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IMPLEMENTING INCLUSIVE EDUCATION FOR PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA. A SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

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Dedication

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Abstract

Inclusion of students with disability in their local schools has been promoted since 1996 in Zambia. However, the experiences of students with disabilities has been mixed.

The study has examined conditions under which inclusive education is most likely to be achieved in Zambia. To answer the question, the thesis has identified processes that may hamper or promote inclusive education at the local level. Particular attention is given to how teachers and students with disabilities account for the social processes, meanings and social relationships in the provision of education at a local school in Lusaka, Zambia. The study also has explored coping strategies developed by students with disabilities in their pursuit of their educational goals.

The study has utilized a symbolic interactionist perspective. Participants included seven (7) students with disabilities, one (1) deputy head teacher, and one (1) class teacher. Participants were recruited using purposive sampling technique. The data collection methods used were semi-structured interviews, direct observation and document analysis.

The data demonstrate that the social relationships between students with and without disabilities was hampered by physical separation of the two groups through separate residences, inaccessible buildings, non-participation in extra-curricular activities (school trips and sports) and denied use of information and communication technologies. The social relationships between teachers and students with disabilities were affected by negative attitudes of teachers towards students with disabilities, inappropriate methods of teaching and teacher education. The relationships between parents/caregivers and students with disabilities were affected by parents' expectations of reciprocity or returns if they invested in children's education. Students adopted coping strategies identified as avoidance, rebellion, reconciliation and determination. In many cases, such coping strategies helped to compensate for or reduce the consequences of the barriers they experienced in their education.

Keywords: Disability, students with disabilities, inclusive education, symbolic interactionism, coping strategies.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBR	Community Based Rehabilitation
CSO	Central Statistics Office
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MoE	Ministry of Education
NPD	National Policy on Disability
SWDs	Students *with* Disabilities
UNCRC	United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNCRPD	United Nations Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
ZAPD	Zambia Agency for Persons with Disabilities
ZAFOD	Zambia Federation of the Disabled

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study examined the social interactions between students with physical disabilities and students without disabilities, teacher and parents in a non-segregated school in Lusaka, Zambia. More specifically the study focused on how the social interaction between the students with physical disabilities and other actors in the school influenced the aim to achieve an inclusive educational environment for all, including students with disabilities (SWDs). Since the 1996 "educating our future policy" the official objective has been to integrate SWDs into regular or non-segregated schools (Ministry of Education 1996).

The inclusion of students with disability in the mainstream school settings has become a primary service option in Zambia. Although inclusion has no universal meaning, it is generally believed to mean the extent to which a school welcomed SWDs as full members of the group and valued them for the contribution, which they made; the student actively belonged to, were welcome and participated in a mainstream school (Farrell 2004). This signified the presence of positive social relationships among different actors in the school community in which, SWDs were treated like anybody else and felt accepted.

The ultimate goal of inclusive education is to have SWDs to be able to support themselves and live independently. The reasoning behind is to make sure that all students learn together, share the classroom and teachers and are not separated into another inferior classroom (Rynders 2005). Separated facilities pose a challenge to SWDs in world of work in their adulthood may have problems associating with peer without disabilities. Besides the general curriculum, students learnt to interact and communicate with their peers without disabilities. These were the most important experiences pointing to independent living (Rynders 2005). Additionally, inclusive schools allowed students *without* disabilities to gain awareness about disabling barriers and persons with disabilities (ibid).

However, the mechanisms and processes that influenced the interaction between the various actors at school facilitated or prevented the achievement of inclusive educational environment in practice. How social relationship between students with physical disabilities and other actors developed in practice was a very important aspect of what happens to the official objectives of the educational authorities in Zambia to promote inclusive education.

This thesis examines conditions under which inclusive education is most likely to be achieved. To answer the question, the thesis identifies processes that inhibit or promote inclusive education at the local level. In particular, I am focusing on how teachers and SWDs account for the social processes, meanings and social relationships in the provision of inclusive education.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one presents the scope of the study. This chapter explains the reasons for addressing the topic and defines the scope of thesis. Chapter two presents the theoretical perspectives used in this study. Chapter three describes the methodology used in this research with particular focus on research design, study site and gaining access, participants, recruitment of participants, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations. Chapter four examines the social interactions and social relationships between students with disabilities and students without disabilities. Chapter five examines the social interactions and social relationships between students with disabilities and teacher. Chapter six presents analyses of the social interactions and social relationships between students with disabilities and parents/caregivers. Chapter seven concludes by discussion the results from the study and identifying policy implications.

Background: **Zambia – demography and economy**

Zambia has a population of with a population of 14.2 million in 2013 (CIA 2013). She was a former colony of Britain and got her independence in 1964. Zambia is a democratic country whose economy is heavily dependent on copper, which is constantly affected by changes in prices at the London stock exchange. The World Bank (2013) rates Zambia as a lower middle-income country with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 19.21 billion US$ in 2011. Despite its growing economy, the economic gap between the rich and poor is very wide (CIA 2013; The World Bank 2013), with 68% of the poor being persons with disabilities (Central Statistics Office 2011).

In terms of disability in Zambia, the 2000 census estimated the number of persons with disabilities to 256 690 or 2.7% of the population (National Disability Policy 2015). However, the figure was alleged to be an underestimated population of persons with disabilities in Zambia as the census used a medical, normative approach, which has been shown elsewhere to lead

underestimates of disability (Zambia Governance Foundation 2013). In 2006 a more detailed large-scale survey, which used a set of questions about impairments, concluded that 14.5% of Zambians have an impairment, which affects their everyday life (Zambia Governance Foundation 2013). Which interprets into the population of people with disabilities to about 1.9 million, giving a ratio of one person per every seven Zambian having a disability-related challenge every day (Zambian Governance Foundation 2013). This figure again could still be an underestimate. The World Disability Report of 2010 estimate the disability population of 15.3% in low and middle-income countries in Africa. The ZGF (2013) points out that mobility impairment is the most common disability in Zambia.

Zambian Educational System

The Zambian education system has a 9-3-4 structure, namely 9 years at basic school, which runs from Grade 1 to Grade 9, and 3 years high secondary school from Grade 10 to Grade 13, and 4 years at university for undergraduate degrees (Ministry of Education 1996). The school entry age into basic school is seven years. While the intention is that school education should be compulsory to all, many vulnerable students, especially SWDs drop out along the way while others never enrol into school (Miles 2009). Because of limited school places in Grade 8, at Grade 7 students have to sit for a leaving examination in which those who do not make it to the cut-off point drop out of school. Only two-thirds of the students make it into grade 8 (Ministry of Education 1996). Similar examinations are held at Grade 9 and Grade 12. In short, students must pass the examinations at each stage in order to secure a place at the next level.

Types of schools in Zambia

There are four types of schools namely government, faith based, community and private schools. Government run most primary and secondary schools (Ministry of Education 1996). Basic schools accommodate students from Grade one to nine, as Grade nine is regarded as the basic level of education for the majority. In government schools, education is only, free up to Grade seven thereafter a fee is paid and most students drop out at this level because they cannot afford to pay fees or they failed examinations. Government schools do not offer early child education. This has a negative effect on SWDs who may not be enrolled at a local school or go

to a distance school because community schools or faith based school that are affordable may not be available or are at a distance.

Private schools are run as businesses for profit (Ministry of Education 1996). They are therefore fee-paying schools and usually fees are very high, as such, SWDs coming from poor families may not enrolled at a private school. Faith based schools are private non-profit and affiliated to a Christian denomination, mainly Catholic, Adventist, Baptist, Salvation Army or other Christian faiths. Some schools are Islamic, Baha'i or other faiths. Some are free while others charge low fees (Ministry of Education 1996). Most special needs schools are run by faith based schools. Most children with disabilities are enrolled in these schools. Since the 1990s, communities, often in collaboration with private or faith-based organizations, have opened their own schools to respond to the lack of schools or cumbersome fees. Because of low fees and their proximity (DeStefano 2006) most SWDs are enrolled in community schools.

Zambia's International Commitments

Zambia is a signatory to several inclusive education-related international instruments and conventions such as the Salamanca statement and framework for action on special needs education (UNESCO 1994). Inclusive education has its roots in the Salamanca declaration. UNESCO proposed the concept inclusive education in 1990, at the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand (Peters 2003). The subsequent "World Conference on Special Needs Education" in Salamanca, Spain in 1994 passed *The Salamanca Statement on Principles, Policy and Practice in Special Needs Education* (UNESCO 1994), which, for the first time, formally adopted the concept of "Inclusive Education", and mandated all countries to implement inclusive education. *The Salamanca Statement on Principles, Policy and Practice in Special Needs Education (*UNESCO 1994) provided a framework for thinking about how to move policy and practice forward. It identified inclusive education as the means by which 'Education for All' may be achieved (UNESCO 2005). This inclusive education policy framework was re-affirmed and ratified by the *Dakar Framework for Action for Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments Conference* in Senegal (ActionAid 2000).

The conference proclaimed that every person has unique characteristics, interests, abilities, and learning needs, and that "those with special educational needs must have access to regular education which should accommodate them with 'a person-centred pedagogy capable of meeting those needs' (Peters 2003, 9). The Salamanca Statement also asserted that educational

systems that take into account the wide diversity of persons' characteristics and needs are the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all (Peters 2003, 9).

Although Zambia had made efforts to implement "integrated education" an initiative similar to inclusive education – before the Salamanca conference, the basic tenets of inclusive education were recognized immediately after this concept was presented. However, according to Bengt Lindqvist, the former United Nations Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Disability, in a report to the United Nations Children's Education Fund (UNICEF):

> *"A dominant problem in the disability field is the lack of access to education for both children and adults with disabilities. As education is a fundamental right for all, enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and protected through various international conventions, this is a very serious problem. In a majority of countries, there is a dramatic difference in the educational opportunities provided for disabled [students] and those provided for non-disabled [students]"* (Peters 2003, 1).

It is against such a background, therefore, that this study investigated the condition through which inclusive education can be achieved, pay special attention to factors that enhance or inhibit social interaction and social relationships between students with physical disabilities and students without disabilities, teachers and parents in an inclusive setting. The rights of the children were envisaged at the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) it remains a landmark document, which comprehensively covers civil, and political, social, economic and cultural rights of children. It takes due consideration of the survival, development, protection and participation needs of children, children with disabilities included.

The UNCRC is reaffirmed by the UNCRPD adopted in 2006 (UN 2006). Article 24 of the UNCRPD states that state parties should ensure that

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

Zambia ratified the UNCRPD in 2010. The ratification of the UNCRPD comes with responsibility; it meant that Zambia had to adjust its laws, policies and practices to ensure that they comply with the country's commitment to disability inclusion.

Zambia's domestication of international commitments

In Zambia, inclusive education is one of the several ways in which the Zambian education authorities have sought to enhance citizen rights for SWDs (Ministry of Education 2003). Therefore, most schools in Zambia are now supposed to welcome and accommodate SWDs The Ministry of Education formulated a policy document 'Educating our Future' (Ministry of Education 1996) which clearly spells out the need for inclusive education as strategic for ensuring equality of educational opportunities for SWDs. The document states that,

> *"To the greatest extent possible the ministry will integrate pupils with special educational needs into mainstream institutions and will provide them with necessary facilities, however, where need is established the Ministry will participate in the provision of new special schools for the severely impaired*." (Ministry of Education 1996, 67).

Furthermore, the Ministry of Education (2003) 'Inclusive Schooling Programme' asserts that a school is the delivery point for Zambia's education policies and curricula including the Inclusive Schooling Programme.

Following the policy pronouncement in policy document '*Educating our Future*' (Ministry of Education 1996) and Inclusive Schooling Programme (Ministry of Education 2003) some schools in several districts were adopted as Inclusive Education piloting schools in 2004. Some senior education officials, head teachers and teachers also underwent sensitization and training in inclusive education. A structure was also put in place to propagate and monitor activities pertaining to inclusive education. Structures were also put in place at ministry headquarters, provincial office, district level, zone level and at the school level (Government of the Republic of Zambia 2005).

In the process of the domestication of the UNCRPD, the Zambian government passed on the Persons with Disabilities Act No 6 of 2012 as law (ZGF 2013). Its main provisions were anchored on respect, dignity, rights and non-discrimination of persons with disabilities. Part II, Section 5 of the Act required everyone to "uphold the rights of persons with disabilities and to respect and safeguard the dignity of persons with disabilities" (ZGF 2013). They were not to discriminate against a person with a disability based on disability, no exploitation or subject a person with a disability to abusive, violence or degrading treatment including their gender based aspects, and should not call a person with a disability any derogatory name because of the disability of that person. It implied that those who were charged with the responsibility of

educating SWDs were to examine their attitudes and behaviour towards SWDs, and avoid any derogatory name as they interacted with them.

In terms of institutional frameworks, there are many organizations dealing with the issues of people with disabilities. These include; the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare (MCDSW) - It is responsible for policy formulation and implementation dealing with persons with disabilities. Social workers and social welfare officers under the ministry are responsible for facilitating higher living standards, and ensuring that people with disabilities are conscientized and sensitized so that they can come to terms with the realities of their living conditions (Noyoo 2000). Zambia Agency for Persons with Disabilities (ZAPD) coordinates and supervisors all organizations dealing with people with disabilities. It is also responsible for overseeing the implementation of policy on disability. There are also other organizations interested in the welfare of people with disabilities; Zambia Federation of the Disabled (ZAFOD) is the mother body. It provides *inter alia* small loans and training in business management, and advocates for the rights of people with disabilities. Under ZAFOD, there are many organizations representing different interests of different people with different disabilities (Mubita 2009). However, despite the efforts made by the Zambian government in terms of laws, policies and the existing institutions, the extent to which inclusive education is being achieved at the local schools is an empirical question.

Provision of inclusive education in Zambia

The provision of inclusive education in Zambia can be categorised into three; Unit based integration, Resource room based integration and full inclusion.

(i) Unit based integration

A unit is a special class attached to the mainstream school that caters for learners with disabilities for part of the school day (Mandyata 2002). With this approach, special education teachers teach SWDs. Nevertheless, SWDs may participate in mainstream activities depending on their individual abilities, for example, music, dance, worship and other clubs. The main idea of this approach is to facilitate social interaction between students with and without disabilities, which in turn enables SWDs to gain valuable experiences and skills necessary in everyday living (Kisanji 1999). Munali Special Unit at Munali Secondary school (Lusaka), Maamba

Special Unit at Maamba Mine Basic School (Southern) and Hillside Special Unit at Hillside Basic School (Eastern) are examples of unit-based integration. This kind of inclusion is common in the Zambia school system.

(ii) Resource room based integration

Mandyata (2002) defined the resource room as "a specially staffed room to which SWDs enrolled in the regular classroom came at planned intervals as the need arises". With this approach, the regular teacher and the special education teachers work hand by hand. The role of the special education teacher is to complement the efforts of the regular teacher by providing specialized skills, instructions, information and academic remediation as need arises. As such, the effective collaboration between the two is important for the success of this programme.

(iii) Full inclusion

In this format, SWDs are placed in ordinary classes for students without disabilities. Thomas and Loxley (2007, 124) point out that;

> *"The philosophy that underpins inclusive schooling emerged from the view point of a democratic society and of truly comprehensive school system; the shift towards protecting children's rights is perhaps the most essential issue within the inclusion debate. It is no longer a question of compulsory education or the children's special needs, but rather the right to participate in common education".*

In Zambia, full inclusion could mean enrolling students in inclusive schools with mild physical disabilities only. Most of the schools specialise in a kind of disability they enrol. No school in Zambia enrols all forms of disabilities. The concept of personal assistance does not exist in government schools. This could be reason why students with severe disabilities may not go to school or find themselves in special school most of them are run by faith-based organisations despite the inclusion educational policies being in place.

Identification and Screening of students with special needs in Zambia

Assessment of students with disabilities is a multidimensional process of gathering information by using appropriate tools and techniques in order to make educational decisions about placement and the educational program for a particular student (Mitiku et al 2014). Appropriate adaptations and modifications must be made available to assure valid and reliable findings.

Since students' needs change from month to month and from year to year, regular timely assessment should be made.

According to the *Ministry of Education Statistical Bulletin* (2009, 66), a student or individual with special needs is described as differing from others in "*mental, physical, or social characteristics to such an extent that, for the full development of inherent potential, he or she needs a modification of school, college, or university provision and practice, or special educational services".* In educational settings, a student is considered to have a disability if his or her difference from others poses a challenge to learn with other children and may need special education provisions (*Ministry of Education Statistical Bulletin 2009 cited by Muwana 2012*). More specifically, a student with a disability is one who (a) has a physical, hearing, or visual impairment, (b) significantly differs from others intellectually, or (c) is socially maladjusted or emotionally disturbed (*Ministry of Education Statistical Bulletin 2009 cited by Muwana 2012*). This definition is based on the medical model of disability, which focuses on the impairment.

According to A.S. Chanda, Senior Standards Officer cited by Muwana (2012) for Special Education at the Ministry of Education Headquarters in Zambia, the identification process for disability begins at birth using the *Apgar Scale.* The *Apgar Scale* measures five dimensions: skin colour, heart rate, reflex irritability, muscle tone, and breathing on a scale of 0-2 (total = 10). A score of 0-3 is considered critically low and a score of 4-6 is considered fairly low. A baby with a score of 7-10 is considered to be within the normal range. A low *Apgar* score suggests that the baby may be in need of immediate medical intervention, as such a number of assessments are carried out in order to establish any potential disabilities. Apart from medical professionals, parents take up a major role in identifying the child's developmental delays. An assessment team comprises of a psychologist, audiologist, ophthalmologist, counsellor, teacher, and a social worker mainly to provide counsel to the parent. The team may recommend further testing but the process will always end up with an assessment report, which provides recommendations for placement to the school (A. S. Chanda, personal communication, March 7, 2011 cited by Muwana 2012).

Historical background of Special Education in Zambia

Zambia has provided special education to SWDs for over 100 years. Missionaries as far as 1903 made the first educational provision to SWDs. Katwishi (1995) observed that

missionaries only paid attention to the educational needs of students with visual and hearing impairments; and started the first school for students with visual impairments in 1955. Despite the missionaries' early activities in the provision of special education to SWDs in Zambia, no national policies were available at the time to provide guidance in the implementation of inclusive practices (Katwishi 1995).

Zambia's first national educational policy on special education came not until 1977 when the Ministry of Education assumed responsibility for educating SWDs. The current inclusive education practices in Zambia is supported by three policies namely: The *Education Reform Document* (1977), *Focus on Learning* (1992), and *Educating Our Future* (1996). The *Educational Reform Document* (1977) was the first major educational policy on special education. The document outlined recommendations for special education and specified the need for integration and adaptation of the mainstream education curriculum to meet identified and specified diverse educational needs of students. Furthermore, the document provided recommendation for adequate funding in order for special education to be a reality. The document stated the following:

All SWDs are entitled to education at an equal basis with their peers without disabilities. They should access basic and higher education by full time study like their peers. Since, SWDs have been disadvantaged in the pass "positive discrimination" should be instituted in their favour by providing facilities and amenities for educational purposes (*Education Reform Document* 1977, 23). Despite, its achievements towards the education of students with disabilities, the policy did not emphasis student's rights to inclusive education and access to the mainstream education curriculum.

The second major educational document, *Focus on Learning* (1992), was a product of the declaration for education for all students at the *World Conference on Education for All* held in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand. The conference emphasised the importance of access to educational opportunities. In the 1992 policy document, the Zambian government stressed that "every person, student, youth, and adult shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs" (*Focus on Learning*, Article 1). One outstanding feature of the policy stressed the mobilization of resources for the education of all, including SWDs.

The third major national educational policy, *Educating Our Future* (1996) was a product of the collaborative efforts of the Ministry of Education, other ministries, international donors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the University of Zambia. *Educating Our Future* was more concerned about formal education. Some of the emerging themes in the document included educational flexibility, responsiveness to educational needs, and enhancement of quality of education for all students. In relation to SWDs, the following policy statements were outlined:

"i. The Ministry of Education will ensure equality of educational opportunity for SWDs.

ii. The Ministry of Education is committed to providing education of particular good quality to SWDs.

iii. The Ministry of Education will improve and strengthen the supervision and management of special education across the country" (*Educating Our Future 1996,* 8).

The third policy, *Educating Our Future*, was a response to the Salamanca Statement, and was more superior in attending to special educational needs compared to the previous two policies. In a ministerial memorandum, equality of educational opportunity was described as providing SWDs the same educational opportunities as their peers without disabilities (A. S. Chanda, personal communication, March 7, 2011 cited by Muwana 2012). Thus, this policy endorsed the inclusion of SWDs in general education settings and set the stage for inclusive education in Zambia.

Inclusive Education in Zambia

Inclusive education in Zambia is just developing. The Ministry of Education is engaged in a constant revision of all legislation relating to persons with disabilities to align them in conformity with relevant international conventions in order to facilitate efficient and effective service delivery (Mung' omba 2008). Sharma, Moore, and Sonawane (2009) observed that historically, many educational systems adopt an integrated model as a starting point to inclusive education. The model entails that, only selected SWDs are included in mainstream classrooms. This is because the model requires that the student adjusts and fits into the education system

rather than the system adapting to meet the needs of the students. In general, integrated education “has been provided mainly to students with mild disabilities who are considered "easy" to include in general education classrooms” (Sharma et al 2009, 320).

