opposed to substantive inclusion of learners suggested by democratic theory. Second, it depicts how the zones of exclusion are related to democratic theory. In clear words, figure 5.4 above shows the agreement between the zones of exclusion and democratic theory that in lived experiences learners are not included. That being the case, calling for substantive inclusion (participation, deliberation and representation) of learners in democratic classrooms. Third, it reveals the relationship between the critiques of inclusion and democratic theory.

Accordingly, showing the agreement between democratic theory and the critiques of inclusion that learners remain excluded in democratic classrooms. As a result, pointing out the need for substantive learner participation, deliberation and representation as a form of inclusion of learners in democratic classrooms. Fourth, the diagram also shows how the espoused theories relate with democratic theory. In short, espoused theories agree with democratic theory that the intention of inclusive education policy is good, however, proves to be empty in lived experiences of learners in democratic classrooms. Overtly showing that learners are excluded in democratic thus arguing for substantive inclusion of all learners. Going forward, the relationship between the proponents of inclusive education and democratic theory is discussed. In this section, I will use the words *formal* participation, formal deliberation and formal representation to show that learners are included (*ideally)* in democratic classrooms. Additionally, I will use the word *substantively* to refer to the learners' *lived* experiences.

As already suggested in Chapter 3, the proponents of inclusive education argue for formal inclusion of learners in democratic schools by positing that learners should be allowed to participate in inclusive education. Arguably, the proponents of inclusion disagree with the suggested democratic theory in this mini dissertation which rather argues for substantive learner participation of learners in inclusive education as pointed out in the above diagram. For instance, Hornby (2015); Florian et al. (2016) and; Walton et al. (2009) argue that in inclusive education, learners should be allowed to participate formally in schools. In specific terms, as already stated

in Chapter 3, Hornby (2015) argues that inclusive education is a human right; as a result, learners should be allowed to participate. Similarly, Florian et al. (2016) maintain that all learners should participate by collaborating with each other. Walton et al. (2009) also add that participation should be about the sharing of ideas among learners. However, despite formal participation of learners suggested by the proponents of inclusion aforementioned, in reality, zone-0 agrees with democratic theory as it shows that ideally, learners are participating in schools but in practice, learners are not participating. As a result, this means that learners are inside of the schools ideally, but in reality, there is no empowerment of citizenry within post-apartheid South African classrooms (Rousseau, 1968). In addition, learners are not developed as active self-help type of characters (Mill, 1975). What does this mean in the context of inclusive education?

In response to the above question, Kauffman et al. (2018) in particular; also agree with democratic theory by suggesting that ideally, learners are participating in post-apartheid South African classrooms. But in lived experiences in post-apartheid South African classrooms, learners are not participating. As a result, non- participation of learners contributes to recurring challenges in inclusive education. In clear terms, Kauffman et al. (2018) posit that inclusive education is an on-going problem which poses challenges to some of the teachers who wish to include learners by allowing them to participate through discussion groups discussions or peer groups. As a consequence, reiterating the main point that is made in this mini dissertation that there is a disjuncture between inclusive education policy (ideal) and the learners' lived experiences (practice) which is further reflected in the espoused theories and theories in use by (Lewis & Naidoo, 2004). Therefore, showing that the intention (espoused theories) of inclusive education policy documents to include all learners in inclusive education ignores reality (theories in use) within the classroom context. As a result, this contributes to non-participation of learners within post-apartheid South African classrooms. Arguably, the espoused theories agree with democratic theory as explicitly shown in the diagram above that the ideal is not translated into practice. In a nutshell, formal participation that is argued for by the proponents of inclusion does not meet Criteria 2 (substantive learner participation) of democratic theory. From here on, the focus turns to criteria 3 of a democratic theory which is learner deliberation.

Appropriately, some scholars, particularly Hornby (2015) and Reindal (2016) as noted in the diagram above do not agree with democratic theory with regard to substantive deliberation of

learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. As a notable example, the aforementioned scholars argue for formal deliberation of learners in inclusive education. For instance, Hornby (2015) argues that learners should be provided with the challenging curriculum in schools to enhance the thinking capacity and reasoning ability among all learners. In agreement with this view, Reindal (2016) suggests that learners must be included by being provided with in-depth knowledge that allows them to think beyond the context of their classrooms, and knowledge that allows them to engage in debates to reason together in inclusive education. Nonetheless, zones 2-6 (in agreement with democratic theory) depict that learners are not deliberating in democratic inclusive classrooms. In specific terms, zone 2 shows (learners who drop out before completing the primary cycle of school), zone-3 (children who are at risk of dropping out of primary schools), zone-4 (learners who do not transition to secondary level), zone-5 (children who fail to complete the secondary cycle) zone-6 (children who are at risk of dropping out from secondary). In a nutshell, zone 2-6, reveals that learners are formally inside the inclusive classrooms, but in reality, no general legitimacy and practical reasoning is happening post-apartheid South African classrooms. In clear terms, there is no free and unconstrained public deliberation in post-apartheid South African classrooms (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993). What does this mean concerning inclusive education?