In most cases, students with severe disabilities are left out or may be enrolled into special needs schools. Following the 1977 educational policy, the Ministry of Education built several special schools and institutions. However, in response to international pressure toward inclusion, a number of special units and special classrooms within mainstream education schools were opened (Kasonde-Ng'andu and Moberg 2001). By the late 1980s and early 1990s, a several SWDs were enrolled in mainstream education settings (Kasonde-Ng'andu and Robert 2001). It is also important to point out that descriptive data on inclusive education in Zambia is, somehow, limited.

Simui, Waliuya, Namitwe, and Munsanje (2009, 9) provided a definition of inclusive education in the Zambian context as a “continuous process of increasing access, participation, and achievement for all learners in general education settings, with emphasis on those at risk of marginalization and exclusion”. Furthermore, these authors observed that inclusive education does not only single out SWDs but includes all other vulnerable groups such homeless students, students with HIV/AIDS and orphans). According to Simui et al (2009, 9) “every student matters equally and no student should be left behind, as proposed by the United Kingdom and United States education policies respectively”. Additionally, Simui et al (2009) observed that an inclusive education program that is well conceptualized and implemented has the potential of meeting the needs of all learners with different abilities.

The Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) is a department under the Ministry of Education which is responsible for centrally developing a curriculum to Zambian schools. In response, to the inclusion of SWDs in mainstream classrooms the department developed a curriculum framework for all schools (CDC 2000). In this framework, it stressed that it is the responsibility of every teacher to take note of the presence of SWDs in their classrooms and be sensitive to their diverse needs. In this regard, teachers have the responsibility of adjusting their methods of teaching to meet the needs of all learners addressing their strengths and weaknesses (Kasonde-Ng'andu and Moberg 2001). Before the above framework, all learners irrespective of their abilities were expected to follow the prescribed curriculum.

Models of disability and impairment

The way we think about disability is very important as it inform us the way we act, what we do or priorities we set about disability. Within every society there are competing models of disability, with some being more dominant than others at different times. The three main ways of thinking about disability that have been identified over the past few decades are known as "models of disability": the **traditional** (or moral) model, the **medical** model, and the **social** (or rights-based) model (ZGF 2013). The dominant model of disability in a given society influences the policy direction regarding persons with disability.

In the data analysis, I have been interested in how the different disability models influence the endeavours to achieve inclusive education in Zambia. Models of disability are discussed here because they provide the medium of thinking and help the reader to contextualise the argument of this thesis. Disability models can underpin social interactions and social relationships between students with and without disabilities at any institution of learning. They can have fundamental implications on the level at which schools commit themselves to the provision of inclusive education, particularly the acceptance of SWDs with their peers without disabilities. Below is a discussion of the models.

Traditional Model of disability

Traditionally people with physical, sensory or mental impairments were thought of as under the spell of witchcraft, possessed by demons, or as penitent sinners, being punished by God for wrong-doing by themselves or their parents (ZGF 2013). Similar beliefs and attitudes towards disability seem to be found cross-culturally.

For example, Chimedza (1999) observed that in Zimbabwe deaf people's speech defects is perceived through the traditional model of disability. There is also a strong belief that pregnant women should not look at or associate with persons with disabilities or they may give birth to a child with disabilities. Because of these beliefs, most people would not want to associate themselves with disability. For fear of becoming disabled, persons without disabilities may be hesitant to interact or to create social relationships with SWDs.

However, even in traditional English society, these views seem to be prevalent (perhaps debunking the notion that beliefs in developed societies about disability can only be contextualised through natural-scientific explanations). Shakespeare (2009), for instance,

narrates how traditional English society still believes that a goblin exchanged a child with a goblin baby in a pregnant woman as a way of rationalising the birth of a child with disabilities. The Zambian Society has traces of the traditional models in the minds of its people.

If this belief system is in the mind of policy makers, no policy in favour of persons with disabilities may be developed, as persons with disabilities may be considered as requiring charity (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services 2015). The implication of this model on the Zambian society is that persons with disabilities of school going age may not go to school. This view is supported by most research done in Zambia.

Chirwa (2011) conducted a study with a focus on "Opportunities and Challenges for SWDs in Inclusive School in Zambia". He found that SWDs might not go to school because they may not feel welcome, as they were associated to a curse. Noyoo (2008, 139) also recognised cultural taboos, myths, traditions, societal discrimination and biases as factors that hinder social interactions and social relationships between persons with and without disabilities. He further observed that families with children with disabilities would not send their children to school for fear of embarrassment and ridicule (Noyoo 2008, 140). Sometimes, SWDs have been stoned and insulted on their way to school. Some have dropped out of school because of these issues. The reasons could be some beliefs associated with disability. Some communities in Zambia still believe that persons with disabilities are not actually with disabilities (are normal) in the night, and are used for witchcraft. Harassing people in their sleep and stealing money and food in people's houses in the night.

Generally, society reacts with horror, fear, anxiety, distaste, hostility and patronising behaviour towards persons with disabilities before any attempt to rationalise onsets. This seems to have led to discrimination and prejudice against persons with disabilities due to the many associated myths and stigmas.

The Medical Model of Disability

The medical model is regarded as a subcategory of the individual model of disability, which conceives disability as part of the disease process, abnormality, and individual tragedy. Which assumes that disability is something that happens to unfortunate individuals on a more or less random basis. Treatment, in turn, is based upon the idea that the problem resides within the individual and must be overcome by the individual's own efforts (French 2004). Persons with

disabilities have been negative over the many hours they spend trying to learn how to walk or talk instead of socialising (Oliver 1996). Nevertheless, the assertion does not imply that considering the medical or individual needs of persons with disabilities is wrong; rather the argument is that the medical model of disability has tended to view disability only in those terms, focusing almost exclusively on attempts to modify people's impairments and return them or approximate them to what is considered as "normal." The model ignores effect of physical, attitudinal, and social environment on persons with disabilities, which has maintained the status quo and kept persons with disabilities in their disadvantaged state within society (Oliver and Sapey 2006). With a medical mind-set, a blind person who falls down a hole in the pavement does so because he or she cannot see it, and the person with a mobility impairment fails to get into a building because of his or her inability to walk. Such problems are seen as residing within the individual.

The implication of this model on the Zambian Society in educational terms is the emphasis on medical interventions and institutionalization of persons with disabilities. Schools that operate at the medical level make minor changes like constructing ramps and expect students with disabilities to adjust and fit into the school system. Those who cannot adjust to fit in are not welcome. This results in most students with disabilities dropping out of school. The assumption is that if they cannot fit or fixed to in any mainstream service provision they are separated from those perceived normal. The model has influenced the separation and segregation of SWDs into special needs schools. Most of schools in Zambia, including those considered as inclusive in the Zambian context are specialised in a particular disabilities, for example, KB Boys School only enrols students with mild physical disabilities, and another school Munali Secondary only enrols students with hard of hearing or blind. Special education refers to "the provision of education to SWDs in a different environment where they learn separately from students without disabilities" (Chilemba 2013). Policy makers and social planners with a medical model mind-set may not influence a design of a school, which is fully adaptive to all students with diverse needs. The advantage of the medical model is that some impairments have been treated through medical intervention such as surgery, medicines and physiotherapy. The model also encourages development of coping strategies for students with disabilities to be accepted and integrated. The disadvantages of the medical model of disability is that persons with disabilities may not be consulted in matters that affect them because they are not perceived as experts, for example, in policy making process (ZGF 2013).

The Social Model of Disability

The social model of disability was coined by Michael Oliver in 1983 to counter the formidable tragedy discourse that surrounds persons with disabilities and which depicts disability as a deficit, a tragedy and "*abnormal,* and something to be avoided at all costs" (Oliver and Barnes 1996, 66). The model opposes the tragedy model in all its presentations, such as the demeaning persons with disabilities through negative images in the media, including films, television, and newspapers (Darke 2004). It perceives persons with disabilities not as individual victims of tragedy, but as collective victims of an uncaring oppressive society. It views, environmental hindrances or barriers like lack of elevates, ramps, and the presence of narrow doors as visible example of social construction of disability: they are what limit persons with functional impairments, not the impairments themselves. The social model of disability proposes that systematic barriers, negative attitudes and exclusion by society, purposely or inadvertently, are the ultimate factors defining who is with disabilities and who is not in a particular society (Oliver 1990). Disability perceived as both a social problem and political issue. It tends to challenge the issues of participation, unequal rights, discrimination, and oppression.

Nevertheless, Shakespeare (2006) stood out to oppose the social model, he saw the model as damaging and argued that it did not account the people whose disability leave them completely dependent on care and medicine. He challenged the model not to label persons without disabilities as oppressors but as partners in the process of social change towards full inclusion. Shakespeare (2006) suggested that the way forward is a combination of both medical and social models, picking out best attributes from each and building new ways of thinking to help resolve challenges that persons with disabilities still encounter.

However, the social model has influenced Zambia. She officially moved to the social model through her ratification of the UNCRPD on the 1st of February 2010 (ZGF 2013). Ratification of the UNCRPD came with responsibilities on the part of Zambia. The enactment of the Persons with Disabilities Act No. 06 of 2012 on the 31st of July 2012 was the first stage in the domestication of the UNCRPD in Zambia. The major contribution of Act on the welfare of persons with disabilities in Zambia can be summarised in the concept disability mainstreaming. It entails coming up with policies and practices that enables all persons with disabilities to participate fully in every aspect of life, without facing barriers or discrimination**.** One of the outstanding aspect of the Act is that it demands that the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare, which is directly responsible over the welfare of persons with disabilities,

to consult persons with disabilities on matters that, affect them through disability organisation such as the Zambia Agency for Persons with Disabilities (ZAPD) (ZGF 2013). To this effect, ZAPD was instrumental in the development of the National Policy on Disability (NPD), which came into effect in December 2015. Some of the outstanding features of NPD on education is to ensure that all learning institutions have appropriate educational materials and facilities (NPD 2015). The development of the National Policy on Disability with full consultation of persons with disabilities through disability organizations is yet another application of the social model of disability on the Zambian Society.

Inclusive education

Inclusive education is an educational philosophy and approach that serves as a compass, guiding educational institutes in their journey to creating caring, supportive, and effective learning environments and communities (Stainback and Stainback 1990). Inclusion aids the provision of all students with community membership and greater opportunities for academic and social achievement. Inclusion is about making sure that, each and every student feels welcome and that their different needs and learning styles are attended to and valued. Inclusive education, therefore, according to Mittler (2000), means the provision of a framework within which *all* students, regardless of ability, gender, language, ethnic or cultural origin, can be valued equally, treated with respect and provided with real learning opportunities. Inclusive education is about participation and equal opportunity for all. The aim of inclusive education is to create learning environments in which students naturally interact with one another through talking, sharing, and working together. The school is part of the wider community, and it is through being a member of this community that skills can be acquired and friendships can emerge (Ryba 1995, 54).

Arguably, friendship is an important component of inclusive education. This is because social relationships that SWDs form with other students are important for their cognitive, social, behavioural, communicative and emotional development. Recent research has attempted to identify the benefits of friendship and it has been found that friendship can foster the growth of social competence, provide emotional security in difficult and threatening situations, serve as a source of intimacy and affection, provide guidance and assistance, provide a sense of reliable alliance, and provide companionship and stimulation (Asher and Parker 1986, 6)**.**

Social exclusion

The concept of exclusion is complex, contradictory and confusing. Nevertheless, for inclusive education literature, exclusion is used to mean the opposite of inclusion (Ballard 2004b; Booth 1996). Based on this understanding, inclusion and exclusion are directly related. To be included is not to be excluded. To be excluded is not to be included. Exclusion and inclusion are two faces of the same coin. To understand one aspect requires an understanding of the other. If a student is not being included (or is not present, participating and learning) at school, they are experiencing exclusion. As Booth (1996) points out, exclusion occurs whenever the participation of students in the cultures and curricula of mainstream schools is decreased.

While there is much confusion surrounding the term and its use, in my study the use of the term exclusion will follow explanations from the inclusive education literature, and be based specifically on the definition of Booth (1996), who states that exclusion "is the process of decreasing the participation of students in the cultures and curricula of mainstream schools".

Concluding comment: significance of the study

The aim of this study is to understand conditions under which SWDs can develop beneficial social interactions and social relationships with other actors in inclusive schools in Lusaka, Zambia. The significance of this study is based on the assumption that nature does not give a guarantee to live without disability throughout our life span. Disability or physical impairment can be contracted at any time of our life course because of natural calamities such as earthquake, flooding and disease, or manmade calamites such as car accidents, airplane crash or other. These accidents are unconditional and happen without criteria as rich or poor, educated or illiterate, or others. Therefore, any kind of service provision needs to consider disability, and education is one of those. As such it is, important to understand the circumstances in which students with disabilities live in inclusive schools. Therefore, the findings of this study would provide an overview of factors to consider in creating positive school experiences for students with disabilities.

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical perspectives

This chapter presents theories that have informed the current study. The social interactions and social relationships between students with and without disabilities, teachers and parents in an inclusive setting have best been studied using different theoretical frameworks. Cunningham & Fleming (2009, 2) points out that theoretical frameworks form the "*the basis for social welfare's understanding of disability*". The study has used a social constructionist perspective drawing especially on insights from different strands of the literature in symbolic interactionism.

Social constructionism perspective

Social constructionism may be defined as a perspective, which perceives that most of human life revolves around social and interpersonal influences (Gergen 1985). Inspired by a social constructionist perspective my focus is on how people learn, through their interactions with each other, to classify the world and their place in it. In my examination of the research question, I treat interviewees as social beings who interact with each other and the physical world based on *shared meanings*, or shared understandings about the world (Crotty 1998). In this view, I have been interested in interviewees' understandings of disability and themselves from social interaction, and how these understandings shaped their subsequent social interactions.

Adopting a social constructionist, perspective I have taken as a basic assumption that there is no singular objective reality, no true reality exists 'out there' in the world, for example, bullying may be but constructed. There are, instead, the shared subjective realities that are created as people interact. As such, emphasis is placed on the existence of multiple social and cultural realities (Crotty 1998). In this vein, both persons and environments are dynamic processes, not static structures. There is no meaning of disability, inclusive education, social interaction or social relationship until actors construct it. Actors do not discover meaning, they make it. The meaning actors make is affected by their social interpretation of the phenomenon (Crotty 1998). In order to achieve data about the meaning attributed disability and inclusive education and how people interpret and respond or react to these phenomenon one useful/heuristic data collection strategy is to interview the main actors at the ground level; teachers and students.

Symbolic interactionism

In this thesis I use symbolic interactionism to inform the research design and data analysis. According to Crotty (1998, 4), the epistemology generally embedded in symbolic interactionism is thoroughly constructionist in nature. Symbolic interactionism is premised on the assumption that there are multiple perspectives of reality and that "human experience is mediated by interpretation. Objects, people, situations, and events do not possess their own meaning; rather, meaning is conferred to them" (Bogdan and Bilklen 1992, 36). Therefore, behaviour can be understood only by examining the defining process (Bogdan and Knoll 1995, 680). In addition, symbolic interactionism is based on the assumption that it is possible to study the "subjective states of others". This is accomplished by analysing the world from the participant's point of view. Understanding how meaning is constructed requires the researcher to be able to get close enough to the participants to really know them rather than attending to them at a distance (Bogdan and Knoll 1995, 681). Inspired by a symbolic interactionist perspective I was interested in the symbols that SWDs use to define their worlds, how they understand their social environment around them, and how that affected their behaviour and orientations to life.

Social construction of target populations

Schneider and Ingram (1993) in their study of social construction of target populations pointed out that society constructs either a positive or a negative symbol on different groups of people in a particular society creating a symbolic hierarchy. It is this symbolic hierarchy, which determine rights and duties, benefits and burdens bestowed on a particular group in a given society. For example, if a group of people in a given society is highly rated as valued and responsible is likely to attract good public policy. The opposite is the same for groups of people perceived as persons who are worthy of help and assistance from others, or as immoral persons and scroungers of the welfare state (Schneider and Ingram 1993). People in this category receive too little beneficial policy. Schneider and Ingram (1993) highly emphasis that the symbolic hierarchy is so important that it has to be respected by all and if for any reason public officials go against it in their distribution of benefits and burdens they risk large electoral favour.

This said, persons with disabilities in Zambia are often perceived as people who require charity (NPD 2015), dependents and incapable, this puts them at the lowest level of the symbolic

hierarchy. In Zambia, disability is often perceived through a traditional lens, which puts a negative symbolic label of worthlessness on persons with disabilities. This can be traced through its understanding of the origin of disability. Disability is seen to be because of wrongdoing, evil spirits, sin or witchcraft Muwana (2012). In this thesis, I am interested in whether and if so how such symbols find their way into inclusive schools as part of a large community and affect the efforts to achieve inclusive education.

Disability from a symbolic interactionist perspective

Social constructionism, with its links to the social model, is criticised on the account that the theoretical perspective does not recognise the objectivity of disability. It is built on the assumption that disability would be eradicated if society was changed in the appropriate ways. For example, it holds that persons with disabilities could do any job or anything if attitudes were changed, the environment was accessible and work was organised appropriately. It fails to recognise the limitations, which may result from impairment such as pain, which no amount of change to the social context can remove. Freund (2001, 690) observed that, although disability has been understood as a social construct, "at least partly, reside in an 'objective' impairment and not just the context in which a person is situated". This is the reason why most scholars seek to distinguish explanations of impairment and disability. Impairment is simply a bodily state, which defies the physicality of certain bodies with different capacities. For Gleeson (1996), impairment is a form of certainly embodies a given set of abilities which then affect real social capacities. Shakespeare (2006) argues that the social constructionist perspective does not take into account the people whose disability leave them completely dependent on care and medicine. He seems to suggest a perspective that combines both models, the medical and social, drawing best points from each to help overcome the barriers that disabled people still face.

Labelling theory and Goffman's theory of stigma

Labelling theory and Goffman's theory of stigma, which are associated with symbolic interactionism, provided an insight in my current study. Labelling is a process of stigmatisation in which those who do not comply with accepted behaviours are marked out for avoidance and

exclusion. Labelling theory perceives deviance as a social construct rather than an objective quality intrinsic to any particular act. According to Howard Becker in his book 'Outsiders', he describes deviants as people who are labelled as such. He further observed that the process of labelling has three parts namely the making of labels, the application of labels and the reaction to being labelled. Deviance, which is a collective action, is a 'consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender' (Becker 1963, 9). Deviance is defined as a socially constructed negative moral meaning that are situationally generated to describe behaviour and personal attributes perceived as different and disturbing to certain people. So deviance refers to the behaviours and attributes that people find problematic wherein the basis of such definitions lies on the definer's interests, which are felt to be jeopardised or threatened in some way by these acts or conditions (Pfuhl and Henry 1993, 22). In short, a deviant is a norm breaker and violates the norms or rules set out by a particular society or group. Becker (1963, 33) argues that the status of deviant is a 'master status' which overrides all other statuses in determining how others will behave towards one. This is to say, once a person is stigmatised by being labelled as deviant, a self-insight develops based on the perceptions of others 'perceiving and responding as deviant'. In my study, disability may be conceptualised as a "master status" that comes to dominant the student's self-perception. How the students master the status, however, is an empirical question. Does disability dominate and overshadow all their other statuses? Do the students try to downplay the importance of the disability or shift the focus to other statuses (e.g. as son, high performing student) and/or stress their similarities with non-disabled students?

According to Goffman (1963), stigma is a public mark; something which can be noticed by others and which results in a 'spoiled identity'. Stigma is the idea that somehow one is imperfect given the norms that the society has set for him or her (Goffman 1963). According to Goffman (1963,12), further argues that, although social intercourse between a "normal" and stigmatised person take place at various points spread across a time span, he was more interested in 'mixed contacts' these are immediate social contacts of a normal person with a stigmatised one in same the social situation. In such social intercourse, Goffman observed that both the normal and the stigmatised adjust their lives to avoid each other; but in most cases the adjustment is more on the part of the latter. These adjustments can be in many ways avoiding social contacts due to fear and anxiety of being rejected by the normal, cowering him/herself or portraying that he/she has bravado. Goffman's analysis focused on how people managed actual or potentially stigmatizing conditions in their relations with others.

In a counter reaction to Goffman, Bogdan and Taylor (1989) observed that today, the labelling theory and Goffman's theory of stigma seem to be over simplistic, one-sided, and inadequate and are not inevitable. Disability is not merely a label forced on people so defined; it can also be an identity and source of pride (Linton 1998; Longmore 2003). It is also argued that persons with disabilities are not only passive agents who willingly accept societal beliefs, attitudes, and stereotypes; they also can resist or even ignore the sentiments of the broader culture (Gabel 2005; Taylor 2000).