Correspondingly, Artiles (2011), as one of the authors who criticise inclusive education as a result, being in support of the democratic theory, argues that in practice, the policies and the proponents of inclusive education have not been successful in addressing persisting oppression in schools. As a consequence, some of the learners are confronted with exclusion as well as being faced with a high risk of dropping out of the school context. In the equal vein, this means that learners are not given a chance to deliberate in schools. Put differently, learners are not developed as moral and political equals (Budge, 1993). Thus showing that there is tension between the intension (policy) and outcome (practice) as also argued by the espoused theories and theories in use (Lewin & Naidoo, 2004), who also support the democratic theory as shown in the diagram above stated. In specific terms, formal deliberation that is argued for by the proponents of inclusive education does not meet Criteria 3 of democratic theory, which rather argues for substantive deliberation of all learners. As a consequence, allowing all learners to raise their voices, have their opinions examined, critiqued to enhance logical reasoning among

learners. From here on, the attention turns to the representation of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms.

Concerning the aspect of representation, the proponents of inclusive education Reindal (2016); Armstrong, Armstrong, and Barton (2015) as shown in the above diagram maintain that learners should be represented formally in schools by accommodating learner differences. Admittedly, the formal representation of learners disagrees with democratic theory. In clear terms, it does not meet Criteria 4 which reflects on substantive representation of the learners. For instance, Reindal (2016) is of the view that using the capability approach as a teaching and learning strategy that responds to diverse needs of all the learners is another way of including learners in inclusive education. In a similar way, Armstrong et al. (2015) add that adhering to the rights and privileges of the learners by organising resources to accommodate learner difference may allow learners to raise their voices about their issues of concern in pursuit of the common welfare of all the other learners. Sadly, the zones of exclusion, in agreement with democratic theory show non-representation of learners in learners' lived experiences in post-apartheid South African classrooms. To cite an example, zone-1, in particular, shows (non-representation) of some learners within democratic schools. Thus showing that some learners are inside of the schools ideally, but in reality, learners are not represented in democratic schools. In a nutshell, non-representation of learners shows that there is tension between the ideal and achievement in post-apartheid South African classrooms which adds to continuing but not a hopeless challenge. In clear terms, in public institutions such as classrooms, that train learners to be the pursuit of public interest are non-existent (Pitkin, 1967).

Artiles (2011) as one author who critiques inclusive education, in correspondence with a democratic theory which argues for the substantive representation of learners, shows that in practical contexts (classroom contexts) learners' voices and the general welfare of the learners is still not achieved. By extension, Artiles (2011) shows that learners are not represented in reality as they still face oppression in their school context. As a notable example, in some inclusive education schools, there is no establishment of RCLs as one institution that fights for the rights of the learners, voice out learners' concerns as well as acting (substantive representation) to ensure the public interests of all the learners. As a result, proving the theory behind espoused theories and theories in use to be correct. To cite an example, by showing a disjuncture between

the intension of inclusive education policy (espoused theories) and the implementation (theories in use) of inclusive education in inclusive classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa. In a nutshell, with regard to the formal representation of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms, the proponents of inclusive education do not meet Criteria 4 of a democratic theory which argues for learner representation of all the other learners in the lived experiences. Going forward, I will use evaluative analysis to show the areas of agreement, areas of disagreement as well as grey areas as far as post-apartheid inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South African classrooms are concerned. First, the areas of agreement will be considered in the ensuing paragraph.

5.5 Theoretical analysis of inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa: affirmation, rejection and contestation

In this section, I will use the dialogue in the evaluative analysis to show the areas of affirmation, areas of contestation and grey areas of post-apartheid inclusive education policy. Based on the aforementioned analysis (evaluative analysis) we can argue that the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) makes provision for inclusion of all learners in schools. To be specific, it implies the substantive inclusion of all learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms thus calling for universal access to education. This means that all learners should be allowed to participate, to deliberate and to be represented in post-apartheid South African classrooms. As I have already indicated before, when learners are participating, deliberating and represented in post-apartheid South African classrooms, there are educational benefits that learners are bound to get. For instance, participation is significant in post-apartheid South African classrooms because it empowers citizenry and instils moral and political equality among learners (Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1975). This means that when learners are gathered together in democratic classrooms to make decisions concerning their learning and teaching, learners are at a better chance of empowering each other.

Moving on to deliberation, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) points out that in post-apartheid South African classrooms, all learners should also be deliberating. In one sense, there should be general legitimacy and practical reasoning among learners so that learners are developed as free unconstrained public deliberators who can impart information and

articulate good reasoning (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, also argues that learners must also be represented in post-apartheid South African classrooms. In summary, I maintain that there is tension between the ideal achievements that shows a continuing but not a hopeless challenge. As a result, all learners should be developed as individuals who are capable of acting to ensure the welfare of all the other learners (Pitkin, 1967). From here on, the attention turns to areas of affirmation with regard to post-apartheid inclusive education in South Africa.