Goffman on impression management

Impression management (also called *self-presentation)* refers to the process by which people aim to control the impressions others form of them (Leary 1990). This plays an important role in interpersonal behaviour. However, sociologist Erving Goffman (1922-1982) was first to talk in terms of a dramaturgical perspective. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) Goffman used the theatre to demonstrate presentations of the self in social interaction. He treated individuals as performers, similar to actors on the stage of a theatre. He divided his framework into a *front stage* and a *back stage* by a *stage curtain*. On the stage is the *actor*, who is portraying a *role* by wearing a *costume, which* may or may not include a *mask* (*Goffman 1959)*. Also on stage are *other actors*. Here, there are several other actors grouped into a *chorus*. Offstage is the *audience,* who is judging the actor(s) behaviour within a given *setting*. Goffman (1959) seem to suggest that real reality is always offstage and behind closed doors, what people bring outside is mere acting. The theory has been useful in analysing how SWDs presented themselves to one another and before their peers and teachers. Additionally, Goffman's theory inspired me to ask what impression did the interviewees try to present to outsides like me, was it a history of pity or blaming others or was it a history of pride and personal achievements? Seen through the lenses of Goffman's theory I, the researcher took up the role of the audience. It also helped me to identify any mask they put on or strategy they used, on different occasions to influence how others looked at and treated them.

Based on the above assertion, the theories provided me with an avenue to explore the social interactions and social relationships between students with physical disabilities and other actors in their environment such as students without disabilities, teachers and families. This led me to ask additional questions that are more specific during the data collection and analysis: To what

extent did SWDs experience that they were stigmatised at school? How did they experience that others (teachers, students, family) perceived them?

The Interactions of Disability and Impairment: Stories of Different Embodiment

Coleman-Fountaine and McLaughlin (2013) advocated the use of symbolic interactionism to better attend to how actors' subjective experiences of the body emerge in the interplay between physical and cultural interaction. They call for the re-examination of the social model, which does not reflect the effect of impairment at the level of social interaction but instead amplifies what is perceived as disabling social environment. Their point of departure was why is it that some differences in the capacities and appearance of some bodies become significant in people's social position in the world rewarding some and discrediting others. They argue that within the everyday interactions and stories people tell, impairment and disability is produced (Coleman-Fountaine and McLaughlin 2013). By reviewing Goffman's work on stigma and other interactionists they examined how particular kinds of embodiment get framed as different, by who, in what context and the implication of those framings, stigma or otherwise (Coleman-Fountaine and McLaughlin 2013).

With the understanding of this puzzle, perhaps ways of minimizing or reversing the frame or stigma may be found. Goffman understood 'frames' as internalized social expectations that structure how events, or 'doings', are apprehended and understood. Goffman seem to suggest that stigma may be minimized by giving an example a family of a 'congenitally stigmatized child' who protected the child from 'stigmatizing definitions' so that child can maintain her or his own 'normal' sense of self. Nevertheless, the importance of impairment and interaction lies in its ability to influence self-identity and broader dynamics of power and inequality. As argued by Coleman-Fountaine and McLaughlin (2013: 134 "interactionism opens up a much needed concern with how individual actors interpret social situations and their embodied positions within them". When interpreting my data from Zambia Coleman-Fountaine and McLaughlin (2013) gave me an insight to the study as to how impairment is framed as disability through interaction and how students and parents try to reframe it (to dampen stigma).

Negotiated order theory

Another theory associated to symbolic interactionism that informed the study is the negotiated order theory developed by Anselm Strauss (1917-1996). It is premised on the understanding that all social order is a product of social interactions. It rejects the assertion that social orders are innately stable (Caryn 2002). It is further argued that, social structure of an organisation such as a school emerges through social interactions and negotiations among social actors (Caryn 2002); in our context between students with and without disabilities, teachers and parents. Organisations like schools were viewed as the result of many negotiations among members of the organisation. Because the participants operate in the same organisational context they have to work together to arrive at acceptable arrangements (Caryn 2002). Therefore, any disturbance to the context, such as a staff change, a change in social relationships, or a change in institutional practices or technology triggers renegotiation or reappraisal that can lead to the creation of a new social order (Caryn 2002). The actors may very well act out of self-interest but have to arrive at workable arrangements or find ways of interacting to maintain the social order at the school. The negotiated order theory provided my study with analytic tools to conceptualise how the education is "negotiated" and organized at a local school in Lusaka. The theory further motivated me to explore the social relationship and social interaction between students with physical disabilities and teachers outside classroom (Caryn 2002).

Concluding comment

The study has used a social constructionist perspective drawing especially on insights from different strands of the literature in symbolic interactionism. Mainly there are two analytical frameworks that I draw on; Anselm Strauss' negotiated order theory and Erving Goffman's theorization of strategic face-to-face interaction and impression management. While Goffman's perspective has drawn my attention to the strategic impression management and face-to-face interaction on the part of students with disabilities, Strauss' perspective has helped me to focus on how the interaction between the actor at the school (teachers, students, parents) and how they achieve "workable arrangements".

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodological strategies used in conducting the current research. It provides information on how the research was conducted by giving an accurate description with reference to research design, study site and gaining access, participants, recruitment of participants, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations. Research methodology is defined as 'the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes' (Crotty 1998, 3). The choice of the research methodology was highly influenced by the theoretical perspective adopted and the intended use of the data derived there in (Gray 2004). In keeping with a symbolic interaction method, the process of gathering and analysing data was an interactive one in which participants were actively involved. For example, semi structured interviews were used to allow me to draw reality of disability from participants through a face-to-face interaction.

Research Design

The choice of research tools to be used to explore a given method to phenomenon will depend on the objectives of a study (Varkenvisser et al 2003) or the research question. A qualitative study design makes it possible to understand why people act the way they do and, at the same time, provides a deeper insight into how they experience and interpret the world in which they live. This type of study also allows the participants to answer questions of an explorative nature such as why, what and how (Malterud 2008). The concepts of disability and inclusive education are dynamic; their meanings depend on social, cultural and individual aspects of life. As such, the uniqueness of individuals within a given social context needs to be addressed in order to gain a better understanding of the social conditions that enhance or inhibit social relationships between SWDs and other actors in an inclusive education setting. Therefore, a qualitative method was adopted for the current study in an effort to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the social relationships situation of SWDs at KB Boys School in Lusaka, Zambia. In-depth interviews, observations and document analysis were carried out to contextualize the findings and contribute to the understanding social relationships in an inclusive setting from different perspectives. The current study as qualitative in nature has the potential of enriching our understanding of the complex and multifaceted nature of social relationship in a school environment. I used this approach with a full understanding that

meaning develops only through social interaction with others. This means that meanings is constructed by humans in their social environment as such for the researcher to have access to these meanings s/he has to come close and spend time with the researched. People define situations by the contact and influence of others around them (Bogdan and Knoll 1995, 680). Furthermore, the approach was highly applicable in the identification conditions that enhance or inhibit social interactions and relationships between SWDs and other factors in an inclusive environment.

Study site and gaining access

My study site was KB Boys School located in Lusaka Zambia. It was established in 1954 to cater for the boarding needs of the colonial master's children (only white boys) (Mbewe 2007). In 1965 a year after Zambia got independence, the school incorporated black children of the then ruling elites. In the mid-1970s, the school was turned into a day school. At inception, the school enrolled only 35 students but as at July 2007, the school was open to the public with enrolment of about 2000 students (Mbewe 2007). The school became inclusive in 2005 after a tragic road accident, which affected another rural boy's boarding school on 8 April 2005. The inclusion was meant to facilitate specialised treatment of the boys, most of which were badly injured, at the highest referral hospital in the country. From 2005, the school has continued enrolling students with mild physical disabilities. Only students with physical disabilities are offered boarding facilities while the rest are Day Scholars. At the time of the study, the school had a total enrolment of 3600 students out of which 23 were physical disabled, with staffing of 91 teachers out of which 3 are specialised special needs teachers. KB Boys School is one of biggest day school in the country. Single sex and co-education schools are common in the country.

Convenience is a factor when selecting a study site. Payne and Williams (2011) proposed that study site in qualitative research should be selected for its convenience of access. Accessibility of the area should be given optimal consideration. Convenience also implies that consideration of the site can be determine by the availability of resources and subject of study in question. The choice of the study in the current study was guided by the following reasons.

There are many schools in Lusaka that provide educational services to SWDs, but for the sake of this study, I contacted KB Boys High School. The rationale behind this choice is that it is one of biggest schools that offer inclusive education in the country as such has a rich history

regarding inclusion. Based on these characteristics the study site was highly informative to the study. The study site was also easily accessible as it was located in close proximity to where I live. Meaning I was able to conduct the study with the limited resources available.

In order to gain access into the study site, I went through the enquiry, where I was directed to the Deputy Head Teacher as the office in charge of such matters, she is the authority, and she is in this case a legitimate gatekeeper (Seidman 2013). I was granted permission to conduct my study and she introduced me to the Boarding Master, the office directly responsible for welfare of SWDs. Seeking permission was fundamental for preservation of professional integrity in the conduct of social research (Merriam 2009). I provided information about the study to all potential participants in written form, through the Boarding Master before I made any contact with them. I asked them to contact me by phone or meet me 2 days later outside their hostels between 13 00hrs to 14 00hrs if they were willing to take part in the study. Out of the 23 potential participants, 12 were willing, I then recruited 7 participants randomly.

Participants

The study had three categories of participants, which included the Deputy Head teacher (1), Class Teachers (1), and SWDs (7) at KB Boys High School in Lusaka, Zambia. The key participants or informants in this study were SWDs, who provided an account of social processes that enhance or inhibit their social interactions and relationships between SWDs and other actors in an inclusive setting and coping strategies they have developed in order to achieve their educational goals. The study focused on male students with physical disabilities aged between 15 and 18, who can effectively communicate verbally. The rationale behind this choice was that the age group had been in school longer and would provide the study with their experience overtime. The study focused on only male physically challenged students because the study was carried out at a boys' school, which enrolls only students with mild physical disabilities.

The study also collected supplementary data from the Deputy Head Teacher and a Class Teacher. The Deputy Head Teacher and Class Teacher accounted for the school policies and institutional practices in the school. The data from these actors provided data about the school that was not available from public documents or the students.

As has been highlighted, this study had ten participants in total. I took into consideration the aim of my study along with Seidman's (2013, 54) recommendation that the purpose for having few participants is to "present the experience of the SWDs in compelling enough detail and in satisfactory depth that those who read the study can connect to that experience, learn how it is constituted, and deepen their understanding of the issues it reflects."

Sampling

The selection of the participants was based on their ability to provide in-depth information about the topic under study, referred to as purposive sampling (Patton 2002). Such sampling makes it possible to find participants that will reflect on the topic and the data will enlighten the objectives of the study by consisting of relevant and adequate information.

The size of the sample in a qualitative study depends on the complexity of the questions, how relevant the purposive sampling has been and the quality of the information found through the data collection process (Malterud 2008). The exact number of participants in this study was determined during the data collection. Further data analysis was done throughout the data collection process, and a saturation point was reached when new data did not contribute to new knowledge. Nine participants were recruited for this study: seven (7) SWDs, one (1) deputy head teacher, and one (1) class teacher. Parents of SWDs, siblings and students without disabilities were not included in the study with an understanding social model of disability, which advocates that persons with disabilities themselves (Barnes 2004) should control research in disability issues. Making SWDs as key participants in a study is in a way giving them control over the study.

Data Collection

The current study used three basic data collection methods namely: interviews, document analysis and direct observations.

Interviews

"The qualitative research interview is a construction site for knowledge. An interview is literally an interview, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme

of mutual interest" as pointed out by (Kvale 1996, 14). The method proved to be effective research instruments for gathering deep insights about how people experience, feel and interpret the social world (Mack et al 2005). In-depth interviews with SWDs, deputy head teacher and class teacher were conducted. A semi-structured interview guide with themes was used, giving room for flexibility. Open-ended and probing questions were used to facilitate free responses in the participants' own words.

Interviews with the deputy head teacher and SWDs were conducted in English, as English is the official language of Zambia. I did the interview by myself without an assistant. The interviews went on well, though some of the interviewees mostly SWDs had difficulties in speaking because of impairment. Nevertheless, with patience I was able to get their views about the topic. Finally, in order not to miss out on data collected from interviews, I took notes and digitally recorded the interview process.

Interview guide

An interview guide is a list of the questions or themes that will be explored during an interview, and provides a systematic way of approaching the issues under study (Patton, 2002). Three different interview guides were used in this study: one SWDs, deputy head teacher and class teacher (Appendix).

Interview settings

Interviews with SWDs were conducted in their hostels while the deputy head teacher and class teacher were conducted in their offices. The hostel environment of the SWDs was chosen in an effort to interview the participants in a familiar atmosphere where they would feel safe and free. Moreover, conducting the interviews within the hostel made it more convenient for the students to participate by taking up less of their time. It also provided me with information about the hostel environment and contributed to a more comprehensive understanding condition that encourage or hinder the development of social relationship in an inclusive education related to their living environment. Conducting interviews in someone's living environment creates challenges, especially in terms of anonymity. On my way to the hostels, I met many curious individuals who wanted to know who I was and what I was doing in the hostels. Those who I met, I told them about my mission and they seemed to have appreciated.

All interviews took between 45 minutes to 1 hour. The interviews were conducted in mostly convenient places of the interviewees. This preserved the data quality as the interviews fitted into their daily schedule and not vice versa.

Transcription of interviews

To transcribe interviews means to transform the oral content of what people have been sharing into written form (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). All interviews in this study were transcribed word-for-word. I took me two months to transcribe all the recorded interviews. It took so long because for some of the SWDs I had to rewind several times because their speech was not clear owing to impairment.

Direct observation

My study also used direct observation as a data collection tool. I negotiated with the school authority to observe or uncover social interactions and social relationships between students with and without disabilities in the classroom, library, sports grounds and dining hall, as presented by participants in their natural setting. Anderson, Herr, and Nihlen (1994, 129) suggests that observations help to "demystify what is actually going on as opposed to what one might hope or assume is happening". Direct observation helped me understand and capture the social context within which students with and without disabilities interact; see and I also discovered social processes that participants may not pay attention to or reluctant to talk about in an interview. The data collection tool further allowed me to (critical issues) go beyond the selective views of the participants (Patton 2002). I recorded observations of each day at the end of each field day. The nature of my observation did not in any way distort people's daily interactions. However, being part of the environment under observation poses challenges, both in terms of influencing the surroundings to some degree just by being present, and also in terms of only seeing or hearing findings which are interesting. It is possible that one can miss or misinterpret information that is critical to the research (Patton 2002). Nevertheless, it worked for the research, as part of the environment I sought clarification on issues I was not clear.

Document analysis

The study also utilized data from policy documents, reports, journals and other printed and electronic sources. Electronic sources were searched from databases such as BIBSYS, Google Scholar, Google, Academic Search Premier and ORIA. By definition, a document is any substance that gives information about the investigated phenomenon and exists independently of the researcher's actions. It is normally produced for specific purposes other than those of the research but the researcher can use it for cognitive purposes (Corbetta 2003). This is to say that some of the documents I used in this study were not produced for the purpose of this study. They were books, reports and policy documents related to social interactions and social relationships between students with and without disabilities. Based on Yin (2003,87), document analysis helped me to collaborate or argue evidence from other data sources. For example, I was able to link data collected from interviews to data provided in National Educational policies (1972, 1977, 1996) and National Policy on Disability (2015) and other relevant sources. The other rationale for using document analysis is advance by Corbetta (2003) who pointed out that documents have advantage over other technique because they are as non-reactive as such are not subject to a possible distortion as a result of the interaction between the researcher and the respondent like in interviews. As such, document analysis added on to the accuracy of data collected. The quality of data collected is cardinal for validity. The documents provided greater insight to this study by supplementing on data obtained through interviews and observation.

Data Analysis

After collecting data through interviews, document analysis and direct observation, I conducted several procedures common to thematic analysis. I did not take data analysis as a detached aspect of the research process rather as part of data production. This is to say during interviews and document analysis; I identified concepts and elements that provided insight into the study. Concepts that were connected to the social relationships between students with and without disabilities, between teachers and SWDs, and between caregivers and SWDs were taken note of while searching for new ones. As already mentioned, I used thematic analysis to process my data in this study. According to Braun (2006) thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. According to Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, 310), themes can be expressed in a single word, a phrase, a sentence, a paragraph, or an

entire document. The rationale behind the use of this method is that it is relatively flexible and straight forward and has the potential of producing quality results. Below is the presentation of six steps that I undertook in process of data analysis.

Stage 1: Familiarisation of data

Stage one involved familiarising with the data by actively reading repeatedly searching for meanings and patterns. In order to achieve the objective of this stage I put together all my data from documents, field notes and transcribed interviews. The act of transcribing provided me with a series of listening typing and rewinding the audio player several times. The process was difficult, tedious, boring and time consuming (Riessman 1993), but it paid off as the interview scenes were vividly recaptured into my memory as if I was re-interviewing my research participants. After transcribing, I made hard copies of the transcripts and matched them with corresponding field notes and notes made from document analysis. I read and re-read the materials several times and prepared an initial list of idea from the data.

Stage 2: Generating initial codes

Through familiarisation in Stage 1, I was able to generate a list of initial ideas interesting about the data. At stage two, I developed initial codes from initial ideas through the process of coding. Coding is part of analysis (Miles et al 1994), as it facilitates the organisation of data into meaningful groups (Tuckett 2005). The specific product of this stage was coded and collated (collected and ordered) data, a long list of different codes identified from across the data set.

Stage 3: Searching for themes

After generating a long list of different codes from the data set, I developed themes. The themes were developed by analysing codes, and consider how different codes combined to form themes. I used visual representations for effective sorting of different codes into themes as advised by (Braun 2006). I wrote the name of each code on a separate piece of paper and play around with organising them into theme-piles. Some codes emerged as main themes while others sub-themes.

Stage 4: Reviewing themes

This phase involved two levels of reviewing and refining themes. At the first level, I read all the collated extracts for each theme and ensured its coherent pattern (Braun 2006). The second level involved reviewing and refining the entire data set. At this point I consider validity of individual themes in relation to the entire data set by ensuring that candidate thematic maps accurately and reflected the meanings evident in the data as a whole (Braun 2006). I sought to link the themes to the theoretical analytic approaches in use in this study.

Stage 5: Defining and naming themes

At this stage, I considered the names of themes in the final analysis. I sought to provide names that are concise, punchy, and immediately gives the reader an idea of its content (Braun 2006).

Stage 6: Producing the report

At this stage with well worked out themes I provided the final analysis and wrote the report. I ensured that the final analysis was concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive, and provided an interesting account of the story the data tells within and across themes as recommended by Braun (2006). I linked analytical narrative to thick descriptions in order to provide the merit and validity of the analysis. At this stage, I produced a report that could be presented or published.

Ethical Considerations

I took recognition that my research involved *human participants*. As posited by Punch (2005), the current study involved collecting data from people, about people. As such, I applied for professional approval and institutional clearance from NSD Data Protection Office for Research in Norway. Data collection only began after I was cleared. The rationale behind this undertaking was to maintain professional integrity in the process of carrying out social research. I also observed specific ethical considerations to individual study participants (Chambliss and Russell 2013, 201; National Committee for Research Ethics in Norway 2006).

Participants' Integrity, freedom and right to participation

As research involving human participants, it was necessary to recognize their integrity, freedom and right to participate. Participants are not passive objects. Hence, they need to be able to influence what happens to them in important areas of their lives (National Committee for Research Ethics in Norway 2006). I took effort to respect the dignity, and integrity of participants. I exercised some patience and acceptance of participants who failed to stick to interview schedule by allowing for several postponements. As interviews with SWDs were conducted in the student's hostels as suggested by the participants, several interruptions were experienced with visiting friends. I further exercised patience by holding on to the interview and only resume when the visitor left the room. In the same vein, interviews with teachers were conducted in busy offices where interruptions were unavoidable; still I was able to accept the situation. All interviews lasted between 45minutes to 1 hour, this is based on the assumption that a longer duration without breaks would tire the participant and affect the quality of the data.

Informed Consent

Shahnazarian (2013) defines informed consent as a voluntary agreement to participate in research. The principle of informed includes the avoidance of unnecessary deception. Deception did not play any role in this study. All participants were given truthful and full information regarding the purposes and procedures of this research.

In order to uphold the principle of informed consent, I provided full information about the research to all potential participants in form of a written consent form. Included in the consent form was clear contact details of both I (researcher) and my supervisor in case any participant wished to have a clarification about the research.

Apart from me making an initial approach to the Deputy Head Teacher of KB Boys School, information was given to all potential participants in written form, before I made any contact with them. In addition, asked them to contact me if they were willing to participate in the study. Those that contacted me I recruited them into the study.

Before the beginning of each interview, participants were given the opportunity to discuss the details of the research and ask question for clarification. In addition, I requested for a written *informed consent* from participants, without coercion of any sort in order to adhere to research

integrity as well as respect for their dignity, as well as norms and charters of indigenous society as pointed out by (Creswell 2013). I also requested for consent from caregiver (Deputy Head Teacher), for participants below the age of 18. At no time did I coerce any participant into taking part in the research.

Anonymity and confidentiality

For the purpose of this study, the term anonymity was used to mean that the research site and any data gathered during the process of the research would not be linked with names, or with any other factors that would identify the research participants (Salkind 2009) and the research site. In order to protect the anonymity of participants in the study, some safety measures were taken. Information collected was kept in a key and lock in my house and identification codes were used. No real names were used on any printed material or audio material or transcribed interview material in the laptop. Audio data and transcribed material in the computer could only be accessed by the use of a password. When reporting the data, all participants were assigned a number, for example, 'Student 1'. When describing the background information of participants, care was taken not to provide any information that would make participants and the school identifiable.

For the purpose of this research, the term confidentiality was used to mean that what was discussed was not repeated or publicized in any way, and kept in confidence (Wiles et al 2006). Therefore, confidentiality was not offered to research participants in this study, as it would be impossible to keep. As Wiles et al (2006, 1) states," in the research context, confidentiality as it commonly understood makes little sense". This is because unless researchers are going to keep all data to themselves, and not publish it in theses or articles, they cannot offer confidentiality. I did the transcription by myself so no other person had the link between data and the names.

Minimization of harm

Researchers have an ethical obligation to ensure that they identify any potential for risk or harm to participants. The harm could be physical, psychological, social and economic, which may provide pain, cultural dissonance and exploitation, distress, fatigue, stress, and embarrassment. There was potential for harm to participants in this study (Massey University 2004). Students

with physical disabilities may have suffered psychological harm in recalling experiences of negative interactions and social relationships. This was minimized by informing the participant prior to the interviews to be at rebate not to answer any question that they felt uncomfortable with, or withdrawing from the interview at any time.

No harm to participants in relation to physical or economic issues was identified. Finally, I have paid attention to how the interviewees are presented in the thesis to ensure that I have avoided adding insult to injury (for instance by victim blaming or exposing students or teachers to risks of negative sanctions of any kind in the aftermaths of the publication of the thesis).

Using appropriate language when addressing participants especially in the thesis is an ethical issue. Language has the potential to convey respect or hate. The use of appropriate language to address persons with disabilities is an important tool in minimising harm. In Zambia, the most appropriate term is "people with disabilities" or "persons with disabilities", because of its emphasis on "putting the person first" (ZGF 2013). In United Kingdom, the most appropriate way of addressing the same group of people is 'disabled people' based on the assumption that people are "disabled by the society in which they live" (Pothier and Devlin 2006). My thesis used much of the Zambian version of 'students with disabilities' with few 'disabled people'. The use of any of the versions is not in any way to demean persons with disabilities but rather facilitate the discussion.

Storing of collected data

Data materials were kept in key and lock in my house and were stored separate from any key information that would link participants to the material. The participants were given codes (student 1) when verbal material was transcribed and stored to avoid recognition of participants. Names of individuals and places were changed in the transcribed material to secure anonymity.

Concluding comment: reflection on my role on study site and how it influenced the data collection and analysis

As Bodgan and Bilklen (2007) point out, "No matter how much you (researcher) try, you cannot divorce your research and writing from your past experiences, what you believe, and what you value. Being a clean slate is neither possible nor desirable". Therefore, it is imperative for me to provide my background and experiences that influenced this thesis. Prior to this study, I had taught at primary school for 16 years as a class teacher. I am not trained in special education but in many occasions, I had a privilege of teaching SWDs. I experienced a lot of challenges and successes in teaching an inclusive class. From the above experience, I decided to study the implementation of inclusive policies in Lusaka, Zambia, order to learn more about disability.

Consistent with the symbolic interactionism, my study took up a qualitative design, data was collected using interactive data collection methods such semi structured interviews (with a topic guide) and direct observation supplemented by document analysis of mainly policy documents. Participants comprised of seven students with disabilities, one deputy head teacher and one class teacher recruited using purposive sampling technique. Ethical considerations were followed as prescribed by NSD Data Protection Office for Research in Norway. The entry into the study site was smooth; the Deputy Head who introduced me to the participants through the relevant teacher welcomed me. Students were overwhelmed when I told them the purpose of my visit. Their first impression about was, probably I went there to learn of their problems and intervention. Probably these thought I was from some Non-Government organisation. This would have affected the quality of data collected. To resolve this misunderstanding, I categorically told the participants that, the data I was collecting was purely for academic purposes and anything further than that.

CHAPTER FOUR

Social interactions and social relationship between students with and without disabilities

This chapter examines social interactions and social relationships between students with and without disabilities. It reviews appropriate literature and then presents evidence of my findings. Some of the sub themes that emerged from data included benefits of social relationships to both students with and with disabilities, inaccessible buildings, exclusion of SWDs, no mobile phones or laptops, participation in extra-curricular and classroom arrangement. Findings provided an insight on how living conditions for students with disabilities at a local school (inclusive school) could be improved.

Benefits of social relationship

The ability to develop and maintain friendships is critical to the success of inclusion. One may not ripe the benefit of friendship unless he/she has the ability develop and maintain it. Some research has been done in this area.

Most studies from the United Kingdom, Norway and Zambia provided mixed views on the degree to which students with disability struggle with friendship. In two studies, Avramadis (2012) examined the friendships of primary school students with and without disabilities in England. The study reported that though students with disabilities were not as popular as their peers with without disabilities they were 'equally likely to be members of the friendship clusters of the class and occupied similar levels of network centrality' as their peers without disabilities (Avramadis 2010, 413).

In contrast, Frostad and Pijl (2007) conducted a study on Norwegian inclusive classrooms and found that about one-quarter of SWDs had serious difficulties forming relationships with students without disabilities, while this situation was true for only 8% of students without disabilities. Several studies found that within the group of SWDs; students diagnosed as having autistic spectrum disorders and students diagnosed as having serious behavioural disorders had difficulties making friendships with students without disabilities and were at risk of becoming isolated in the classroom (Chamberlain, Kasari, and Rotheram-Fuller 2007; De Monchy, Pijl,

and Zandberg 2004; Garrison-Harrell, Kamps, and Kravits 1997). However, students with mild disabilities reported that they were more satisfied in their social relationships with their peers than their typical counterparts (Taylor, Asher, and Williams, 1987, cited in Gresham and McMillan, 1997), who reported significantly higher loneliness scores (Heiman and Margalit 1998; Lackaye and Margalit 2006; Pavri and Monda-Amaya 2000; Williams and Asher 1992).

In addition, Muwana (2012) in her study in Zambia concluded that inclusive education benefited both students with and with disabilities socially and academically. Robinson et al (2014) also reported that positive social relationships between students with and without disabilities were one of the most important building blocks to the success of inclusive education.

My findings were in agreement with (Muwana 2012; Avramadis 2010 and 2012; and Robinson et al 2014), and provided evidence to show that students with physical disabilities had no problems developing beneficial social relationships with their peers without disabilities. SWDs in my study reported that they had a positive social relationship with their peers without disabilities. SWDs mentioned that they had friends both among students with and without disabilities. They reported that they would not achieve their educational goals in an inclusive setting without social support from their peers without disabilities. The benefits as indicated by students were categorised as social, academic, sense of belonging and connection for life in the larger society.

Social benefits.

SWDs highlighted some social benefits that accrued to them and their peers without disabilities in an inclusive setting because of established social relationships between them and their peers without disabilities. In answering the question, 'What do you do with your friends without disabilities outside school hours?' One student said,

> *"Joking, laughing and encouraging one another"* (Student 6).

Joking and laughing together during free time benefit both students with and without disabilities. In the process of joking and laughing the difference as to who is with and without disabilities is neutralised. Through peer interactions, SWDs had developed and improved their interpersonal, leadership, and communication skills. Two out of the seven students reported that they were prefects. A prefect is a student leader appointed by the school authority. The

eligibility criteria are based on excellent academic performance and discipline. The major role of a prefect is to assist teachers to enforce school rules. They could also punish fellow students. The assumption was that SWDs in an inclusive school learnt to compete favourably with their peers without disabilities. Taking up leadership roles gave SWDs confidence that they could be in charge of persons without disabilities even in adulthood. In responding to the question, 'What are your ambitions?' One student (prefect) said,

> *"I want to do law and information Technology; I also wish to become President of this country"* (Student 6).

His ambition to become president of Zambia could be as a result the experience he gained in student leadership (prefect) at an inclusive school, which turns out to be one of the benefit of being at an inclusive school.

For SWDs, making and maintaining school friendships and other relationships with peers without disabilities can be a source of pleasure and pride (Robinson et al 2014).

Students without disabilities also benefited from those social relationships, as students interact and "socialize" with their peers with disabilities, they learn about individual differences and gain knowledge about disabilities. They learn that SWDs are like them and worth associating. Their peers had an opportunity to befriend them, and develop an inclusive understanding of diversity, which they take forward into their adult lives (Robinson et al 2014). Through interactions, students without disabilities get first-hand information on the causes of some disabilities and learn to avoid them. Positive social relationships between the two groups contribute to the success of inclusion, as all students are happy, feel accepted and valued.

Academic benefits

SWDs reported that they benefited from the opportunity to participate in the same academic activities as their peers without disabilities when they were placed in general education settings. They acknowledged that learning alongside their peers without disabilities encouraged them to work hard. For example, one student said,

> "*I am motivated by the academic skills of my friends without disabilities to work hard"* (Student 1).

Many students noted that inclusion encouraged the spirit of "competition" among students. Zambian educational system is very competitive because of the limited number of school places in higher grades. Good grades are a prerequisite to the achievement of educational goal. Students have to score high grades in order to secure a place at the next level of education. SWDs believed that by competing with students without disabilities, they would be "forced" to work hard and would "end up getting the same grades or even better grades than their peers. Some of the academic benefits are that they studied together and shared study material. Through studying together and sharing study materials students with and without disabilities shared knowledge, which was key to succeed in an examination.

Students without disabilities were also challenged by the academic performance of SWDs and were encouraged to work harder. Most of the students with disabilities indicated that their academic performance was very good in certain subjects. One student said,

> *"I am the best in biology and my friends consult me"* (Student 3).

When students without disabilities see their peers with disabilities doing well academically, they were motivated to work hard.

Sense of belonging and connection

A sense of belonging relates to the symbolic spaces which feel familiar, comfortable and secure, and to which a person feels emotionally attached (Robinson et al 2014, 7). A sense of belonging and connection at school is an important component of broader school inclusion for all students. Research has shown that students who feel more accepted, included and involved in their school were more likely to be engaged in classroom learning, in extracurricular activities, in interpersonal relationships, and in the wider school community (McMahon et al 2008). Positive social relationships between students with and without disabilities enhance the sense of belonging. One student said,

> *"Here it is good; I like this school because of equal opportunity thing. We are not segregated we learn with our peers who are able bodied in the same classroom. And are also given time to study"* (Student 6).

Most students reported that they were happy at their current school than other inclusive schools they went to earlier in their educational trajectories. Sense of belonging and connection are an

important aspect of a successful inclusive school. When sense of belonging and connection are threatened, there are several areas in which the impact is seen, and this directly affects inclusion. Relationships are impaired, resulting in students lacking friends, feeling lonely, and being excluded. Their strengths are not recognized, school spaces are controlled, and there are tensions in negotiating support relationships (Robinson et al 2014). With this kind of situation, most SWDs may drop of out of school or prefer special school and ultimately inclusion may not succeed.

Inaccessible infrastructure

There is overwhelming evidence in literature to suggest that inaccessible built environment is a major challenge in the implementation of inclusive education (Chirwa 2012; Muwana 2012; Madsø 2013; Phiri 2013 and Riddell et al 2005). Madsø (2013) conducted a qualitative study in Livingstone, Zambia to explore the experience of young persons with disabilities, with education. Participants were 17 young adults with physical disabilities. Data was collected through interviews and direct observation. Madsø (2013) reported that most SWDs dropped out of school because of inaccessible buildings. SWDs lamented, that some classrooms were upstairs inaccessible to them as wheelchair users.

Similarly, Phiri (2013) conducted a study on High school students with disabilities in Zimbabwe, and found that most students missed classes because some classrooms were upstairs inaccessible to them.

In agreement with (Chirwa 2012; Muwana 2012; Madsø 2013; Phiri 2013 and Riddell et al 2005) my study provided evidence to support the assertion that inaccessible building is a major challenge in the implementation of inclusive education and has a bearing on social interaction and relationships between students with and without disabilities. The infrastructure of the school in the study was built in the 1950s long before the thought of inclusive education, since then no major renovation has taken place, to accommodate the needs of SWDs. The school library and some classrooms is upstairs inaccessible to SWDs. The block of classrooms and the student hostels is about 200 meters apart, and the road, which connects the two, is too old and warn out with potholes, a wheelchair user can hardly navigate through independently. One student said,

"One of the challenges we face here as wheelchair users is the location of the library it is upstairs inaccessible to us (Student 6)".

The school library, which is a very important aspect of any school system, is upstairs, and inaccessible to SWDs. SWDs indicated that previously frantic efforts had been made to negotiate with the teachers and the school authority, to relocate the library to a room downstairs, but the efforts were largely ignored as nothing has been done. Their response had been non-availability of a suitable room for a library downstairs and always promised to look into the matter. One student said,

"*Yes the library, it is upstairs. We tried to talk to the former Head Teacher and he said that there was no appropriate room down stairs, and we were told to wait. As for the new Head Teacher, we have not yet tried" (Student 6).*

This situation made some SWDs crawl through the stairs to the library, or influence their peers without disabilities to manually lift them up and down the stairs. I witnessed the lifting of a student manually but not the crawling. SWDs reported that they were in their final year and preparing for their final examinations so they preferred to study from the library where there was little interruption. Manual lifting could be a health and safety hazard. Teachers and the school authority were fully aware of these developments but no intervention measures have been put in place. SWDs had no choice but to visit the library frequently to study or copy notes missed in class. This is because students did not have personal textbooks and only a few textbooks were found in the library. Teachers reported that the limited funding received by the school was not enough to buy textbooks for all 3600 students in each subject, instead the school buys few copies that are accessed through the library, and textbooks were restricted from borrowing and could only be used in the library. Some students may have their own personal textbooks or borrow from friends but occasionally needed other references to consolidate their understanding. It was equally important for SWDs to be in a room specifically designed for studying which provided minimum interrupts. It was for these reasons that SWDs made an effort to visit the library. The inaccessibility of the library further limited the opportunities for students with and without disabilities to study together, interact and develop social relationships.

The other implication of inaccessible library and poor road between hostels and classrooms in the development of social relationships were that SWDs would take up a dependent position in

the relationship vulnerable to manipulation. In a bid to describe the social relationship between students with and without disabilities, one teacher said,

> *"The relationship [between students with and without disabilities] is good for example whoever finds a student with disability struggling with a wheel would wheel him to whatever place he is going even when he was going in the opposite direction"* (Teacher 1).

Students without disabilities wheeling SWDs was a common sight around the school when I visited. The government did not employ personal assistants in government run schools; as such, SWDs entirely depended on voluntary help of their peers without disabilities who may not be available all the time. The school authority encouraged all the boys to provide help to SWDs when they needed it. One student said,

> *"Because of the kind of disabilities I have I cannot push myself on a wheelchair, so friends push me, even when I want to go to the toilet they wheel me. In class they help me copying notes and packing my books into the bag*" (Student 6).

Most students indicated that they did nothing to their friends in order to receive the help. They were helped freely, but in one exceptional case the student said,

> *"Some ask for payments and I give them money. For writing notes I pay Ten Zambian Kwacha (equivalent to $1) and typing the project (Assignment) I paid K80 ($8)"* (Student 7).

If such things are happening it is discriminatory as most of SWDs come from poor families, and may not afford to pay for every notes written or typed for them, drawing from Goffman's impression management theory, perhaps the student wanted to present himself with pity or as a victim of circumstances to the researcher, in order to solicit help. Because of the absence of personal assistant, the school did not enrol students with severe disabilities. The deputy head teacher said,

> *"We do not enrol students who cannot do anything, whose life is entirely dependent on others. What we try to avoid is student with disabilities to burden others. Some parents even insist that, they pay someone (a personal assistant) to take care of their child but we do not agree because this is against government regulations*" (Teacher 1).

The absence of personal assistants in the Zambian School System is not consistent with the principles of inclusion. If students with severe physical disabilities were denied enrolment on account of disability it is a violation of the Persons with Disabilities Act No 6 of 2012 which is anchored on respect, dignity, rights and non-discrimination of persons with disabilities. The situation is worsened by the denial of parents who may afford to employ a private personal assistant for their children. The non-availability of personal assistants could be the reason why students maintained that they would not achieve their educational goals without assistance from their peers without disabilities. The absence of personal assistance in government schools further explains the small population of SWDs in schools as those with severe cases might not go to school. The Ministry of Education reported that SWDs make up 5.1% of all students in grades 1–9, but just 1.58% access grades 10–12 (Sightsavers 2013).

The other aspect that inhibit social interactions and development of social relationships between students with and without disabilities is the denial of SWDs to choose a combination of subjects they wanted to study; instead, the school authority chooses subjects for them depending on their ability to access classrooms where those subjects are taught. In trying to explain the reason behind choosing subjects for SWDs.

One teacher said,

> "*Infrastructure is a challenge for example, some Grade 10 classrooms are upstairs inaccessible to students with physical disabilities. Therefore, what we do is to choose a combination of subjects for SWDs, those subjects whose classroom are downstairs. No matter how much a student with disabilities wants a certain subject if the classroom where it is taught is upstairs he cannot be allowed"* (Teacher 1).

The subjects that were taught upstairs were metalwork and woodwork. Failure to study these particular optional subject did not affect the certification of SWDs as long as they passed in any five subjects including English. The only effect was that SWDs were denied choice. The educational policy 'Educating Our Future' of 1996 advocated for inclusion of SWDs into general classes but the wording 'To the greatest extent possible the ministry will integrate pupils with special educational needs into mainstream institutions…' (Ministry of Education 1996, 67) the words 'to the greatest extent possible' leave room for non-compliance.

The idea of choosing subjects for SWDs have an effect on the interaction and development of social relationships between students with and without disabilities, in that classes down stairs had more SWDs as such interaction and development of social relationships was dominant to

SWDs within themselves. At the end, SWDs will have more friends among themselves as opposed to their peers without disabilities. There was an element of discrimination in that SWDs were denied choice because of their disability while their peers had free choice. It also narrows their career choice, for example, they may not pursue engineering whose prerequisite is metalwork.

Exclusion of Students with Disabilities

The physical separation between students with and without disabilities is evident in literature. Clark, Dyson, Millward, and Robson (1999) carried out a case study to examine the translation of inclusive policy into inclusive practice in Australian secondary schools and found that SWDs were placed in their own physical classroom, or in a separate building from other students. They reported that this often happened when students were ability grouped and that this 'segregated them from their peers almost as though they were placed in a separate institution. There are many areas in which students with and without disabilities are physical separated. Whatever the reasons, it had a negative effect on both groups.

My findings were consistent with (Clark, Dyson, Millward, and Robson 1999) and provided evidence to show that physical separation of students with and without disabilities in an inclusive school at a local school affected the development of social relationship between the two groups. Some of the areas in which students were physically separated included residences, the dining hall, participation in extra-curricular (school sports and school trips), and classroom arrangements.

There were both formal and informal designated areas in the school for students with and without disabilities. All SWDs were in boarding while all their peers were day scholars coming from home. Students with and without disabilities had separate residences. Students without disabilities spent limited time in the school premises; they came to school almost at the start of lessons and left the school premises soon after school hours.

Another area in which SWDs were physically separated with their peers reported by the SWDs were in the dining hall. The dining hall, a place where students with physical disabilities took their meals was a rare sight for students without disabilities. There were no school rules that restrained students without disabilities to access the dining hall rather than its location, unattractive poor diet and dilapidated infrastructure. SWDs spent their break time and lunch

break in the dining hall among themselves while students without disabilities spent break time and lunch break in the classroom block area sharing packed meals among themselves.

Social relationships are better developed during free time such as after school hours, weekends and public holidays. To confirm this assertion (Geisthardt, Brotherson and Cook 2002) examined the social experiences of SWDs in their home and neighbourhood. The participants were 28 SWDs and their families. The SWDs were 16 females and 12 males from 26 families. The majority of the families were two parent, Caucasian families. Data was collected through family interviews, home observations and written questionnaires.

Geisthardt, Brotherson and Cook (2002) found that SWDs had very few contact with peers outside school hours. They had very little contact outside school with friends. The authors concluded that friendships or social relationships were better developed during free times.

My findings were consistent with (Geisthardt, Brotherson and Cook 2002) though my study was conducted in an inclusive school while (Geisthardt, Brotherson and Cook 2002) was at home. My study provided evidence to show that SWDs had little contact with their peer in their free time, after school hours including weekends and public holidays. As already mentioned earlier, students with disabilities were in the boarding while their peers were day scholars. Students without disabilities rarely came to school on public holidays and weekends and spent their free time at home while their peers with disabilities spent their weekends and public holidays within the hostels among themselves. There was no planned arrangement to have these groups meet and socialize at these critical free times. Going out of school into the community to visit friends had its own share of challenges. A SWDs needed permission with a convincing reason for permission to be granted. Permission would not easily be given; the movement of SWDs was restricted because of safety. Even if, permission was granted, stood another challenge related to public transport system. It meant that any movement outside school was to be well thought out; going out without permission was punishable.

For example, the Deputy Head said,

> *"Recently, students were catch drinking beer in the nearby community among them was student with disabilities, I suspended all"* (Teacher 1).

Beer drinking (substance abuse) and going out of bounds without permission is prohibited in Zambian schools and is punishable by suspension or expulsion. The challenge of transport to persons with disabilities in Zambia is worth explaining.