Based on the evaluative analysis of inclusive education policy, it may be concluded that post-apartheid inclusive education policy reflects on formal participation, deliberation and representation of learners. Arguably, it backs up the South African Constitutional democracy 1996 which also suggests for formal participation of learners, deliberation of learners and representation of learners. In addition, the aforementioned evaluative analysis and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, are in agreement with the review of literature, particularly the (advocates of inclusive education policy) in South Africa. Most importantly, the evaluative analysis, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, literature review embraces democratic theory and its educational benefits.

Accordingly, some of the educational benefits include inclusive empowerment of citizenry and development of learners as active self-help type of characters, therefore, granting learners a sense of belonging as well as learners who take part in self-governance theorists of participation (Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1975). In addition, developing learners who are capable of practical reasoning to allow free and unconstrained public deliberation of learners as moral and political equals theorists of deliberation (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993). Also, Pitkin (1967) who maintains that there is tension between the ideal and achievement thus representing a continuing but not a hopeless challenge. As a result, it becomes apparent to construct institutions and train individuals in a manner that they are able to engage in the pursuit of public interest by being critical of the institutions, further interpretation and reform. Going forward, the elements of rejection will follow in the next paragraph.

Based on the previous paragraph, three points are worth noting. 1. I have argued that post-apartheid inclusive education policy backs up the South African Constitutional democracy by

reflecting on elements of formal participation, deliberation and representation of learners. 2. Inclusive education policy is in agreement with the advocates of inclusive education as shown in the literature review, consequently showing the aforementioned elements (learner participation, deliberation and representation). 3. Inclusive education policy embraces democratic theory and its educational benefits elements. However, some areas of rejection as far as inclusive education policy is concerned is that it is caught between the espoused and theory in use. This claim is backed by the critiques of inclusive education policy in SA. Sadly, the zones of exclusion show this tension between theory and practice. From here on, the focus will be on the areas of contestation. Accordingly, Naicker (2006) argues that…

> . . . bureaucrats did not train teachers but oriented them to inclusive education and revised National Curriculum Statement policy goals and aims. Issues relating to epistemology which provide the conceptual tools to guide teachers to navigate the new educational pedagogy has been absent. This has hindered the growth of knowledge about knowledge and conceptual; development thinking and imagination (Naicker, 2006, p. 3).

If we look closer to the above-mentioned quotation, two points are worth noting. First, it can be seen that there has been a lack of training of the teachers as well as trainers who can train them from time to time about the implementation of inclusive education. As a result, substantive learner participation, deliberation and representation remain an on-going struggle for teachers and the learners. To cite an example, this means that for teachers, lack of training and knowledge of how to implement inclusive education in post-apartheid South African classrooms has contributed to the silent exclusion of since learners are not participating, deliberating and represented in post-apartheid democratic classrooms. For learners, inclusive education is an on-going struggle since learners are non-participating, not deliberating and not represented. Second, lack of epistemology has precluded the creation of new knowledge and different thoughts about how inclusive education may be improved. In a nutshell, lack of knowledge, conceptual thinking and lack of training contributes to tension between post-apartheid inclusive education policy and post-apartheid South African classrooms. Therefore I argue that teachers should be provided with adequate epistemology that informs to a large extent inclusion of all learners in post-apartheid South African schools. This point is further elaborated on in Chapter 6. In showing the grey areas of post-apartheid inclusive education policy, the next paragraph shows that inclusive

education policy is stuck at the political level as a result of lack of pedagogical revolution as shown by the following quote.

> . . . South African policy relating to inclusion and access to Single Revised National Curriculum stops short of a pedagogic revolution and its stuck at the political level since it ignored epistemological issues in the training of educationists (Naicker, 2006, p. 2).

In the equal vein, the aforementioned quote builds on the above-mentioned argument on lack of training and knowledge with regard to policy implementation of inclusive education policy. In specific terms, the tension between policy and practice can be argued to be birthed from the ignorance of the bureaucrats and the policymakers who pay scanty focus to disciplines that examine epistemology, its existence and its origins. As a result, contributing to inclusive education as a discipline with minimised developments because of a lack of inquiry by the scholars and researchers within inclusive education. In specific terms, lack of questioning of inclusive education policy means that it is not clear how inclusive practices should be implemented, how the challenges within inclusive education should be addressed, therefore contributing to mounting challenges in terms of implementation. In agreement with Naicker (2006), Engelbrecht (2006) also asserts few researchers are actively involved in research hence lack of knowledge on how post-apartheid inclusive education can be implemented in post-apartheid South African classrooms. In my view, the implementation of inclusive remains a distant dream given that few scholars take part in how learners may be included in post-apartheid South African classroom. However, I argue that more scholars need to be funded to investigate ways in which inclusive education can be implemented effectively by including learners substantively.

Arguably the aforementioned grey areas in inclusive education qualify Lewis and Naidoo (2004) argument that the intention of post-apartheid inclusive education policy is good (theories in use), however, in learners lived experiences they fall back on their intentions to include learners substantively. Alternatively, Christie (2010) argument that inclusive democratic classrooms are not just *naturally given, agreed upon* and *talked about* – on the contrary inclusion in schools is *fought for.* As Christie (2010) reminds us *"*South Africa's anti-apartheid struggles that gave rise

to [inclusive education] are now out of view. [Inclusive education] rights are fought for, won, lost, and won again.

Building on the argument that there is tension between post-apartheid inclusive education and practice, we can argue that inclusive education is an on-going struggle for teachers and learners within inclusive education. As a result, the teachers and learners need to act to bring about reforms in pursuit of public interest so that all learners are included substantively in post-apartheid South African classrooms. This point is elaborated in Chapter 5 as the reader will soon see thus showing how silent exclusion of learners may be addressed in post-apartheid South African classrooms. In addition, the strategies of how to move from where we are to where we ought to be are engaged with in the next chapter.

5.6 Conclusion

In this section, I have argued that South Africa is a Constitutional democracy, and a result, it embraces the inclusion of all learners by advocating for learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Additionally, the inclusion of learners is based on the premise of human rights framework, thus granting equal access to education of all the learners. Following this argument, I have used the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996 as Criteria 1 to evaluate inclusive education in post-apartheid South Africa. Out of this argument, I have shown that inclusive education in post-apartheid South Africa is rooted on the key features of the Athenian democracy namely, participation, deliberation and representation. In addition to reflecting on the main features of the Athenian prototype of democracy, inclusive education in post-apartheid South Africa adheres to the key features of the theoretical framework (democratic theory) in this mini dissertation which are learner participation (Criteria 2), learner deliberation (Criteria 3) and learner representation (Criteria 4). As a consequence, I have argued in this chapter that inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa meets Criteria 1- 4. Going forward, theoretical analysis was used to evaluate inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa consequently showing how the critiques, proponents, zones of exclusions support or disagree with the theoretical framework in this mini dissertation as well as showing how they reflect on the espoused theories and

theories in use. In the last section of this chapter, I argued that inclusive education is not translated in practice; as a result, learners need to fight for their rights to be included substantively in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Ultimately, I showed areas of agreement (i.e, policy provides with us with a framework of inclusion of all learners, guarantees equal access to education) disagreement (i.e disjuncture of policy and practice, inconsistency between the transformative and achievement) and grey (policy needs to take theory in practice) with regard to inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa. The next chapter is devoted to showing different ways in which we can move from the theoretical stage (intensions, aspirations) of the inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa to substantive inclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. In other words, the subsequent chapter offers possible strategies from getting where we are to where we ought to be as I have already stated

CHAPTER 6

SILENT EXCLUSION IN DEMOCRATIC CLASSROOM(S) IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: WHERE TO GO FROM HERE?

6.1 Introduction

In retrospect of the previous chapter, the findings (evaluative and theoretical analysis) validate that post-apartheid South African inclusive education policy is currently on its transformative (theoretical stage) and not in a substantive (practical) stage. In other words, inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa puts more emphasis on formal participation, deliberation and representation of all learners as already mentioned in Chapter 4. As a consequence, contributing to the silent exclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Put differently, formal inclusion of learners means that in lived experiences in post-apartheid South African classrooms, learners are not participating, not deliberating and not represented as shown by the zones of exclusion, the critiques of inclusive education and the espoused theories as we have already seen in Chapter 4. As a result, the current chapter is devoted to articulating different ways of addressing the silent exclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Additionally, this chapter offers possible strategies for getting from where we are to where we ought to be. Therefore the main argument in this chapter is that the formal inclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms is not sufficient. As a consequence, this led us to the view that we need to move beyond transformative inclusion of learners to substantive inclusion (participation, deliberation and representation) of learners if we are to address silent exclusion in post-apartheid South African classrooms. At this juncture, it is worth noting that silent exclusion of learners is defined as the unheard voices of learners as it was already pointed out in Chapter 2.

Consequently, this chapter is divided into two sections. Section 1 will show ways in which we can arrest silent exclusion of the learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. In addition, Section 2 will offer possible strategies of going beyond the formal inclusion of learners (post-apartheid South African inclusive education policy) to substantive inclusion of all learners. From here on, the focus will be on how we can arrest silent exclusion of learners in post-

apartheid South African classrooms. From this perspective, I maintain that the role of schools, for instance, the primary purpose of schools is paramount in addressing the silent exclusion of learners. This argument is further elaborated on in the ensuing paragraph.