Private individuals, largely motivated by maximization of profits, ran the public transport system in Zambia. Local transport within a city used small minibuses (Toyota Hiace). These vehicles are used car (second hand) designed to carry cargo in Japan. They are imported into the country; if they had seats, they would be removed and replaced with locally made seats with the aim of increasing its carrying capacity to increase on profits. A bus, which was supposed to carry 12 passengers, carry 16 passengers. Fat people may not fit in the space allocated space for one person and may be advised to take a taxi or pay for two seats. There was no space for wheelchairs and buses are highly congested, wheelchair users may pay double fair including the seat occupied by a wheelchair. Wheelchair users are also lifted manually by well wishers into the bus, because of the absence of platforms or raised ground at bus stop on the Zambia roads, this activity may take a bit of time as such bus conductors are not comfortable picking wheelchair users because of loss of business hours. Bearing this in mind traveling within the city to visit friends is twice the cost of a person without disabilities despite the hardship of being lifted up and down. All these factors make a student with disabilities think twice before taking up a journey out of school. One student pointed out the challenges that persons that use wheelchairs face in the use of public transport in Zambia,

> *"It is expensive for us persons with disabilities to commute because on public buses there is no space for wheelchair; as such we are meant to pay double, for my seat and the seat occupied by a wheelchair, if you cannot wheel yourself and have someone to help you, you have to pay thrice the cost of one person without disabilities"* (Student 3).

With these challenges a SWDs was better off being in the hostels over the weekends and public holiday than go out. These aspects further deny students with and without physical disabilities the opportunity to interact and develop friendships. In trying to describe the school,

one student said,

> *"The school is good the only problem is that we are confined to this hostel, we don't have an opportunity to go out to socialize even during the weekend, there are no such facilities"* (Student 6).

In trying to take stock of how he spends his day over the weekend, he simply said,

> *"Just watching TV and telling stories with my friends within the hostels"* (Student 6).

The response suggests that their social life during the weekends and public holidays revolves around the hostels among themselves (SWDs). As such, interaction and creation of social relationships with students without disabilities was difficult because of the socially created limited contacts.

Participation in extra-curricular activities

Extra-curricular activities are activities performed by students outside the realm of the normal curriculum of the school (Adeyemo 2010). Also known as enrichment programs they are courses offered by educational facilities to help promote skills and high level of thinking for students (Adeyemo 2010). Activities that fall under this category are sports, school trips, drama, swimming music, scouting, dance and various clubs. Physical education experts view that exercise and sport environments are conducive for the development of social relationships (Seymour et al 2009).

Seymour et al (2009) conducted a study in Canada and investigated the development of friendship in inclusive physical education from the perspective of students with and without physical disabilities. Participants comprised eight SWDs and eight students without physical disabilities. Data collection method used was semi-structured interviews. Seymour et al (2009) found that inclusive physical education facilitates the development of friendships between students with and without disabilities. Nevertheless, students without physical disabilities had more friends beyond school than students with physical disabilities.

Most studies (Adeyemo 2010 and Seymour et al 2009), found that students who participated in extra-curricular activities were more successful socially and academically than those who did not. Similarly, a study conducted by Marsh and Kleitman (2002) revealed that SWDs participated is extra-curricular activities with support from friends. The authors also reported that the non-participation of SWDs in extra-curricular was because they spent more time on academic work more than their peers without disabilities did.

My study provided evidence to support (Marsh and Kleitman 2002; Adeyemo 2010 and Seymour et al 2009), who found that extra-curricular activities were conducive for the development of social relationships. My study found that identified non-participation of SWDs in extra-curricular activities as a factor that hindered the development of social relationship

between students with and without disabilities. My study found that SWDs did not participate in sports because the school did not have appropriate sports equipment.

The deputy head teacher had this to say,

> "*At this school, there are no organised sports activities for SWDs and there are no appropriate sports equipment for them"* (Teacher 1).

In answering the question, 'What did you like about 'school D' (Special School)?' One student answered,

> *"There we used to do all kinds of sport but here nothing even our friends without disabilities would not let us do sports with them, they say they might hurt us"* (Student 5).

This meant that SWDs in the sport ground were more of observers than participants. Sport is one of the most powerful tools, with the lowest cost, which foster greater inclusion and well-being for SWDs (UNICEF 1997). It reduces stigma and discrimination associated with disability. It empowers SWDs to recognise their own potential and building self-esteem. It also helps reduce isolation as it created an opportunity to develop friendships outside their families (UNICEF 1997). SWDs showed their willingness to participate in sport at school.

One student reported that he did physical exercises (pull-ups) at his free time in the hostels; another student indicated that he liked playing soccer. At one time, he did well in class and the head teacher asked him what present he would prefer, he chose 'a soccer ball'.

> *"He asked me what I do after school hour. I told him I play football and he bought me a FIFA World Cup 2006 soccer ball"* (Student 7).

Another one said,

> *"My friends (students without disabilities) do not allow me to join them; they say that they may hurt me"* (Student 5).

When efforts are not made to ensure that sport participation is inclusive, sports remains simply another area where discriminatory attitudes and practices towards SWDs are perpetuated (UNICEF 1997).

School trips

Another area in which SWDs were physically separated from their peers without disabilities was in school trips participation. Students mentioned that reasons behind denying them participation in school trips was that the school did not have appropriate transport and safety was not guaranteed. Students indicated that they were only allowed to participate in school trips that were academic in nature (debate and quiz school competition) in which they (students with physical disabilities) had the potential of making the school team win. Common school trips to students with physical disabilities were trips that involved only students with physical disabilities, for example visiting an institution that dealt with disability issues or a disability group. In both cases, the trips did not promote contact between the two groups because trips with an academic nature had a busy schedule, which left little or no time for socialization. While trips, which involved only SWDs only cement interactions and relationships among SWDs themselves. The school action to deny SWDs from participating in sport was not consistent as SWDs were included in school trips that seem to benefit the school but were denied the school trips that were social in nature and seem to benefit SWDs. The absence of SWDs in school trips limited contacts with their peer and denied them the opportunity to make friends.

Classroom arrangement

Some studies support the assertion that the success of inclusive education largely depended upon what teachers did in classrooms.

Kearney (2009) conducted a study in New Zealand, using a grounded theory methodology and investigated the nature of school exclusion in relation to SWDs, with a focus on physical separation. Participants consisted parents, teachers, school principals, school students and teacher aides. The study revealed that SWDs were being physically segregated within the classroom by being grouped or time tabled with other SWDs and given a different curriculum.

Similarly, Philips (1997) carried out a study in New Zealand and explored the social interactions and relationships between three primary school aged students with severe developmental disabilities and their peers in three regular classrooms. The study used traditional behaviourist special education diagnosis and intervention approach that promoted successful social interactions between a boy with a severe disability and his school peers. She

was interested in the impact of classroom layout on interaction. In the first phase in 1995, the participant sat at the back of the classroom away from other students, in 1996, the participant sat close to other students. The study recorded an increased numbers of interactions in the final phase. Consistent with (Philips 1997), my study identified classroom arrangement as a factor that influenced social interaction and development of social relationship between students with and without disabilities. A class teacher indicated that SWDs had a special location in the classroom. In explaining the classroom arrangement, the teacher said,

> *"We reserve the front row for SWDs because it provides them with enough spaces for wheelchairs"* (Teacher 2).

The kind of classroom arrangement indicated above had become a norm with congested classrooms at the local school. A classroom with about 7 metres by 6 metres would house up to 60 students leaving no space for wheelchair users to navigate around the classroom. Allocating SWDs space in the first row was perceived as a positive move in favour of SWDs but it had its own consequences socially. It denied SWDs the opportunity to choose where to sit and whom to sit next to. Friendships are developed through contact. It also prevents SWDs from freely mixing with their peers without disabilities in the classroom and limited their opportunity to interact with their peers. Indeed, the class arrangement and the class size had an effect in the implementation of inclusive policies. The interaction between students with and without physical disabilities were further reduced by the 'silence rule'. Students were not allowed to interact during lessons and those who violated this rule were booked and reprimanded. Commenting on the issue of silence in class, one student had this to say,

> "*He bullied me because I booked him for punishment for making noise in class"* (Student 1).

This is to strengthen the argument that any form of interaction not authorised by the teacher was labelled as noise and punishable. From the forgoing statement, I can suggest that during lesson delivery interaction was more between student and teacher than between student and student.

No mobile phones and laptops

There was enough evidence in literature to show that access to Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) by persons with disabilities promoted independent living. ICT is defined

as an umbrella concept that includes any information and communication device or application and its content (UNESCO 2013). Based on this definition ICT includes mobile phones, computers, radios, televisions, satellites, network hardware and software.

UNESCO (2013) with corporating partners carried out a worldwide case study, which involved more than 150 expert inputs from 55 countries across the world who explored the extent to which ICTs enabled and accelerated the social and economic inclusion of persons with disabilities. The study established that when ICTs was available, affordable and accessible, they significantly improved access to all aspects of society and development (UNESCO 2013).

Mobile phones have been identified as having the greatest impact on independent living for persons with disabilities because its features provide a means of on demand communication through sms and voice calls UNESCO 2013. The device allows access to emergency services, family members, personal aides, assistive and everyday services just a call or text away. Mobile devices are best suited for persons with disabilities because they are handy portable and easily worn or carried. These findings suggest that the use of ICT or mobile phones and computers by persons with disabilities should be encouraged.

To the contrary, my study provided evidence to suggest that SWDs were discouraged from using mobile phones and laptops. One SWDs indicated that he was restrained from the use of mobile phones and laptops in *another school*. It was a school policy to prohibit students from using mobile phones and laptops in school. Usually students are advised to leave their mobile phones and laptops at home, as they come for a school term. One student said,

> *"I was suspended from school for one week for being in possession of a mobile phone at school" (Student 3).*

Denying students, the use of mobile phones and laptops was a common practice in most boarding schools in Zambia, especially those run by the Catholic Church. In some schools, punishment could be expulsion. According to the student, the reasons are that it may disturb their studies by spending too much time on the gaglets than studying. The other reason is that they may be exposed to obscene materials that may corrupt their morals. For the school authority, it like academic work is more important than socialisation, without understanding that socialisation facilitates academic work. However, at KB Boys School students were allowed to use mobile phones and laptops. Mobile phones and laptops are effective means of communication in this information age. It is a means through which SWDs can develop and sustain friendships. Denying them (students with physical disabilities) these facilities is

creating a two-fold challenge. It cuts them from the information society, access to essential public services, as well as the opportunity to live an independent life, in addition to the already existing physical mobility challenges, such as the use of public transport as discussed above.

Concluding comments

The chapter has presented evidence to show that social relationships between students with and without disabilities benefit both groups and that conditions that hinder the development of these relationships did exist. My study identified factors that hampered the development of social relationships between students with and without disabilities as inaccessible buildings, the physical separation of students with and without disabilities through segregated residence and classroom layout, non-participation in extra-curricular activities (school trips and sports) and denied use of information and communication technologies. All these factors reduced contact time between students with and without disabilities through which social relationships could be developed and maintained.

My findings were supported by earlier studies (Muwana 2012; Avramadis 2010 and 2012; and Robinson et al 2014), reported that SWDs had no problem in developing beneficial social relationships with peers only if a conducive environment was provided. Similarly, (Chirwa 2012; Muwana 2012; Madsø 2013; Phiri 2013 and Riddell et al 2005) reported that inaccessible building was one of major challenges in the implementation of inclusive policies. Clark, Dyson, Millward, and Robson (1999) and Geisthardt, Brotherson and Cook (2002) found that physical separation of student with and with disabilities hampered the development of friendships between the two groups. While (Seymour et al 2009; Marsh and Kleitman 2002; UNESCO 2013) found that non-participation of SWDs in extra-curricular activities and denial in the use of ICTs hindered the development of social relationship between students with and without disabilities. Creation of an environment in which social relationships between students with and with disabilities are nurtured is important in the implementation of inclusive policies.

CHAPTER FIVE: Social relationships between students with disabilities and teachers

This chapter examines the social relationships between SWDs and teachers. It starts with the revision of relevant literature and then findings of my study are presented. The emerging sub themes in this chapter included: negative attitudes of teachers towards SWDs, inappropriate methods of teaching, and inappropriate teacher education. It should be acknowledged that those findings might not be discussed in isolation because they are interrelated and reinforce each other. The study provided evidence to show the impact of the above factors on the relationship between students with disabilities and teachers. Furthermore, the chapter presents coping strategies developed by students in their pursuit of their educational goals.

Attitudes of teachers towards students with disabilities

The interactive nature of the teaching process is built on a sound social relationship between teachers and students. Positive social relationship between teachers and SWDs are vital in the success of inclusive education. Attitudes can hinder or promote social relationships between teachers and SWDs. An attitude could be defined as a learned mental predisposition to an act that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour (Scholl 2002). It can be a predisposition to react to a given situation, person, or set of cues in a consistent way. Baron and Byrne (2000) defined attitudes as relatively lasting clusters of feelings, beliefs, and behavioural tendencies directed towards specific persons, ideas, objects or groups. Attitudes can be positive, negative or neutral. Most studies viewed that teachers are key in the implementation of inclusive policies (Haskell 2000; Cant 1994 Stewart 1983; Whiting et al 1995). Other studies revealed that implementation of inclusive education may not succeed if teachers are not part of the team driving this process (Horne 1983; Malone et al 2001). The attitude of teachers towards SWDs can enable or disable inclusive education. Studies done in Zimbabwe and USA provided mix conclusions as to whether teachers had negative attitudes towards SWDs or not.

Phiri (2013) conducted a study in Zimbabwe on High school students with disabilities and explored issues of provision and support for inclusion at micro and mezzo level. Participants

were nine students with diverse impairments. The researcher used case study approach and mainly collected data through interviews. Phiri (2013) found that teachers/lecturers had negative attitudes towards SWDs. SWDs indicated that they had lost confidence in staff members such that they would not approach them even if they were in need of support services. The narrative implies a negative attitude of teachers towards SWDs and the existence of negative social relationships between the two groups.

Another study by, Clark (2008) was carried out on the perspectives of students with learning disabilities in an inclusive classroom in New York at Oswego. The purpose of the study was to find out whether SWDs felt accepted and included in the mainstream system. The study used semi-structured interviews, and observation over a period of three months. Clark (2008) found that SWDs felt included in the mainstream system. 67percent of the respondents said that they liked the reception from their peers and the help they received from their teachers. These findings suggest a positive attitude towards students with disabilities and positive social relationship between SWDs and teachers.

My study was in agreement with (Phiri 2013) and contrary to Clark (2008)'s findings. There is evidence to suggest that teacher's negative attitudes towards students with disabilities hinder the development of positive social relationship with teacher and affects inclusion. One student narrated how he had stopped attending classes at *another school* for almost a school term. He said,

> *"My teacher could not accommodate my slow writing due to my disability but instead she paid much attention to my peers without disabilities, sometimes she could confront me negatively in front of all my classmates 'You are just wasting my time I have to teach other things', I felt bad and stopped attending lessons''* (Student 7).

Another student did not want to go back to school at another school because of negative remarks made by his teacher in an inclusive school about his disabilities. He further said,

> *"I had stopped school because on many occasion my teacher told me that I will not amount to anything, and that I was just wasting my time, I stayed out of school because each time I looked at the teacher I felt bad" (Student 7).*

Teacher's negative remarks towards SWDs negatively affected their social relationships. It was out of hate for the teacher that the student decided to stop attending class. Without an

appropriate intervention by the parents and head teacher, probably the student would have completely dropped out of school. Most of the students indicated that they moved from local schools (inclusive) to special schools because of negative remarks made by teachers in inclusive schools. Most SWDs pointed out that they came to the present school because the special needs school where they came from did not offer Grade 10 onwards.

He further said,

> *"After discovering that I never used to attend classes my parents took me to a special school, there teachers were good and nice to me"* (Student 7).

Another student spelled out challenges in inclusive schools and said,

> *"At school B (inclusive school) the teachers were not good; sometimes I was not going to school because my teachers were beating"* (Student 3).

Corporal punishment is illegal in Zambian schools (UNICEF 2013). The beating experienced by the student may be an expression of negative attitudes towards SWDs. The problem is that there is no clear complaint mechanism in Zambia yet to address such matters. Some students observed that teachers at special schools treated them better than teachers in inclusive schools did. They observed that the positive attitudes exhibited by teachers in special needs schools was linked to training in special education a component they said was missing in ordinary teachers.

One student had this to say,

> *"I was happy at a special needs school; my teachers were good to me"* (Student 1).

Cothran et al (1997) observed that negative attitude of teachers towards SWDs had a chain reaction. It did not only affect the social relationship between SWDs and teacher but spread through other actors in the inclusive school especially peers without disabilities. Cothran et al (1997) further pointed out that students without disabilities' attitudes and behaviour towards SWDs was a mix of what they saw at home, how the school authority and teachers treated SWDs. In short, the attitudes of teachers and the school authority towards SWDs is reflected on how their peers without disabilities would treat them. If teachers were respectful to SWDs, peers would also be respectful to SWDs and opposite would be the same. Every human being would want be respected, most SWDs liked special schools because there they felt respected. SWDs reported that the came to their current school because special schools were they came

from did not provide the service they followed at their current school. In Zambia very few special needs schools offer high school education to SWDs. The reasons are that the number of SWDs decreased as the level of education increases. Even if it was offered, they could be no SWDs to fill the classes. In response to the question, "How did you find yourself at this school (inclusive school), most students said,

> *"It is because my former school (special needs school) did not have Grade 10 it ends in Grade 9"* (Student 2).

Nevertheless, few students especially the prefects and those who were in their final year appreciated being at this school (inclusive school). They seemed to have adapted and felt good in the inclusive environment. One student said,

> *"Here it's good; I like this school because of equal opportunity thing. We are not segregated we learn with our peers who are able bodied in the same classroom"* (Student 1).

The response seems to suggest that most SWDs would not have come to inclusive school, if services they received at inclusive schools were offered at special needs schools. For some, inclusive school was the best fit only if condition that inhibit their social relationships with their teacher were worked out.

To this end, favourable attitudes toward inclusion, despite the challenges associated with the practice, are necessary. It is important to understand attitudes whether positive, negative or neutral because they predict behaviour. Berry (2010, 76) advised that: A teacher who believes that inclusion is unfair to typically achieving students may act in subtle (or not so subtle) ways that negatively affect SWDs in that classroom. Teachers with positive attitudes towards inclusion believe that SWDs can learn in inclusive classrooms and are confidence that they can teach them (Berry 2010).

Most students complained about the perceived uncaring attitude of the boarding master at their school. One student said,

> *"I was sent home because the Boarding Master could not take me for medical test at the hospital. On another occasion my mother was called to come and nurse me"* (Student 7).

SWDs constantly faced health challenges that required medical attention and care. The school neither had medical personnel within the school neither a clinic. Medical care for SWDs is sought outside the school. The personnel responsible for health matters of SWDs is the Boarding Master. Most students described their relationship with the boarding master as difficult. The role of the Boarding Master at the school is to supervise all the support staff working at the hostels, such as the cooks and house cleaners. He insures that food for the students is procured on time and is directly responsible for taking students who fall sick to the clinic or hospital. The school also employed four female house cleaners whose main duties are cleaning and cooking. They knock off after supper was prepared and only reappeared the following morning to prepare breakfast. Most of the time SWDs are left alone in the hostels. If they have a challenge any time, they phone the boarding master or the deputy head teacher.

Most of the parents to students stay very far and contact is through the phone. However, one student indicated that his parents stayed within the city and they visited him almost every weekend. He said,

> *"I have a lot of contact with them (my parents and siblings), sometimes they come to visit me during the weekends and help me with the laundry"* (Student 6).

Lack of personal assistants, negatives attitudes of teachers towards students with disabilities stand as a threat to the success of inclusive education.

Methods of Teaching

Methods of teaching employed by the teacher may affect social relationships between the teacher and the student. Appropriate methods of teaching enhance these relationships while inappropriate methods of teaching inhibit. Methods of teaching refer to systematic ways of teaching or imparting knowledge. Methods of teaching are expected to be chosen to suit particular types of learning; the nature of the learners whether with one special need like visually impaired, gifted and talented, physically disabilities among others (Akinboyeje 2005). Commonly used teaching methods may include class participation, demonstration, whole class teaching, explaining and group work methods (Ondiek 1986). Most studies revealed that using several methods of teaching was appropriate in teaching an inclusive class.

Ondiek (1986) carried out a study in Botswana and found that special education teachers used various techniques to promote learning in pupils. Individualized education plans, problem-solving assignments and group work were also used depending on the magnitude of disability. Teaching pupils with intellectual disabilities calls for a teacher to use different methods. Group work sometimes referred to as cooperative learning is one of the methods that can be used to teach learners with intellectual disabilities.

Nongola (2001) found that several teachers who taught learners with intellectual disabilities used different methods of teaching depending on the severity of the disabilities. Some of the teachers used group work and whole class activities as part of the methods to encourage learners to participate in the learning activities. Group work method was found to be good because it allowed even shy learners to participate in the lesson.