6.2 Post-apartheid South African classrooms: Arresting silent exclusion of learners

As we have already seen in Chapter 5, inclusive education is institutionalised through post-apartheid inclusive education policy in South Africa and learners are socialised through talking about inclusion in classrooms. However, the zones of exclusion show that the substantive inclusion of learners (participation, deliberation and representation) is an on-going struggle in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Arguably Education 1 (primary purpose) may be the only option available now for learners to take the subject forward substantively. In addition, as we have already shown in Chapter 2, Education 3 is mainly about human achievement. This means that learners ought to be provided with knowledge and understanding that allows them to deliberate, that is to argue and reason logically. In clear terms, substantive inclusion under Education 3 is about the struggle for inclusive schools in general and classrooms in particular. In specific terms, South Africa is a constitutional democratic state that makes provision for participation, deliberation and representation of all learners through post-apartheid inclusive education policy as I have shown in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. For instance, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) posits that learners ought to include by participating, deliberating and being represented substantively within post-apartheid South African classrooms.

By extension, this means that democratic classrooms in South Africa should not be characterised by the silent exclusion of learners where the learners' voices are unheard. Alternatively, I argue that the rights and the privileges of children (learners) should be in the centre of democratic classrooms if we ought to include learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. To put it simplistically, this mini-dissertation maintains post-apartheid South African schools should be characterised by the substantive inclusion of learners. To cite an example, I argue that democratic classrooms should enhance good citizenship among all the learners where learners enjoy their rights and the benefits of citizenship as we shall see in the ensuing paragraph.

Correspondingly, I maintain that post-apartheid South African classrooms should foster substantive learner participation, learner deliberation and learner representation as a way of enhancing good citizenship in South Africa. As I have already mentioned in Chapter 2, post-apartheid South African classrooms are characterised by participation, deliberation and representation of learners. As the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) states, I argue that within democratic classrooms, all children (learners) should participate, deliberate and be represented to enjoy the benefits and privileges of citizenship. In simple words, we should not wait for learners to reach the age of 18 to foster good citizenship among all learners as suggested in Chapter 2. Therefore, I argue that post-apartheid South African classrooms should be learning and teaching spaces where all learners enjoy their rights, privileges and the benefits by being active participants during the learning and teaching process, deliberating and being represented substantively in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Arguably, substantive participation, deliberation and representation is another way of fostering personal and public dimensions of citizenship in South Africa as already mentioned in Chapter 2. This argument is carried further on in the subsequent paragraph.

Correspondingly, all learners ought to participate by making choices in their learning to enjoy their rights and their privileges within democratic classrooms. To put it simplistically, when learners participate by making decisions during the learning process, they are given a sense of belonging. Accordingly, Rousseau (1968) states that participation is about the empowerment of citizenry. In addition, Mill (1975) posits that participation develops learners as active self-help type of characters. Furthermore, learners ought to be deliberating in post-apartheid South African classrooms by providing public reasoning and justification on issues of public concern. In short, Benhabib (1996) and Budge (1993) are about general legitimacy and practical reasoning, free and unconstrained public deliberation, moral and political equality. Additionally, learners should also act in accordance with the interests of all the other learners so that all learners are free to raise some issues of public concerns within democratic classrooms. In short, Pitkin (1967) argues that substantive representation is about the tension between the ideal and achievement, it presents a continuing but not hopeless challenge: to construct institutions and train individuals, in such a way that they engage in the pursuit of the public interest, being critical of our institutions and further interpretation and reform.

In a nutshell, only when learners are participating, deliberating and represented substantively can they enjoy their rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship. Therefore, I am of the view that substantive participation, deliberation and representation of learners can enhance personal and public dimensions of citizenship. As a result, I argue that it is another way in which we can arrest silent exclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Having argued that post-apartheid South African classrooms should foster good citizenship among learners, I argue in the following paragraph that democratic classrooms should be diversity-sensitive.

In addition to the previous argument, this mini-dissertation maintains that post-apartheid South African classrooms should be diversity sensitive to arrest silent exclusion of the learners. In simple terms, learners ought to participate substantively by gathering in democratic classrooms and making own individual choices despite diverse backgrounds from which they come from. To achieve active participation of learners, the teachers also have a role to play. In simple words, teachers ought to provide learners with varied instruction so that learners are active participants who are inclined to having individual preferences during the teaching and the learning process. Similarly, I argue that to arrest silent exclusion of learners, learners ought to deliberate in post-apartheid South African classrooms.

Additionally, this means that learners should impart information and reason together in democratic classrooms despite having different backgrounds. In addition, I am of the view that within the context of post-apartheid South African classrooms, learners should have a group of representatives who are capable of acting substantively to influence reforms and bring about change as one of looking after each other's interests. In a nutshell, I proclaim that post-apartheid South African classrooms should also be characterised by substantive inclusion of learners so that learners gain the educational benefits of participation (Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1975) deliberation (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993) and representation (Pitkin, 1967) as the theoretical framework in Chapter 4 suggests.

In a nutshell, I argue that to arrest silent exclusion of learners; we need to go beyond formal participation, deliberation and representation of learners as already suggested in Chapter 5. Alternatively, I proclaim that in post-apartheid South African classrooms, learners ought to be participating, deliberating and represented substantively. To put it simplistically, I argue that in democratic classrooms, we do not expect silent exclusion (i.e. unheard voices of learners, where

learners are not participating, not deliberating and not represented in democratic classrooms) as argued in Chapter 4. On the contrary, learners' rights, privileges, and educational benefits should be at the heart of democratic classrooms and schools in general as suggested in Chapter 2. Overtly, with regard to E2 (institutional use of education), schools ought to make a provision for RCLs, a learner platform where learners ought to be provided with in-depth knowledge that allows learners to make decisions, make their judgments by providing logical and coherent reasoning as well as making provision for self-expression by the learners to achieve the common good of the rest of the learners.

In this regard, based on the theoretical framework and its central features (substantive participation, deliberation and representation) I affirm that the evaluative analysis (inclusive education policy) backs South African Constitutional democracy. Again, these two (i.e. evaluative analysis and the Constitution) are in agreement with the review of the literature (advocates of inclusive education policy) in SA. Most importantly, the evaluative analysis, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, literature review embraces democratic theory andits educational benefits. However, the main rejection is that inclusive education policy is caught between the espoused and theories in use. This claim is backed by the critiques of inclusive education policy in SA. Sadly, the zones of exclusion show this tension between theory and practice. With regard to areas of contestation, there is a gap between theory (policy) and practice (substance) as shown in Chapter 5. In brief, there is a lack of training and knowledge as far as policy implementation is concerned. In addition, the tension between theory (post-apartheid inclusive education) and practice (implementation of inclusive education) as a consequence of ignorance of the bureaucrats and policymakers who pay little attention to disciplines that analyse epistemology, its existence as well as its origins as observed in Chapter 5. Hence, the argument that inclusive education is an on-going struggle for teachers and learners within inclusive education. As a result, the teachers and learners need to act to bring about reforms in pursuit of the common interest of all learners, so that all learners are included substantively in post-apartheid South African classrooms. Following this argument, the strategies of how we can move from the tension between theory (post-apartheid inclusive education policy) and practice are articulated in the ensuing section.

6.3 Implementation of inclusive education policy; possible strategies of getting from where we are to where we ought to be

As I have already pointed out in the previous chapter, formal inclusion of learners is not adequate in post-apartheid South African classrooms given that it leads to silent exclusion of learners. This means that it contributes immensely to non-participation, non-deliberation and non-representation of learners. Alternatively, this section suggests some of the possible strategies that ought to move us from where we are (formal inclusion) to where we ought to be (substantive inclusion of learners). From the foregoing, I maintain that post-apartheid South African inclusive education policy provides a solution to formal inclusion of learners who have been previously excluded from post-apartheid South African classrooms. By extension, I argue also that it is rooted in human rights framework with argues for equal educational access of all learners. In addition to this, I am of the view that post-apartheid South African inclusive education policy embraces the principles of the Constitution of South Africa 1996, i.e. learner participation, and learner deliberation and learner representation. However, I argue that if this argument is to be accepted, it means that we must have inclusive education that is effective, consistent and practical particularly in learners' lived experiences in post-apartheid South African classrooms.

What does this mean this mean in practical context? In responding to this question, I argue that concept of formal inclusion of learners in policy should be advanced to a substantive inclusion of learners. In this argument, I show that scholars, political practitioners, teachers and learners have a role to play to sure that learners are included substantively in post-apartheid South African classrooms. At this juncture, a discussion on how we can move from where we are to where we out to be will focus on what needs to be done at theoretical level, political level and institutional level as we shall soon see. Going forward, a discussion of how we can move from where we are to where we out to be is carried out from a theoretical level.

Accordingly, I argue that there should be theoretical clarity about inclusive education. In other words, at theoretical level, inclusive education should be perceived as an academic discipline to which scholars within inclusive education discipline should devout their time as well as their energy such that

- There is a precise meaning of inclusive education so that it is not understood as a catch all phrase for different kinds of enquiry as mentioned in Chapter 3. In precise words, it

should be understood as a science of questioning, through analysis, synthesis, and improvement.

- There is clarity in how it is to be implemented across different contexts. In specific terms, there should be an outline of scientific research methods and recognised strategies that will work effectively for different types of learners in heterogeneous classrooms.
- There is clarity in what it seeks to achieve. This means that the work of academic scholars is to articulate the goals and objectives of inclusive education that are consistent across varying contexts.