Johnson (1994) stated that group work teaching was different from other methods because it had some elements such as positive interdependence, which could only be achieved, through mutual goals, division of labour, dividing materials, roles and making part of each student's grade dependent on the performance of the rest of the group. Group members had to believe that each person's efforts benefit not only him or herself, but all group members as well. In addition, when there is face-to-face interaction, important cognitive activities and interpersonal dynamics only occurred when learners promote each other's learning. These included oral explanations of how to solve problems, discussing the nature of the concepts being learned, and connecting present learning with past knowledge. It was through face-to-face, interaction that members became personally committed to each other as well as to mutual goals. Group work also provided interpersonal and small group social skills thus; a group had to know how to provide effective leadership, decision-making, trust-building, communication and conflict management. This method of teaching provides satisfaction to the SWDs and promotes development of friendships among students.

Abosi (2007) reported that a demonstration teaching method can be used in both small and large groups. In this method, teacher uses examples or experiments to attract students' attention and reinforce memory retention by connecting between facts and real-world application of those facts. It should be noted, that there is no best method of teaching, the appropriateness of a method is one that takes into consideration the nature of the student and what is to be taught

My study provided evidence to show that teachers used inappropriate methods of teaching and these methods influenced their relationship with their students. Most students complained about methods of teaching used by most teachers in the school. One student said,

> *"They (teacher) are very fast at giving notes, you cannot copy anything"* (student 6).

Most students indicated that teachers used two inappropriate methods of giving notes, the chalkboard and dictation. SWDs reported that in either method they could not much up with the speed. One student said,

> *"I have a lot of gaps in my book, I cannot even study, I have now stopped copying notes"* (Student 1).

Copying notes from the board or dictation of notes may not be appropriate for students with physical impairments. These methods of giving notes negatively affected students with disabilities who have to ask for books from their friends and copy notes in what was supposed to be their free time. Most of students indicated that they hardly had free time compared to their peers without disabilities. They observed that they spent most of their time on academic work. Some students said that they were frustrated in the way their teachers treated them. They said that they have tried to negotiate with teachers to give them extra time to copy or to give them handouts but this has been met with resistance.

One student said,

> *"I have tried to ask for a favour on matters concerning note taking but I have not received a favourable response, some teachers are very rough"* (Student 4).

From the reported responses, I can argue that teachers are not willing to adjust and accommodate the needs of all the students. For example, giving students notes as hand copies, scanned documents or soft copy for those who have access to computers would appeal to all students and very little time spent, if only resources were available. Students also complained about lesson delivery. They pointed out that the only method of lesson delivery used by the teachers was the traditional lecturing. Some students reported that they could not comprehend lesson materials or grasp certain concepts in class because some teachers were too fast, especially in chemistry, physics and mathematics lessons. Even asking for a clarification was not welcome. One student said,

> *"When I ask a question in an area I did not understand when teacher was teaching, some teachers respond by saying where were you when I was teaching, how come your friends understood, ask your friends do not waste my time"* (Student 7).

Teachers also complained about students with disabilities who failed to accomplish academic tasks due to their impairments. When the deputy head teacher was asked about the kind of complaints teachers brought to her about students with disabilities, she responded by saying,

> *"Teachers report students who are very slow in writing, whose handwriting is difficult to read and those whose speech is so poor that they can hardly understand what is being said"* (Teacher 1).

Teachers did not seem to understand the functional limitation of students with disabilities or they just lacked patience, or it was just a negative attitude towards SWDs.

One student lamented that,

> *"They (teachers) treat me as if I am not a person, it is like I am a burden to them, they only pay attention to my friends with disabilities."* (Student 5).

Another student said,

> *"For example, if you present your problem to the teacher that relates to functional impairment, he would respond, there is nothing I can do about it or what do you expect me to do" (Student 7).*

Teachers, who only want to teach using one method, limit the learning potentials of many students in their classes, especially those with disabilities. Students should be exposed to different methods of teaching in order to maximise learning (McNamara 1999) and improve their relationships. Differentiation or teaching students using multiple methods appeals to all kinds of students (O'Brien and Guiney 2001). If well executed, it would support inclusion of all. This approach allows all students to be targeted with individualized instruction in their areas of weakness and enrichment in their areas of strength. McNamara (1999, 30) says; *"...the key [to differentiation] is the flexible use by teachers of a wide range of activities and lesson organisations"*.

Teachers also had their side of the story. They attributed the use teaching methods alleged as inappropriate by student to lack of resources and time. One teacher said,

> *"How to I give not, I am given chalk and board"* (Teacher 2).

Teachers pointed out that they would want to use multiple methods of teaching but lacked resources such as stationery, computers, printers and copiers. They indicated that the only resource readily available resource was chalk and board. Apart from lack of resources, management expected them to produce good grades in order to maintain the standards and attract good parents.

He added on to say,

> *"Why waste time on a person who is not interested"* (Teacher 2).

Teachers seem to be at a crossroad to please either students who may not reward them or management who will rewards them. From the above narratives, I can conclude that teachers have chosen to please management. These issues are policy in nature and can only be harmonised using appropriate policy action. It is as if the demand for good grades does not go well with inclusive policies. Whatever, the reason, the fact is that the use of inappropriate teaching methods by teachers negatively affect the social relationship between SWDs and teachers.

Teacher Education

Teacher education is directly related to teacher attitudes and teaching methods employed by a particular teacher. Inappropriate teacher education negatively affects social relationships between teachers and SWDs. There is literature to support the assertion that teachers with training in special education have more positive attitudes towards students with disabilities and employed appropriate methods of teaching than teachers without.

Muwana (2012) conducted a mixed qualitative and quantitative study in Lusaka, Zambia, and explored the attitudes of trainee teachers towards inclusion. Participants were 497 university students. The data was collected using questionnaire and interviews. Muwana (2012) found that university students with a major in special education and had completed courses in special education generally held more positive attitudes than other students. It could be concluded that a teacher's willingness to include SWDs in a general education classroom could be influenced by coursework taken in special education. Training teachers in special education may remove the negative attitude towards SWDs and enhance positive social relationship between them.

Consistently, Van Reusen, Shoho, and Barker (2001) examined the attitudes of high school teachers towards inclusion of SWDs in mainstream classrooms and how it was affected by training in special education. 125 high school teachers in a suburban high school in San Antonio, Texas, responded to a survey. Van Reusen, Shoho, and Barker (2001) found a correlation between teachers' attitudes towards SWDs and inclusion, and the levels of special education training. Teachers who indicated positive attitudes towards inclusive education and teaching SWDs in their classrooms also had the highest level of special education training.

54% of the high school teachers' scores reflected negative attitudes toward the inclusion of SWDs in their inclusive classrooms. Teachers with the least amount of special education held the most negative attitudes. Responses from these teachers reflected an attitude or belief that the inclusion of students with disabilities would negatively affect the learning environment, their delivery of content instruction, and the overall quality of learning in the classroom.

In her study, deBettencourt (1999) investigated the relationship between the number of special education courses taken by general education teachers and the instructional strategies they used to teach SWDs in inclusive classrooms. 59 participants were drawn from South-Eastern State in the United States. The author concluded that a teacher's willingness to include students with disabilities in a general education classroom would be influenced by training done in special education. Teachers who were trained in special teacher education were reported using appropriate teaching methods.

Consistent with findings above, my study provided evidence to show that students perceived teachers with positive attitude towards them that they had training in special education while those with negative attitudes were perceived to have little or no training in special education. There was need, therefore, to explore these issues, because it was the responsibility of the school to ensure that academic staff developed and were aware of the diversity and equality of the students enrolled (Kochung 2011). It was evident from the data that most teachers in the school were not trained in special education. In response to the issue of staffing in the school. The deputy head teacher said,

> *"The school has 91 academic staff, of which only 3 were trained in special education"* (Teacher 1).

To consolidate what the deputy head teacher said, a student made this comment,

"They enrol us (students with disabilities) here but they do not seem to be prepared for us. They seem to lack the necessary professional competency to teach us." (Student 5).

Another student added on to say,

"For example, if you present your problem to the teacher that relates to functional impairment, he would respond, there is nothing I can do about it or what do you expect me to do" (Student 7).

Furthermore, another student pointed out,

"*They treat me well, may be teachers who teach here are trained how to handle SWDs"* (Student 5).

The assumption was that teachers who received education about inclusion had been found to be more likely to have positive attitudes towards the inclusion of SWDs (Cologon 2012). Considering the importance of attitudes for inclusive education, training all teachers, as inclusive teachers is an important goal (Bacon et al 2012). In relation to teacher education,

one student said,

".... teachers should be trained to handle SWDs effectively" (Student 6).

This seem to suggest that there is a need to have special education teachers in every classroom because special education teachers are able to understand the needs of SWDs and they are able to implement the right interventions. Right intervention is key in teaching SWDs, for example, one student said,

"I failed my first Grade 9 examinations because no one could read my handwriting, the following year a teacher transcribed my examinations and I passed" (Student 1).

The experiences narrated above could be associated to inappropriate teacher education; it is assumed that if teachers at the local school were trained in inclusive teacher education probably they would have sought an appropriate intervention in the first place. A student lost a year because of lack of a right intervention. Gickling et al (1975) noted that teachers might be negative about inclusive education if they had inadequate training. It is as if teachers were not ready to teach an inclusive classroom because they did not have training in special education (Bender, Vail, and Scott 1995). Lack of training in special education lows teacher confidence and raises the negative attitude towards SWDs (Van Reusen et al 2001). In turn, this negatively

affects the social relationships between SWDs and teachers, thereby threatening the success of inclusive education.

Coping strategies

In order to achieve success in inclusive education SWDs need to manage challenges, which come with their impairments (Ambati 2015). To manage their academic and social demands of inclusion students need to understand their disabilities, develop effective coping strategies by accepting their strengths and limitations (Ambati 2015). Coping strategies could be referred to efforts made to "master, reduce or tolerate the demands created by stress" (Weiten et al 2011). The way students manage to overcome problems in their learning relate to coping strategies. Earlier studies concluded that SWDs developed coping strategies to overcome their challenges.

Sara (2010) conducted a three-year longitudinal qualitative study among 20 Israeli high school students with learning disabilities in Jerusalem. The main purpose of the study was to identify coping strategies that students developed in their learning environment. The researcher collected data mainly through interviews and used grounded theory to analyse it. The study identified four emotional–cognitive strategies which included 'Avoidance,' 'Rebellion,' 'Reconciliation,' and 'Determination.' She reported that these strategies appeared in hierarchical order, leading to students' integration of, acceptance of, and coming to terms with their difficulties.

Avoidance and rebellion coping strategies were non-adaptive, negative and did not lead to full acceptance and integration of the disability with the self-image while reconciliation and determination did. These coping strategies were found either to remain as stances within which students were stuck or to be stages in the progression through which students passed on to full integration of their disability into their self-image.

Results, in the form of a hierarchical continuum, provided a map within which school counsellors and teachers would place their students' current functioning, and help students progress toward coping strategies effective for attaining emotional and academic success. The review of this literature was important in my study as it provided me with a framework through which my findings were categorized (Sara 2010).

Similarly, Ambati (2015) conducted a study in Andhra Pradesh, India and explored social and educational experiences of students with disabilities in institutions of higher education. To help him answer his research questions, he used mixed methods and three universities were selected through purposive sampling aimed at gaining maximum diverse views. The data was collected using in depth interviews. The study concluded that social relationships and friendships with peers were influential in the development of coping strategies by students with disabilities. The review of this literature provided my study with insight to identify the role of friendships in the development of coping strategies by SWDs.

Concurrently, Goffman (1963) in his study of stigma, recognized two reactions by a stigmatized person namely aggression and avoidance. He argued that the first response was by aggression; attacking the situation at hand. For example, a student with physically disability who was rejected by friends would react by fighting classmates or bullying the teacher. The second reaction could be avoiding the situation altogether for example absenteeism from class. The reviewed literature informed the study to look out for these reactions in coping strategies developed by students. The literature on (Ambati 2015; Sara et al 2010 and Goffman 1963) were consonant with my findings.

My study provided evidence to show that SWDs developed coping strategies. The strategies were categorised into four 'Avoidance,' 'Rebellion,' 'Reconciliation,' and 'Determination', according to (Sara et al 2010)'s framework.

Avoidance and Rebellion

SWDs presented avoidance coping strategies as a defensive mechanism (Sideridis et al 2006; Sideridis 2007), such as withdraws and giving up. Academically, students who used avoidance coping strategies were in a habit of being absent from class or arrive late for classes or could not complete their school assignments or unwilling to cope on their own with academic tasks, often showing exaggerated dependence on other people (Sara et al 2010). My study provided data to show that students used avoidance coping strategies.

One teacher complained, about some of the SWDs,

> *"I have no problem with anyone, but some of the students do not put much effort in their school work, they do not do their assignments and are not active in class, so how can such people be helped"* (Teacher 2).

Some students reported using non-participation strategies towards teachers who did not want to yield to their needs. Some pointed out that they never paid attention in class when such teachers were teaching and were not interested in the subject. It is an obvious case that students who responded by the use of avoidance did not do well in those subjects. One student said,

> *"I have a lot of gaps in my book, I cannot even study, I have now stopped copying notes"* (Student 1).

Another student said,

> *"I had stopped school because on many occasion my teacher told me that I will not amount to anything, and that I was just wasting my time, I stayed out of school because each time I looked at the teacher I felt bad" (Student 7).*

Furthermore, another student was reported to have given up with school altogether. Stopping coping notes, or stopping school, non-participation in class activities all signifies avoidance. These responses above were synonymous with what Goffman (1963) called avoidance. These coping strategies were negative, counterproductive, and could not result into full acceptance and integration (Sara et al 2010). If students came to class late, did not do their homework, did not actively participate in class activities, they might not do well academically and become frustrated eventually drop out of school.

Rebellion is described as non-adaptive coping strategy developed by some of the student with disabilities (Sara et al 2010). Students who employed rebellion as a coping strategy denied assistance, tended to blame others for their difficulties, failed to reconcile with their disability, and used bargaining styles in their social environment and rebellious forms of types of behaviour (Sara et al 2010). Students who used these strategies used antisocial and coercive behaviours in response to what they perceived as undesired situation. Rebellion strategies are similar to what Goffman (1963) called aggression (fighting back). There is enough evidence in the data to show that students used these strategies. One student narrated how he mobilized his classmates and demonstrated (personality power) against perpetual absenteeism of a teacher.

The student (prefect) said,

> *"When the teacher was confronted by the head teacher for absenteeism he came to class to try and single out the person who reported, but because everyone was involved it was difficult to single out an individual, the good thing is that absenteeism reduced and his teaching improved"* (Student 6).

The deputy head teacher reported that one of the student developed a behaviour of fighting with his peers; he eventually stopped school on his own. Furthermore, another student developed a habit of abusing alcohol. The deputy head reported that,

> *"Recently, students were catch drinking beer in the nearby community among them was a student with disabilities, I suspended all"* (Teacher 1).

Rebellion coping strategies especially in for of personality power (collective action) can be used by SWDs to resolve most of the challenges they face. Especially, if they drew the attention of the media houses. One of the advantage of this strategy is that it has the potential of providing quick response to the problems than dialogue. For example, students indicated that they had had a number of meetings (dialogue) with their former Head master to have the library moved downstairs, but nothing has been done.

One student said,

> *"Yes the library, it is upstairs. We tried to talk to the former Head Teacher and he said that there was no appropriate room down stairs, and we were told to wait. As for the new Head Teacher, we have not yet tried"* (Student 6).

Teachers described the strategy as negative and counter-productive and may not lead to full acceptance and integration (Sara et al 2010) of SWDs. If organisers of a demonstration or boycott were identified, they would face penalties that would dent their relationship with their teachers or school authority. Concisely, they would not achieve their educational goals. Reflecting on Goffman's impression management theory SWDs who identified themselves with avoidance and rebellion presented themselves to me with self-pity as victims and complained about everything in the school. They looked unhappy and frustration with the whole arrangement of inclusion.

Reconciliation and Determination

Reconciliation coping strategies were also identified in the data. Reconciliation could be described as a step on the way to full acceptance of, and adaptation to, the disability (Waber et al 2003). Reconciliation coping strategies were described as a transitory stage to determination stage. Reconciliation and determination have similar characteristics. Determination coping strategies were identified in the data. These strategies were facilitated by personal skills such as setting goals, identifying steps necessary to achieve the goals, and overcoming various barriers to goal attainment (Ward 1988). Determination coping strategies were described as the most adaptive, consolidated following reconciliation (Sara et al 2010). SWDs who used these strategies perceived disability as part of their self-image, and these students showed an ability resist stigma and saw disability as something that can be worked around. (Sara et al 2010). They displayed resilience, against the many challenges they faced. For example, one student, said in an interview,

> *"Disability is not inability; I can achieve all I want to achieve"* (Student 6).

The student said his ambition was to become President of the Republic one day. This kind of response demonstrates determination. Students who used these strategies avoided their challenges by 'workarounds', the barrier (Sara et al 2010). Most students indicated that they did not create friendship for the sake of friendship rather than strategically befriend people who could help them achieve their educational goals. For example, those who could not wheel themselves or copy notes due to impairment would befriend a person who could meet their needs. One student said,

> *"Because of the kind of disabilities I have I cannot push myself on a wheelchair, my friend push me, even when I want to go to the toilet. He also helps me copying notes and packing books into the bag"* (Student 6).

Even when they could not copy notes due to impairment, they would not fold their arms and watch but worked around the challenge to ensure that they had the notes and study. If there was need to access the library despite their inability to climb, the stairs they would influenced their friends to lift them manually upstairs to the library. Students reported that they had a challenge of grasping certain concepts because teachers taught very fast. As a strategy, they had organised themselves into a study group and taught one another. Peer teaching had proved to be beneficial among the students (Thomas et al 2002). In terms of loneliness over the weekends and public

holidays, SWDs had found socialisation in the church. Most students indicated that they had a strong belief in God and went to church every weekend. One student said,

> *"I feel very bad but my church keeps on encouraging me"* (Student 1).

Another student said,

> *"I like being at church"* (Student 6).

The deputy head teacher added on to say,

> *"Over the weekends and some of the public holidays churches take turns visiting the boys. They encourage them and bring for them some groceries"* (Teacher 1).

Students who used these strategies reported using jokes to relieve pressure. Students indicated that they did not just joke and laughed among themselves, they joked with teachers as well. To them cracking jokes performed a helpful function with regard to passing time and creating enjoyment within an otherwise dull hostel environment but it also performed what Flaherty (1984) describes as 'reality work' in which playful discussion and jokes could be used to carefully convey serious information without appearing to do so (Mulkay 1988). Drawing from Goffman's impression management theory, students at this stage presented themselves to me as achievers full of confidence. They looked happy and well integrated. They liked the school and had few complaints about the school. They reported that they were performing well academically also. By being friendly, compliant, cooperative, jokingly, having a strong belief in God, creating in-group solidarity, SWDs were determined to achieve their educational goals.

Therefore, there is enough evidence to suggest that friendship influences the development of effective coping strategies.

Concluding comment

This chapter has accounted for how teachers related towards students with disabilities, their methods of teaching, and the coping strategies developed by students with disabilities to fit in at the school. The limited time allocated to them to complete the syllabus, performance measurement set for them (good grades) and limited resources available to the teachers, limited their opportunities to accommodate the needs of the students. Teachers only used one method of teaching (traditional lecturing method). This was experienced as inappropriate to most students with physical impairments. Students reported being frustrated by the use of this

method. Earlier and other studies have demonstrated that use of multiple methods of teaching provided satisfaction to students (Ondiek 1986; Nongola 2001; Johnson 1994 and Abosi 2007). As such, there is enough evidence to suggest that inappropriate methods of teaching discouraged cooperation between teachers and students with disabilities. Teachers also seem to lean towards a medical understanding of disability; any change and adjustment to class would have to be on the part of the students. Students could not expect teachers to adjust the teaching methods (given the limited resources available to them).

In regards to coping strategies developed by students I identified four categories of coping strategies namely avoidance, rebellion, reconciliation and determination (Sara et al 2010). These strategies were presented hierarchically from avoidance through rebellion and reconciliation to determination. Students demonstrated avoidance by non-participation in class activities, incomplete class assignments and late coming. Rebellion was reported in antisocial and coercive behaviours such as fighting with friends, alcohol abuse, class boycotts and organizing demonstrations. Avoidance and rebellion were described as non-adaptive strategies because students who used these strategies were reported as having problem with friends and teachers, they could not be accepted by others and could not be integrated well into school. Students who used these strategies were reported that they performed poorly academically and socially. Some dropped out of school out of frustration. Students who used reconciliation and determination coping strategies did not show signs of self-pity or exaggerated help seeking behaviours. They reported that they enjoyed friendship with peers and were in harmony with their teachers. They reported receiving social support from friends. They said that friends helped them copy notes; they manually lifted them to the upstairs library. Keeping Goffman's notion of impression management in mind, students reported that they did not see themselves as disabled because they could achieve whatever they wanted. Some have minimised stigma by mastering new skills and achieving new status. They reported being addressed as biologists (best in biology in class), prefects (student leaders) and politician (best public speaker in debate club). They participated in all school activities ever possible. Some reported being in Anti-Corruption Club, Activists programmes, debate club and Anti Aids Club. They were fully accepted by teachers and peers and were well integrated in school.