At political level (policy) inclusive education is not put in practice, therefore, it becomes apparent that more practitioners are recruited to evaluate the implementation of inclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African schools. In specific terms, revisit and redefine inclusive education if needs be. For instance, I am aware of District Support Teams (DBTS) and School Based Support System (SBST) has the responsibility of monitoring and evaluating inclusive education work. However, I argue that given the sad reality that reveals that learners are excluded (non-participation, non-deliberation and non-representation) in democratic schools, to from where we are to where we ought to be, I suggest the following:

- Recruitment of more practitioners that are willing to investigate and evaluate the implementation of inclusive education policies
- Training of education practitioners who are to be well informed about inclusive education and charged with the capacity to address the barriers to inclusive education
- Recruitment of inclusive education practitioners who are capable of redefining policy such that it speaks to practice or implementation of inclusive education.

At institutional level, inclusive education is still an on-going struggle for teachers and learners. This means that inclusive education does not address the teaching and learning problems within learning institutions. For instance, the zones of exclusion show that learners are not-participating, not deliberating and not represented. Therefore, the teachers should

- Investigate some of the causes of tension between post-apartheid inclusive education policy and practice. In simple words, the teachers should challenge their own knowledge on the theory of inclusive education and its implementation.

- Take action to attend inclusive education workshops that educate the all the teachers of inclusive education about how it should be implemented in a way that responds to all the learners.
- Compulsory sessional meetings in which inclusive education teachers attend to discuss some of their challenges they incur in inclusive education classrooms. This may be helpful in that it will contribute to consistency with regard to implementation strategies, its objectives.

6.4 Struggle for inclusive education in classrooms

As I have already mentioned throughout this mini-dissertation, Pitkin's (1967) substantive representation is about the tension between the ideal and achievement, it presents a continuing but not hopeless challenge: to construct institutions and train individuals, in such a way that they engage in the pursuit of the public interest, being critical of our institutions and further interpretation and reform. Therefore, the establishment of the RCLs has a representative body which demonstrates that the learners have control over what it does. In other words, the representative body acts substantively on behalf of the learners. In other words, it creates a platform where learners can make decisions about the learning and teaching process. For instance, RCLs contributes to learners who are free to question the issues of public concern, learners who are critical of the role of inclusive education being able to make informed judgments and provide logical reasoning as to whether inclusive education adheres to all the learners' material and intellectual needs. By extension, learners who can act substantively in fighting for further reform in pursuit of the common welfare of all the learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms.

Shifting our focus on learners, inclusive education is an on-going struggle for learners. As I have already pointed out, the zones of exclusion reveal that in lived experience in post-apartheid South African classrooms, learners are non-participatory, non-deliberating and non-represented. Therefore, learners should

- Question the meaning of inclusive education as far as their educational rights to be included in inclusive education in post-apartheid South African classrooms are concerned.
- Be critical of the benefits of inclusive education, that is , question the extent to which inclusive education meets their material needs and intellectual needs.
- Fight for their rights to be included in post-apartheid South African classrooms by engaging in a struggle (march) to be included substantively in democratic classrooms. In other words, this view builds on the central argument of this mini-dissertation that democratic classrooms are not just *naturally given*, *agreed upon* and *talked about* – on the contrary inclusion in schools is *fought for*. As Christie (2010, p. 6), reminds us *"*South Africa's anti-apartheid struggles that gave rise to [inclusive education] are now out of view. [Inclusive education] rights are fought for, won, lost, and won again".

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have carried out two major tasks. In the first section, I have argued for different ways in which silent exclusion of learners may be addressed in post-apartheid South African classrooms. As a consequence, I have argued that the role of schools is significant in addressing silent exclusion of learners. To cite an example, I have argued that the secondary purpose of schools (E1) implies learner participation by socialising learners into the rules and morals of the society during the teaching and learning. In one sense, in schools, learners are equipped with skills and knowledge to participate in within educational institutions and communities. In addition, I argued that primary purpose of schools (E3) implies learner deliberation as it is mainly about general enlightenment, which means that learners should be provided with in-depth knowledge. In clear words, the type of knowledge that enhance the learners" public reasoning. Unintended functions (E2) was also argued as another strategy in which silent exclusion of learners may be addressed. For instance, it reflects on learner representation as it suggests for development of the learner representative personal growth and attitudes so that all learners are allowed to have self-expression by raising issues of concerns within democratic classrooms.

Having articulated the role of schools in addressing silent exclusion of learners, I argued that democratic schools should allow for substantive learner participation, deliberation and representation in order to foster good citizenship. Another argument that I raised, was that post-apartheid South African classrooms should also be diversity sensitive by allowing adhering to the educational needs of all learners. As a result, democratic classrooms should allow substantive participation, deliberation and representation of all learners. I also argued that when learners are participating, deliberating and represented, there are education gains theorists of participation, i.e. Rousseau (1968) and Mill (1975); theorists of deliberation, Benhabib (1996) and Budge (1993); theorist of representative (Pitkin, 1967). Therefore, democratic classrooms should not be characterised by silent exclusion of learners, non-participation, non-deliberation and non-representation. In Section 2, I argued that in order to move from where we are (theory in post-apartheid inclusive education policy) to be (practice), the concept of formal inclusion of learners needs to be advanced to substantive inclusion of learners by allowing learners to participate, deliberate, be represented deliberately. In this instance, I argued that the teachers, scholars, learners, as well as policymakers have a role to play to strive for substantive inclusion of learners in post-apartheid South African schools.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Reinstating the argument made in this mini-dissertation, I have showed that the Greeks have given us the notion of democracy. In this mini-dissertation, democracy is defined as the rule of people by the people. In specific terms, I have stated that democracy is mainly vested in people's power, as a result, it is characterised by participation, deliberation and representation. This means that the citizens are encouraged to participate, deliberate and represented in the management of the affairs of the polity. Worthy of note, these features of democracy have educational benefits as shown by theorists of participatory, deliberative and representative democracy. Another point worth noting is that Athenian democracy is reflected in a constitutional democracy and in inclusive education policy in South Africa, as I have already mentioned in the introduction. This means that in post-apartheid South African classrooms, all learners are expected to participate, deliberate and represented substantively. However, the zones of exclusion reveal that in practical contexts in democratic classrooms, some learners are silently excluded which means that learners are not, participating, not deliberating and they are not represented.

Additionally, this mini-dissertation used four criteria to evaluate post-apartheid inclusive education in post-apartheid South African classrooms. In clear terms, the current mini-dissertation used Criteria 1 (the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1994); Criteria 2 (learner participation); Criteria 3 (learner deliberation) and Criteria 4 (learner representation). Therefore it was argued in this mini-dissertation that inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa namely; the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996); the White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001), the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DoE, 2011) and the Guides for Representative Councils of Learners (1999) are rooted in the key features of a constitutional democracy (Athenian prototype of democracy) thus reflecting on learner participation, learner deliberation, including learners representation shown earlier in Chapter 5. Overtly, it was precluded that the evaluated inclusive education policy meets Criteria 1 of this study being (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

In equal vein, it was also argued in this mini-dissertation that inclusive education policy in post-apartheid South Africa is in accordance with the key features of the suggested theoretical framework (democratic theory) in this study. Thus, reflecting on Criteria 2 (learner participation). This means that inclusive education policy promotes learner participation in schools. However, it was argued that one shortfall of the inclusive education policy is that it mainly rests on formal participation of learners and not substantive learner participation. In clear words, it was therefore argued that in practical contexts in post-apartheid South African classrooms, learners are silently excluded as far as participation is concerned. In other words, when learners are not participating, they do not benefit educationally from participating in classrooms. For instance, they are not given a sense of belonging as they do not contribute in the learning process (Rousseau, 1968). By extension, it was also maintained that learners are also not developed as active-type of individuals who are free in making won choices (Mill, 1975).

Going forward, it was also argued in this mini-dissertation that post-apartheid inclusive education policy meets Criteria 3 on learner deliberation. In other words, it was pointed out that inclusive education advocates for formal learner deliberation. However, it was argued that formal deliberation of learners is not sufficient, since learners are not able to deliberate substantively in democratic classrooms. Therefore, another weakness that was pointed out as far as learner deliberation is concerned is that some learners remain excluded because they do not raise their voices to make informed judgements, reason logically as well as imparting information (Benhabib, 1996; Budge, 1993) In clear terms, it was argued in this mini-dissertation that non-deliberation of learners means that learners are unable to enjoy educational benefits that come with deliberative democracy in post-apartheid South African schools.

Additionally, I argued in the current mini-dissertation that inclusive education policy meets Criteria 4 on learner representation. However, it was maintained that the obvious shortfall of post-apartheid inclusive education is that in reality, some learners are not represented in democratic classrooms. Therefore, it was argued that formal representation is insufficient given the fact that learners are excluded by not being able to be critical of public institutions such as schools, not acting collectively to bring about change and reform in schools by raising issues of public concern in pursuit of the general welfare of all the learners. Accordingly, Pitkin (1967) posits that there is tension between the ideal and achievement. As result, there is a continuing but

not a hopeless challenge to construct institutions and train individuals in such a way that they engage in pursuit of public interest. In specific words, individuals (learners and teachers) should critical of our institutions (schools) and further interpretation as well as reform. Hence, the central argument in this mini-dissertation is that learners must struggle for substantive inclusion in post-apartheid South African classrooms. In a nutshell, I argue that post-apartheid inclusive education is good for advocating mainly for inclusion of all learners in inclusive education and embracing democratic theory. However, I argued that inclusive education policies in post-apartheid South Africa's intensions (espoused theories) are not reflected in practical contexts (theories in use). Overtly, I argue that to put theory in practice, teachers and learners should engage in a struggle (march) for substantive inclusion of all learners in post-apartheid South African schools. Beyond this argument, the teachers and the learners need to be critical of inclusive education policy, that is, question whether it yields educational benefits to all learners in post-apartheid South African classrooms.

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