My findings were consistent with findings of earlier studies (Sara et al 2010; Ambati 2015). Sara et al (2010) identified the four categories of coping strategies as mentioned above while Ambati (2015) found that adaptive coping strategies were a product of supportive relationships with their peers and teachers.

CHAPTER SIX

Social relationship between students with disabilities and parents/caregivers

This chapter presents findings on the social relationships between SWDs and parents/caregivers and discuss the findings in relation to existing research on the topic. Sub-themes that emerged under this heading included; social support and social exchange. A positive social relationship between a student with disabilities and parents or caregivers was critical in the success of inclusive education because parents or care givers held the key as to whether a child went to an inclusive school or not. Some studies have reported that the relationship between parents or caregivers and students with disabilities affected the implementation of inclusive policies.

Madsø (2013) found that many young persons with disabilities in Livingstone, Zambia, dropped out of school because of lack of encouragement and low expectations from their parents. He concluded that emotional support from parents was needed for students with disabilities to remain in school.

In a comparative longitudinal, study of SWDs born in the 1980s in four countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Ireland and Spain). Biewer et al (2015) found that the progression of SWDs into higher education was heavily dependent on the social and economic resources of the parents. Concisely, educational success was largely the consequence of social and economic resources or the extraordinary effort of the family.

Biewer et al (2015) amplified the importance of positive social relationships between parents and their children with disabilities by giving an account of an Austrian mother who refused to apply for the special education needs diagnosis for her physically challenged daughter amidst pressure from the special education teacher and the school authority. She feared that her daughter would be disadvantaged by being labelled as having special educational needs and being taught a different curriculum from other students. She was equally afraid that her daughter would have difficulty getting rid of the label at later school stages. The daughter remained in the mainstream with a lot of support from the mother, which included helping her climb stairs. Through parental support, the daughter registered her turning point through her smooth transition from primary to secondary school.

In the following, I present findings from my study.

Social support

The social relationship between SWDs and parents may be characterized by social support. Social supports may be conceptualised into three basic subcategories; provision of physical assistance and material resources, emotional support, and informational support such as guidance and advice (Neto and Barros 2000). In my study, students underlined the importance of support received from parents/caregivers.

All students pointed out to physical assistance and material resources provided to them by their parents. One student said,

> *"My parents pay my school fees; buy me school uniforms, groceries and other school requirements".*

Another student said,

> *"My mother used to carry me to school on her back when I was young"* (Student 5).

Another student acknowledged being visited by parents, who helped him with laundry. The physical assistance and material resources given to SWDs made it possible for SWDs to achieve their educational goals, without which they would not manage being at an inclusive school. Parents transported their children to and from school in situation where boarding facilities were not provided. They also provided school requirements to their children. For example, in Zambia, parents are major sponsors of their children to school. Students also indicated that parents helped them navigate around school. In some instances, parents or family members took the role of personal assistant to a lesser extent. Helping their children navigate around school included climbing stairs.

Students also highlighted emotional support they received from their parents.

One student said,

> *"When the school environment is too hush for me, my parents encourage me by telling me to be strong"* (Student 6).

Several students emphasized that parental encouragement was indispensable and was the major reason they were at an inclusive school. In the face of stigma, parental counsel strengthens SWDs.

SWDs in this study also mentioned informational support by parents. Parents gather information about disability and education, and use it to make decisions on the schooling of their children in the 'best interest of the child'. Students indicated that parents decided to take them to inclusive schools because of the anticipated benefits.

One student had this to say,

> *"My parents agreed to bring me here [inclusive school]" (Student 3).*

Parental support is a critical factor in ensuring that SWDs participate in and benefit from their educational experiences (Shah and Priestley 2011). For example, in Curtin and Clarke' study (2005), the majority of the participants reported that their parents made the decision to either take their children to inclusive or special school. "Parents' interventions and their social and cultural capital played a significant role in shaping students' subjectivities and responses to hostile learning environments" (Biewer et al 2015).

Social exchange

Social relationships between parents and SWDs could be characterised by social exchange.

Duflo et al (2011) found that "for many parents, children are their economic futures: an insurance policy, a savings product, and some lottery tickets, all rolled into a convenient pint size package ". If parents did not perceive a return from a child in future, they could not invest in the education of their child. As such, educating a child is not one-sided or to the best interest of a child but rather constituted mutually beneficial exchanges. In Zambia, were welfare state was non-existent children were raised as social security, to take care of their parents in old age or in times of need. For example,

One student said,

> *"I do not know my father, he rejected me because of disability but he will come back when I become somebody in life"* (Student 1).

The above statement seems to suggest that the father rejected him because of his disability, and from the point of view of the father, he is worthless and has nothing to offer, but if he learnt and became educated and got a good job, his father would claim him as his son because now he would have something to offer. Based on the analysis one would assume that the student understood the principle of reciprocity. It could also be argued that in an event of a social risk the common coping strategy adapted by the poor people was to withdraw their children from school (Holzmann 1999). Usually the first children to be withdrawn were those perceived by their parents to be a "liability". And children with disabilities usually fell into this category. Some students narrated how they have faced lower prioritization than their siblings without disabilities have in terms of education.

One student said,

> *"I have stopped school many times because of non-payment of my school fee by my parents while my brothers and sister without disabilities continued going to school"* (Student 6).

It is assumed that poor parents would not invest in the education of a child who is not likely to bring a future fortune. This explains why about 90 percent of children with disabilities of school going age may not be enrolled into school in Zambia. Indeed, the social relationships between parents and children with disabilities is about "take and give". One student indicated that his education is not a priority in the family compared to other siblings.

> "*Imagine two of my young brothers started school earlier than me and I was always crying to start school"* (Student 2).

One other aspect drawn from the data was that most students had a long educational trajectory. In Zambia, children start Grade one at 7 years or younger, which means that by age 18 they were supposed to be in Grade 12. One student said in this regard,

> *"I am 22 years; I am in Grade 12"* (Student 6).

Another one said,

> *"I am 20 years; I am in Grade 10"* (Student 1).

If a student was in Grade 12 at 22years or Grade 10 at 20 years it could mean that he was delayed by about 4 years, it was either they started school late or stopped school at some point.

Concluding comments

This chapter has provided evidence to show that positive relationships between parents/caregivers was important in the implementation of inclusive educational policies. My study found that students who had a positive relationship with their parents/caregivers progressed in school. Students reported that parents decided to bring them to an inclusive school, bought them school requirements, brought them to school some carried them on their back (when they were young), encouraged them and helped them climbing stairs. My study also found that the relationship between parents and children with disabilities were often influenced by parent's expectations of reciprocity. Parents sometimes hesitated to invest in the child if they believed the return was uncertain ("expense for income acquisition"). Students with disabilities reported that they were delayed in starting school compared to their able bodied siblings, they were withdrawn from school while their able bodied sibling stayed in school, they were also rejected by their parents on account that they were with disabilities. All these experiences of students with disabilities confirmed the expected reciprocity in the relationship.

My findings are in agreement with findings of earlier studies (Madsø 2013; Biewer et al 2015 and Duflo 2011) on similar topics. Biewer et al (2015) found that progress of students in inclusive was highly dependent on social and economic resources of the family. Drawing on Coleman-Fountaine and McLaughlin's (2013) concept of framing and reframing as adapted from Goffman's theory of stigma, the authors carried a story of an Austrian mother who refused to apply for the special education needs diagnosis for the daughter with an understanding that the daughter would have difficult to avoid being labelled as different.

In the same way (Madsø 2013) revealed that some of his participants dropped out school because of low expectation and lack of encouragement from their parents. Duflo also reported that for some poor parents, children were their economic futures: an insurance policy, a savings product, and some lottery tickets, all rolled into a convenient pint size package. This signifies the principle of reciprocity. Overcoming such barriers to ensure the commitment of the parents seem important to ensure successful inclusion. In some cases, financial support to poor families on condition that they send their child to school could perhaps have ensured that their disabled children were not given lower priority.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

7.0. Introduction

I started this study by asking under which conditions inclusive education is most likely to be achieved. To answer the question, I have identified processes that inhibit or promote inclusive education at the local level. I have examined the social interactions between students with physical disabilities and students without disabilities, teacher and parents in a non-segregated school in Lusaka, Zambia. More specifically the study has focused on how the social interaction between the students with physical disabilities and other actors in the school influenced the aim to achieve an inclusive educational environment for all, including students with disabilities. To interpret the data, I have relied on a symbolic interactionist perspective (Blumer 1969). In this chapter, I summarize the main findings, I then proceed to clarify the use of symbolic interactionism in the study, I then discuss how the disability models were reflected in my data, and discuss the limitations of the study. In the final section I discuss the policy implications of the findings and present some recommendations to how Zambian authorities could enhance their achievements in inclusive education, and this their compliance with UNCRPD.

Main findings

Inaccessible infrastructure

My study found that the inaccessible library and some classrooms, which were upstairs, disabled students with mobility limitations. Students indicated that they were denied access to the library, which affected their performance, as they could not access certain books only found in the library. They also lacked alternative study areas free from disruptions. Because of inaccessibility of woodwork and metalwork classrooms, they were not able to choose engineering as a career. The road, which connects the classroom block and hostel, is worn out and inaccessible, wheelchair users could hardly navigate through independently. Students indicated that most times they were late for classes, as they had to wait for someone to wheel them to class. This eventually negatively affected their grades. This is in line with earlier studies (Chirwa 2012; Muwana 2012; Madsø 2013; Phiri 2013 and Riddell et al 2005) who

found that inaccessible infrastructure was one of the major challenges in the implementation of inclusive policies.

Inaccessibility created an imbalance in the relationship between students with and without disabilities. The fact that students with disabilities were not able to navigate or climb stairs independently brings the issue power relations and inequality influenced their education opportunities (Coleman-Fountaine and McLaughlin 2013). Students with disabilities often assumed a dependent kind of position in their social relationship with peers, in which their peers made important decisions. Students with disabilities sometimes agreed to the decisions of their peers even when it did not appeal to them, in fear that help may be withdrawn in the future.

Exclusion of Students with Disabilities

My study also found that the social relationship between students with and without disabilities were negatively affected by the physical separation between the two groups. Areas in which students were physically separated included residence and classroom layout. Students had separated residences; SWDs were in boarding while their peers without disabilities were day scholars coming from home. In the classroom, SWDs who used wheelchairs were allocated the front row desks while their peers had a choice of where to sit. During the weekend and public holidays, SWDs were confined to the hostel while their peers where at home. SWDs spent all their time in school including weekends, public holidays and after school hours while their peers spent very little time in the school. They came into school slightly before the start of lessons, left for home shortly after lessons, and spent their weekends, public holidays and after school hours out of school. During break time and lunch break SWDs reported spending this time in dining around their hostels among themselves while their peers shared packed meals among themselves around the classroom block area.

Teachers reported that the separation of students in areas of residence and classrooms was meant to serve them better considering their condition. Although the separation may have been well intended, it also reinforced the stigmatization of the students with disabilities. The segregated facilities offered to SWDs amplified the difference between students with and without disabilities and became a source of stigma. SWDs were not able to visit their peers or go outside of school over the weekends or during public holidays for two reasons. Students reported that it was very difficult for them to secure permission to go out of bounds from the

school authority. They said that they were being restricted going out for safety reasons. SWDs also lamented the horror they experienced when using public transport. The vehicles used as buses are very small with no space for wheelchairs and the road network does not have platforms or raised ground so that wheelchair user could board the bus independently. Lack of these facilities meant that a wheelchair user had to pay for an extra seat for the wheelchair. On top of that, a wheelchair user had to be carried into and out of the bus by well-wishers. This exercise took a lot time, to the conductor and passengers it was loss of working hours (loss of money) as such they were not kind to these people. Students reported the insults they received from bus conductors and fellow passengers on account of this development. Physical separation meant that less time to spend together. Ryba (1995) argued that friendships were best developed and maintained during free time. Physical separation denied students an opportunity to socialize and make friends.

The other implication of physical separation of students with and without disability was that because SWDs spent most of the time among themselves, they developed friendships among themselves. When this happens, it defeats the purpose of inclusion. SWDs may experience special school environment in an inclusive school.

Earlier studies from other countries have reported similar results (Clark, Dyson, Millward, and Robson 1999; Geisthardt, Brotherson and Cook 2002; Thomas, Walker, and Webb 1998 and Bunch and Valeo 2004). Geisthardt, Brotherson and Cook (2002) concluded that children had little contact with friends in their free time after school hours. This affected their social network. Bunch and Valeo (2004) found that because of controlled spaces in inclusive schools, SWDs had friends, but their friends were other SWDs. Thomas, Walker, and Webb (1998) reported that SWDs did not want to be physically separated from their peers because of embarrassment that comes with magnified differences.

No mobile phone and laptops

My study also found that SWDs were also electronically separated from friends, family members, emergency services and the world of information by denying them the use of mobile phones within the school premises, *in another school*. SWDs narrated that the reasons behind the rule was that students could be exposed to obscene materials that would corrupt their morals. The other reason mentioned was that the use of these gaglets would be addictive and students would spend too much time on mobile phones and laptops at the expense of academic

work. Students only had access to a landline from the deputy head teacher's office or the boarding's or teacher on duty's in case of an emergency. This state of affairs had implication on the part of the students as it denied them the opportunity to independent living. In addition, their privacy eroded, as they had to speak through someone in whatever issue they wished resolved. It also denied them the opportunity to the world of information on matters that affect them, for example, reproductive health and academic information to supplement the school library. At the centre of everything, it denied them the opportunity to socialize through social media, make and maintain friendships. My findings were consistent with earlier studies (UNESCO 2013). UNESCO (2013) found that mobile phones (ICTs) promote independent living among persons with disabilities and should be encouraged.

Participation in extra-curricular activities

Extra-curricular activities have a low cost but very effective unifying factor between students with and without disabilities. My study found that students were denied the opportunity to participate in extra-curricular activities such as sports and school trips. Teachers reported that students never participated in sports because of lack of appropriate equipment in the school. Students indicated that, there was no space to do sport in the school. They observed that the surfaces in the sport ground were very rough not suitable for them. Nevertheless, they showed willing to participate in sport; they said that they did exercises (push-ups) in their hostels, which did not need expensive equipment. They also pointed out that they were happier at a special school because they were engaged in all sort of activities. They also complained that their peers would not allow them to join in their physical games for fear that they would hurt them. Some of them said that they liked soccer but they had nowhere to play. They indicated that in the sport ground they are mere spectators with a desire to join by to no avail.

The study also found that SWDs were denied an opportunity to participate in school trips that were social in nature. SWDs mentioned that reasons behind denying them participation in school trips was that the school did not have appropriate transport and safety was not guaranteed. Students indicated that they were only allowed to participate in school trips that were academic in nature (debate and quiz school competition) in which they (SWDs) had the potential of making the school team win. Common school trips to SWDs were trips that involved only SWDs. Some studies **(**Adeyemo 2010; Seymour et al 2009; Marsh and Kleitman 2002; Pivik, McComas and LaFlamme 2002 and UNICEF 1997) reported that non-

participation of SWDs in extra-curricular activities limited their opportunities to create and maintain supportive friendships with their peers. Pivik, McComas and LaFlamme (2002) reported that SWDs were being given the role of the teacher's helper in physical education rather than participate with their peers.

Teacher- student relationship

The teaching process can be effective if there is harmony between the teacher and student. My study identified three factors that were likely to interfere with the relationship between SWDs and teachers, namely negative attitudes of teachers towards SWDs, the use of inappropriate teaching methods and teachers having inappropriate teacher education.

My study found that the relationship between SWDs and teachers was hampered by the negative attitudes of teachers towards SWDs. Students reported uncaring attitudes towards their needs. One SWDs recounted how a teacher continued using abusive language against him. The teacher constantly told him that he would not amount to anything and that he was just wasting his time. The teacher could not answer his questions in class alleging that he was wasting time because she had to teach other things to the friends. Owing to these responses, the student stopped attending class until the head teacher, in the presence of the student, parents and the teacher, resolved the issue and he was then re-allocated to another class. Embedded in this narrative was the negative attitudes towards SWDs expressed by the teacher through the use of derogatory language, low expectation of SWDs, inadequate feedback and paying attention only to peers' needs. The relationship between the teacher and student was dented and demonstrated through prolonged absenteeism by the student. Teachers' negative attitudes towards SWDs could be seen through their complaints about students' inability to speak audibly, write clearly, come to class on time or complete assignments on time yet these were effects of their impairments.

Some earlier studies acknowledged the presence of negative attitudes of teachers towards SWDs, reported that appropriate training improved attitudes of teachers towards SWDs and that a teacher is central in the successful implementation of inclusion (Haskell 2000; Phiri 2013; Clark 2008; Cothran et al 1997; Cant 1994; Stewart 1983; Whiting et al 1995). This demonstrated that indeed negatives of teachers towards students with disabilities negatively affects their relationship, ultimately, inclusive education itself.

My study also found a link between the use of inappropriate teaching methods and negative attitudes towards SWDs to inappropriate teacher education. These issues are interrelated and reinforce each other. Students perceived teachers who could not meet their needs as untrained in special education. They reported that they were happier at a special school and assumed that all teachers there were trained in special education. My study established that out of 91 teachers at the local school only 3 had training in special education. Earlier studies found that the use of multiple methods of instruction motivated students (Ondiek 1986; Nongola 2001; Johnson 1994 and Abosi 2007) and improved the bond between teachers and students. As such, there was enough evidence to suggest that inappropriate methods of teaching discouraged cooperation between teachers and students with disabilities. Teachers seem to operate on the medical understanding of disabilities with a demand that SWDs adjust to 'fit' into the school system rather than them.

My study also found that the use of inappropriate teaching methods tarnished the image of teachers from the point of view of students. SWDs complained over the use of the traditional lecture method as they could not much up with the speed of lesson delivery, Students were also uncomfortable with methods (chalkboard and dictation) used by teachers in giving notes. SWDs indicated that these methods were not appropriate to them due to their conditions. Teachers, on the other hand reported that they were constrained from meeting the needs of SWDs because of demand of administration and society to produce good grades, this meant that they had to complete the syllabus on time, and for every minute they stood in class counted. They also complained about lack of resources, they reported that the only readily available teaching aids was chalk and the black board. Whatever the reasons, the fact is that the use of inappropriate teaching methods frustrated students who may not be motivated to continue with school. Earlier studies (Muwana 2012; Bender et al 1995 and deBettencourt 1999) concluded that appropriate teacher education improved the attitudes of teachers towards SWDs and teaching methods. Therefore, there is enough evidence to suggest that appropriate teacher education is one of the pillars in the successful implementation of inclusive policies.

Coping strategies

Development of effective coping strategies by SWDs was important in sustenance of their education in inclusive schools. My study identified four categories of coping strategies namely avoidance, rebellion, reconciliation and determination (Sara et al 2010). These strategies were

presented hierarchically from avoidance through rebellion and reconciliation to determination. Students demonstrated avoidance by non-participation in class activities, incomplete class assignments and late coming. While rebellion was reported in antisocial and coercive behaviours such as fighting with friends, alcohol abuse, class boycotts and organizing demonstrations. Avoidance and rebellion proved non-adaptive strategies because students who used these strategies were reported as having problem with friends and teachers, others could not accept them and could not integrated into school. Reflecting on Goffman's impression management theory, SWDs who used these strategies presented themselves as victims with pity and blamed others for their failures. They wore a face without a smile and looked stressed up. They expressed their wish to be at a special school. They spoke negative about almost everything about the school. Teachers reported that students who used these strategies had poor grades some withdrew from school voluntarily.

Reconciliation was described as a transitory stage to determination stage. SWDs who used determination coping strategies developed initiatives to overcome the challenges they faced. For example, if they were unable to copy notes in class, they did not sit back and complain, instead they searched for means to get the notes. Some of them used their friends to copy notes for them or asked for books and copied notes at their own time. They accepted that they had an impairment and worked around the impairment to achieve their educational goals. They reported that they found favour in their peers and teachers and were fully integrated into the school system. Drawing from Goffman's impression management theory, students who used these strategies were no longer addressed as disabled because they presented themselves as achievers; they had mastered new status based on their achievement. They were being addressed as perfects (student leader), student, biologist (best at biology in class), and politician (best public speak). They reported that they were happy and participated in all activities possible in the school. They were not ashamed of their disability and found pride it. Students reported that they were not disabled despite their impairment because they could achieve whatever they wanted, like anybody else. My study established that these strategies were facilitated by positive social relationship between students with and without disabilities, and teachers. Earlier studies (Ambati 2015; Sara et al 2010) demonstrated that supportive social relationships between SWDs, their peers and teachers are needed in the development of productive coping strategies. Therefore, there was enough evidence to show that positive social relationships were important in the successful implementation of inclusion.

My study also established that the positive social relationships between parents and their children with disabilities was important in the inclusion process. My study found that students who had a positive relationship with their parents/caregivers received social support from their parents, which sustained their stay in school, without which they would be out of school. Students reported that they were able to remain in school because parents paid school fees, bought groceries, school shoes, provided encouragement and brought them to school. My study also found that some parents did not invest in the education of their children with disabilities because they could not perceive a future benefit from such an investment. SWDs reported that they were delayed in starting school compared to their able bodied siblings, they were withdrawn from school while their able bodied sibling stayed in school, they were also rejected by their parents on account that they were with disabilities. The above-narrated experiences demonstrated the principle of reciprocity. Earlier studies (Duflo 2011; Madsø 2013 and Biewer et al 2015) reported that positive social relationship between SWDs and parents is important in the successful implementation of inclusive policies. Biewer et al (2015) reported that the progress of SWDs in school depended on the family social support. Duflo et al (2011) found that poor parents invested in their children for a future benefit. Therefore, it suffices to conclude that inclusion would only succeed if the social relationship between children with disabilities and their parents were strengthened. As such, a conditioned cash transfer, which is linked to the education of children with disabilities could improve the relationship.

Use of symbolic interactionism

My study was governed by symbolic interactionist perspective. It informed my interpretation of friendships, disability and inclusive education with an understanding that these concepts are the outcomes of social interaction processes (Coleman-Fountaine and McLaughlin 2013). The first main premise of symbolic interactionism is that "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them and such things include everything that the human being may note in his world" (Blumer 1969, 2). This is to say friendship, disability and inclusion are symbolic and do not possess meaning of their own rather meaning is given to them as people interact (Bogdan and Bilklen 1992, 36). The three concepts do not have a universal meaning but rather their meanings are dynamic, space and time specific. In order for me to capture the meanings that were resident in the minds of students, I sought a qualitative

research design with data collection methods that are interactive in nature, such as semi-structured interviews.

The second premise is that "the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows" (Blumer 1969, 2). This means that what people say in an interview should be strengthened by watching their actions. I responded to this principle by complementing interviews with direct observation. Observations around the school and classrooms were made. The two data collection methods interacted very well, for example, I observed SWDs taking the front row in class, teacher using only chalk and board, I revised and included these aspects in my topic guide in order to seek clarification during interviews. I asked the teacher to tell me his favourite method of teaching with some follow up questions. The teacher responded that lecture method was the most cost effective method of teaching given the limited resources and time.

The third premise is that "these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters" (Blumer 1969, 2). This means I as a researcher should not make conclusion at face value. Meaning alone may not be enough, for it to be useful it should be interpreted. In order, to satisfied this principle, I allowed students and teachers to clarify certain issues. The perspective also guided my study in the sampling process. Because of the need for in-depth information, I using purposive sampling technique with an aim of recruiting participants who were well vested with information about the topic (Patton 2002). For this reason, I sought the voice of SWDs themselves, with an assumption that from their day-to-day experiences they were the best people to help me identify conditions that promote or hinder friendships between them, their peers, teachers and parents. In response, from symbolic interactionism, the study used thematic analysis because it allowed me to use priori assumptions and theoretical ideas to interpret data (Braun 2006). As such, symbolic interactionism fitted well with my study.

Use of models of disability

As already mentioned in chapter 1, the paper provided an account of how Zambia has moved from traditional, through medical to social model of disability. Officially moved to social model of disability after her ratification of the UNCRPD on the 1st of February 2010 (ZGF 2013). Despite, Zambia being officially at social model level, my study provided evidence to

show that all three models of disability coexisted and influenced, the way SWDs were treated and perceived by others.

This paragraph identifies findings that were associated to the traditional model of disability. The findings included denial of SWDs to participate in physical games by their peers without disabilities. The negative attitudes of teachers towards SWDs, the beating of SWDs as a form of punishment, the denial of SWDs from participation in extra-curricular activities (sports and school trips) by the school authority. The rejection of children with disabilities by their parents because they were disabled, the withdrawing of SWDs from school during economic hardships while siblings without disabilities remained in school. The keeping of children with disabilities out of school on account that they had a disability. Not willing to provide transport to persons with disabilities by bus operators. The stoning and insulting of persons with disabilities in the community. The above findings were associated to traditional model of disability because they created a hostile environment for SWDs and discouraged them to remain in school. In order, to achieve inclusion, the above findings should be addressed.

The aspect of the medical model was expressed through inaccessible buildings such the library and metalwork and woodwork classrooms that were located upstairs. The use of inappropriate teaching methods (traditional lecturing methods, using the board and dictation when giving notes) expecting SWDs to adjust and fit in the school system while teachers did not want to adjust and meet the needs of SWDs. The above actions were associated to medical model because they left room for the SWDs to adjust and fit into the school system. Nevertheless, they facilitated the development coping strategies.

The social model in my data was reflected through the provision of the same curriculum for both groups of students. Students shared classrooms and teachers. The provision of boarding facilities to SWDs in order to reduce the burden of transport to and from school every weekday. SWDs were also given extra time in the examination with an understanding that their impairments affect their speed of writing. The construction of ramps to improve accessibility. The above findings are associated to social model of disability because they tended to remove social and environmental hindrances. Therefore, the success of the implementation of would depend on how much social and environmental hindrances are removed.

Limitation of the study

The main limitation of this study is that, its findings may not be generalised across a wide number of schools in Zambia, on account that the study used a qualitative research design, a non-representative sample as participants were recruited using purposive sampling technique. Meaning that students were selection based on their ability to provide in-depth information about the topic under study (Patton 2002) and not otherwise. It is for this reason that its findings may not be generalized. However, it may be generalizable in the sense that people may relate to it and perhaps gain an understanding of their own and others' situations. Furthermore, it may serve to increase the understanding of policy-makers and other stakeholders about the implementation of inclusive education in Zambia, with great emphasis on the significance of positive and social relationships between SWDs and other actors, how they could be promoted.

Policy implications and recommendations

If factors that hindered the development of social relationships between SWDs and other actors in schools were not checked it would demotivate SWDs from attending school and eventually drop out of school. This would indeed negatively affect the implementation of inclusive policies in at the local school.

The failure to implement inclusive policies may result into what Jean-Francois Trani and Mitchell Loeb (2012) called an annual GDP loss due to the number of persons with disabilities who would not access education, and unable to work and to contribute the welfare of the nation. The World Disability Report of 2010 estimated disability population of Zambia to about 15.3%. If Zambia would not make efforts to ensure that this population is productive in the economy by providing a conducive learning environment for all would continue losing out part of her annual GDP.

There is every reason to promote the education of SWDs. Educating and not educating persons with disabilities presents positive and negative externalities. Positive externalities of education for persons with disabilities, entails that, if they were educated and productive, they would obviously benefit as a way of meeting their own needs, it would also benefit their immediate families who they would be able to feed and send to school, above all, the individual would pay tax to the government which would benefit society as a whole. If they were not educated negative externalities would result, they would not be able to look after themselves and their

immediate families; they would live on welfare benefit which is a huge burden to society. They may live on the street with their children begging and stealing from unsuspecting members of the public, and become a danger to national security.

To improve the social relationship between students with and without disabilities schools should reduce segregated services to SWDs. This will improve contact and feeling of equality between the two groups, which will facilitate the development of friendships. The social relationship between SWDs, teachers and parents could be improved through the introduction of conditional cash transfers to schools or parents. For example, progression of a student with disabilities from level to another could attract a percentage increase on the grant received by the school or a parent. By so doing, SWDs would be welcome and schools would make every effort to ensure SWDs are integrated. The relationship between SWDs and teachers or parents would improve as teachers or parents would do everything within their power to meet the needs of SWDs. Resulting social relationships would facility the development of effective coping strategies that is key in the integration of SWDs in inclusive education. With all these pieces put together implementation of inclusive policies is likely to succeed.

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APPENDIX 1: ETHICAL CLEARANCE FORM

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Rune Halvorsen
Institutt for internasjonale studier og tolkeutdanning Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus
Postboks 4, St. Olavs plass
0130 OSLO

[illegible]
Norway
[illegible]

Vår dato: 26.08.2015 Vår ref: 44096 / 3 / AMS Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 25.07.2015. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

44096	*Educational provision for students with disabilities in inclusive school in Lusaka Zambia (Masters Thesis)*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Rune Halvorsen*
Student	*Fredrick Mwaala Lifumbo*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 10.05.2016, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Katrine Utaaker Segadal

Anne-Mette Somby

Kontaktperson: Anne-Mette Somby tlf: 55 58 24 10

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

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APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

My name is Fredrick Mwaala Lifumbo, and doing my Masters in International Social Welfare and Health Policy at Oslo and Akershus University (Oslo, Norway). I am carrying out a study on Educational provision for students with Disabilities in Inclusive School in Lusaka Zambia for the purpose of my Master Thesis. The aim of the study is to explore conditions through which inclusive education can be achieved with a focus on social relationships between students with disabilities and other actors such as teachers and peers, and coping strategies among students with disabilities. As such I would like to interview you in order to get your views on inclusive schools and disability. During our conversation (interview), I will ask you some questions about your past experiences and your views about inclusive school and disability.

Participation in this study is voluntary so you may decline to answer any of the questions if you so wish. If you would like to stop the interview at any time, please tell me and we will end our interview immediately. With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. Please note that the recordings will be stored in a secure place. All recordings will be destroyed upon transcription. There are no risks to you in this study. Your name, or any other personal identifying information, will not appear in the final paper resulting from this study.

The thesis is likely be published. If you would like a copy of the study, please provide me with your address and I will send you a copy in the future. If you have any questions about this study, please contact my supervisor, Associate Professor Rune Halvorsen (PhD) at rune.halvorsen@hioa.no.

Thank you for your consideration. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you. If you agree to participate in this research project, please sign

I agree to participate in the conversation (interview) for this project. [circle one]:

Yes No

I agree to be audio taped during this conversation (interview). [circle one]:

Yes No

Participant's signature : _____ Date: _____

Participant's name (printed) _____

If the person is below 18 years old the consent of one of his or her parents/ care givers is required.

We have received information about the project and agree that

---------- ----------may participate in the project.

(name of the participant)

I agree that the aforementioned person may participate in the interview.

(Signed by one parent or care giver (school authority) , date and place)

Researcher

Fredrick Mwaala Lifumbo

C/o Annie Nalungwe Lifumbo, Ministry of Community Development, Mother and Child Health, Boma Court, Private Bag E12, Lusaka.

Residential Address :30014/1080 Kamwala South Lusaka Zambia

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APPENDIX 3: TOPIC GUIDE FOR A DEPUTY HEAD TEACHER (LOCAL SCHOOL)

Purpose of the study

The main purpose of this study seeks to an understanding of conditions through which inclusive education can be achieved. It seeks to explore the role of social interations and social relationships between students with disabilities and other actors such teachers, peers and the community in the achievement of inclusive education and to establish coping strategies adopted by students with disabilities. If you do not mind acknowledge the letter of consent by signing.

1] General views and experiences with inclusive education

a. How did your school become involved in inclusive education? What is the story behind? For how long has this school been inclusive?

b. To what extent would you say your school differ from other schools in Lusaka district with regard to inclusive education?

c. What factor/condition would you say is the most important to achieve inclusive education?

d. What challenges does the school face in regards to inclusive education? Which of the challenges tops the list?

f. Are there any disabilities that have been particularly difficult or challenging to accommodate?

g. How many teachers has the school? Of these teachers, how many are trained in special education? Any other specialist that assist students with disabilities?

h. How flexible is your discipline code to take into consideration individual difference between the students?

i. What types of problems or issues do students with disabilities report to you?

j. How satisfactory are your responses to their problems?

2] The relationship between students with disabilities and teachers

a. How do you describe the relationship between you and students with disabilities?

b. How would you describe the relationship between teachers and students with disabilities? In

the classroom? In social activities?

c. Have you received any complaints from the teachers in relation to students with disabilities?

If there have been any complaints, what has the school done with the complaints?

3] The relationship between students with and without disabilities

a. How do you describe the relationship between students with disabilities and students without disabilities? In the classroom? In social activities?

b. How would you describe the participation of students with disabilities in social activities at the school?

- How is their participation in **clubs**?
- Are there **sports activities** in the school organized for students with disabilities?
- Does the school have **sports equipment** for students with disabilities?
- How **suitable** are **playing fields** for students with disabilities?
- How **accessible** are **playing fields** for students with disabilities?
- To what extent do students with disabilities **participate in school trips**?
- Please describe a **school trip** that involved students with disabilities in the recent passed?
- Did it involve students with and without disabilities?
- Was the trip **social** or **academic** in nature?

c. Have you received any complaints in this regard?

d. How often do you receive **reports of bullying**? How does the school handle such issues?

e. Does the school has any **policy on bullying**?

f. What **practice** has the school put in place to promote interactions and development of relationships between students with and without disabilities?

g. Have you observed any **coping strategies** that students with disabilities have developed in order to achieve their educational goals?

4] The relationship between the school and the parents/ care givers

a. How would you describe the relationship between the school and **parents**/ care givers of students with disabilities?

b. How much **contact** does the **school** have with parents?

- How useful are these contacts with the parents/ care givers?

c. How **supportive are parents** to students with disabilities and the school at large?

d. Do you have any incidences were parents/caregivers are **not willing to support** students with disabilities or the school?

f. How **responsive are parents**/caregivers on matters concerning the students? Any examples?

g. Are there any areas of **misunderstanding/conflict** between the school and parents

5]The relationship between the school and the local community

a. How would you describe relationship between the school and NGOs, Parent Teacher Association and other actors in the local community?

b. How much contact does the school has with those agencies?

c. How relevant are they in your work in the promotion of inclusive education?

d. How much support does the school receive from these agencies in regards to inclusive education?

6. More detailed questions about the student population

a. How many students are **enrolled** at this school?

b. How many of these are with disabilities?

c. What is **the teacher-student ratio** at your school?

d. What is the **drop out rate** of students with disabilities?

e. In your opinion what could be the major reason for **drop out** of school for students with disabilities?

f. In your view what is **inclusive education?**

g. How does the school define **inclusive education**?

h.What is your comment on the **school library** which is perceived as inaccessible to most students with disabilities?

5. Concluding comments

a. Are there other issues I have not asked about inclusive education that you would like to share?

Thank you, for sparing time out of your busy schedule for this interview.

APPENDIX 4: TOPIC GUIDE FOR A CLASS TEACHER

Purpose of the study

The main purpose of this study seeks to an understanding of conditions through which inclusive education can be achieved. It seeks to explore the role of social interactions and social relationships between students with disabilities and other actors such teachers, peers and the community in the achievement of inclusive education and to establish coping strategies adopted by students with disabilities. If you do not mind acknowledge the letter of consent by signing.

- **General views and experiences with inclusive education**

a. How would do you describe **inclusive education**?

b. Overall, what are your experiences with **inclusive education**?

c. How many years have you been teaching students with disabilities?

d. What do you do to ensure that inclusive education succeeds?

e. What factors/conditions would you say is the most important to achieve inclusive education?

f. What challenges does the school face in regards to inclusive education?

g. Which of the challenges tops the list?

h. Are there any disabilities that have been particularly difficult or challenging to teach?

i. Do you think you have had the appropriate training to teach students with disabilities ?

j. Have you received any special training to assist students with disabilities?

- If yes, what kind of training?
- If not, is there any special training you would have liked to receive?

k. What method of teaching do you frequently used, which on is favourite and why?

The relationship between the teacher and students with disabilities

a. How would you describe the relationship between you and students with disabilities

b. Does your relationship with students with disabilities **enhance or inhibit** the learning process?

c. Do students with disabilities **participate** more or less in your class compared to their peer without disabilities?

d. How do you approach your teaching to accommodate students with different abilities?

e. How does the presence of students with disabilities affect the class/ your teaching?

f. How do you ensure that students with disabilities actively participate in class?

g. How **satisfactory** is the feedback you receive from your students on the teaching methods you use?

h. What types of **problems or issues** do students with disabilities frequently report to you?

i. How satisfactory are your **responses** to their problems?

j. Do you have any **friends** among students with disabilities?

k.Do you have any contact with students with disabilities outside school business?

- social events

The relationship between the students with and without disabilities

a. How would you describe the relationship between students with disabilities and other students in your classroom?

b. Does the relationship **enhance or inhibit** the learning process?

c. How would you describe the relationship between students with disabilities and other students in social activities outside the classroom? Does the relationship enhance or inhibit the learning process?

d. What **opportunities** are available in the school for students with and without disabilities to interact?

e. Have you observed any coping strategies that students with disabilities have developed in order to achieve their educational goals?

f. How is the participation of students with disabilities in extra-curricular activities (clubs, school trips and sports)

4. The relationship between the teacher and the parents/care takers

a. How would you describe the relationship between the you **parents** of students with disabilities?

b. How much **contact** do you have with parents?

- How useful are these contacts with the parents/ care givers?

c. How **supportive are parents** to students with disabilities and the school at large?

d. Do you have any incidences were parents/caregivers are **not willing to support** students with disabilities or the school?

f. How **responsive are parents**/caregivers on matters concerning the students? Any examples?

g. Are there any areas of **misunderstanding/conflict** between you as a teacher and the parents

5. Concluding remarks

a. Do you have any suggestions on certain areas you feel could be improved ?

b. Are there any other things I did not ask, that you would like to share?

Thank you, for sparing time out of your busy schedule for this interview.

APPENDIX 5: TOPIC GUIDE FOR STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

Purpose of the study

The main purpose of this study seeks to an understanding of conditions through which inclusive education can be achieved. It seeks to explore the role of social interactions and social relationships between students with disabilities and other actors such teachers, peers and the community in the achievement of inclusive education and to establish coping strategies adopted by students with disabilities. If you do not mind acknowledge the letter of consent by signing.

1. General Questions

a. What grade are you doing?

b. How old are you?

c. For how long have you been at this school?

d. Have you gone to any other schools before? If yes: Which schools? When? How come you changed schools – what happened?

e. How would you describe your typical day at school? (Probe for details. If difficult to answer, then ask to describe yesterday)

f. Which part of your day do you like? Please explain. Which part of your day do you not like? Please explain

h. What activities do you engage yourself in after school hours? (probe for details)

2. RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS (OTHER STUDENTS)

a. How would you describe your relations to your peers (other pupils/ students)?

- In the classroom? What kind of help do you receive from your peers? Do you ask for help or what? Do you have to do something in order to receive the help? Do you sit together with anybody?
- In social activities during breaks? Do you share your food with your friends? What kind of games do you play with your friends?

- After school? Do you do home work together? Any social activities?

b. Who do you have most contact with? Any best friends? Are they disabled or non-disabled?

c. Do you work or play together with the other pupils/ students outside teaching hours?

d. Do you have any schools trips? Do you participate in them? If no, why?

e. What activities do you enjoy doing with other students?

f. Do you receive any help or assistance from other students? What kind of help or assistance? In what kind of situations? Do you have to ask them?

g. In your view can you achieve your educational goals without seeking assistance from your peers?

h. Have you ever experienced any bullying from peers? If yes, what happened? Did you receive any help or support from the teacher? From peers? From family?

i. How do you react to bullying?

Family and living arrangements

a. Please describe your family. What is your relationship to your family? Do you live with them? Are you good friends? Do you have much contact? Any siblings?

b. If do not live with them, since when? Where do you live? With whom do you live now?

c. How would you describe the relationship between you and your caregiver?

d. How would you describe the relationship between you and your siblings?

e. How do you get to school in the morning? And back in the afternoon?

f. Do you get any support from any family members during the day- before or after school?

g. Does it differ from the support your siblings get?

h. Do they help you with the education in any way? How? Does it differ from the support your siblings get?

3. RELATIONSHIP TO TEACHERS

a. How would you describe your relations to your teachers? Any differences between the teachers?

b. How would you describe a good teacher?

c. How would you describe a bad teacher?

d. Describe what you would perceive as good teaching methods in this school?

e. What would you describe as bad teaching methods in this school?

f. Describe an offence you committed and the kind of punishment you receive from teachers?

g. What kind of punishment from your teachers would you describe as favour or unfavour?

h. How do you attract the attention of your teachers?

i. What is your best subject? What makes it the best?

j. What types of problems or issues do you report to the head teacher or teachers?

k. How satisfactory are the responses to your issues or problems?

l. How do you frame your appeals for assistance from teachers?

m.How would you describe teachers framed responses to provide or not provide assistance?

4] RELATIONSHIP TO OTHERS IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

1. What kind of social activities are you participating in after school ?

2. If relevant:

a. Have you received any help or assistance from public offices or NGOs (for instance assisitive technology, financial support to buy books) ? Explain.

b. Do you participate in any organized activities after school? Explain.

c. Do you or your family have contact with any organisations of or for persons with disabilities? How? Explain.

Self-identity, views on and reactions on disability

a. Do you regard yourself as disabled (a person with disability)?

b. If no; why don't you regard yourself as disabled or as a person with disability? If not mentioned or addressed earlier in the interview:

c. Do you get any reactions from others on that you are walking differently/ have a visual impairment (relating the question to a specific impairment associated with the interviewee) ? How do you notice that they react? What do they say? Teachers? Other students? Family? Other people in the local community?

d. What do you do if you get any negative reactions? Examples? In class? During social activities at school? After school?

Aspirations about the future

a. How do you perform at school compared to your peers?

b. What do you want to do when you have finished school?

c. How useful do you think education is?

5] Concluding comments

a. Do you have any recommendations to what should be done to foster equal opportunities in education for people with disabilities/ walking difficulties/ visual impairments (relating the question to a specific impairment associated with the interviewee)?

b. Are there other things about inclusion or students with disabilities I did not ask, that you would like to share?

Thank you, for sparing time out of your busy schedule for this interview.